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THE
PROGRESS OF THE INTELLECT.

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THE
PROGRESS OF THE INTELLECT,

AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF

THE GREEKS AND HEBREWS.

BY
ROBERT WILLIAM MACKAY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.  
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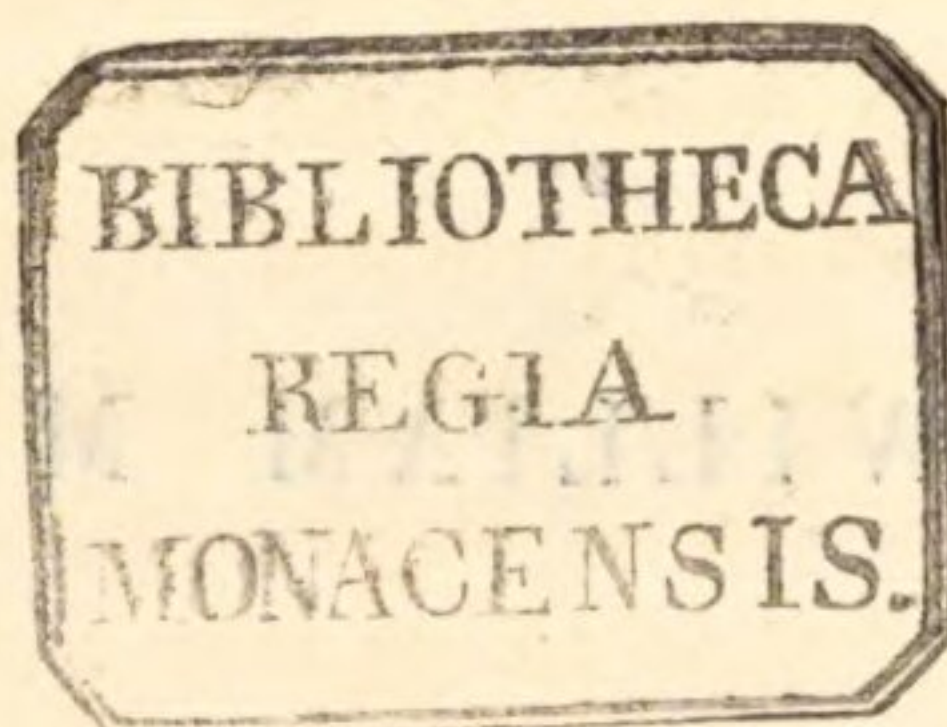
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PROGRESS OF THE INTELLECT

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THE GREEK AND HEBREW



IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

LONDON

JOHN CROFTS & CO. LTD.

1880

PREFACE.

THEY who knowing little are yet aware that there is much to know naturally feel impressed with humility; their first effort in endeavouring to promote education will be to educate themselves; they will be the last to slight the religious opinions of other men and other times when differing from their own.

The study of mythology seems to be nearly abandoned among us except as a trifling matter of school routine. We value ourselves on knowledge of facts, and parade our indifference for fables. Yet this is affecting a superiority to which we have little right. Certainly if it were in our power to reach pure truth, fable might cease to interest us, except as an angel may be supposed to take a pitying interest in human frivolities. But fiction is not peculiar to antiquity; it is as inseparable from human thought as shadow from substance. Nature knows no breaks or harsh distinctions. The classes, æras, &c., into which we separate her varieties are little more than convenient resting-places for the mind in the round of imperceptible gradation, not ultimate facts. No contrasts appear greater than those of past and present, fact and fiction, faith and knowledge, mythology and philosophy. Yet those best acquainted with the human mind are most ready to admit the mixed and limited nature of all its acquisitions and powers; that intellectual light and darkness pass into each other; and that while we smile at past follies, the mythical element still holds its ground not only in the opinions but even in the philosophy of the present.

In this consists the lasting interest of what is, by way of eminence, called mythology. It is but the exaggerated reflection of our own intellectual habits. An extreme instance is understood more easily than that which is familiar on a diminished scale. In times when the mythical element predominated, extending over many subjects from whence its influence has now been partially removed, we are able to see more clearly its sources and effects. The understanding, like the eye, requires instruments to work with, and even now the severest experimentalist is greatly indebted to imagination for the means of gaining and expressing his conclusions. Something of the fanciful and arbitrary is inseparable from all forms of thought, and mythology is a useful warning against the error which was its essence, that of assigning reality to impressions, of confounding the inner sense with the external envelopment.

In treating of mythi, the writer has endeavoured to avoid formal interpretation. He is aware that they are many-sided, more than one meaning converging in the same story; so that there is great advantage in what Creuzer calls the "concrete" treatment, in which the story is left to interpret itself. Doubtless general inferences are to be gained from mythology, as there are also rules for interpreting it, some of which, it is hoped, will hereinafter become apparent; it is otherwise with special meanings, whose comparative value depends on the correctness of the analogies suggesting them. All attempts to explain ancient opinion must, in the absence of authority, be themselves considered as opinions of questionable correctness; and the writer's aim being to deprecate dogmatism, he trusts that the appearance of positiveness in any assertions he may have made on such points will be ascribed to its true motive, the desire of brevity, without which almost every sentence would have been loaded with qualifications and apologies.

But whatever the chances of misinterpretation, far greater is the mistake of supposing that the grapes are sour and the land barren, that the obscure is also the unmeaning. Although we no more expect to find history in mythi than bank notes

among African cowrie shells, yet perhaps in its own way the shell may be the more beautiful and essentially attractive article of the two. The free fancy that wove the web of Mythus was consecrated by faith; it had not, like the modern mind, set apart a petty sanctuary of borrowed beliefs beyond which all the rest was common and unclean. Imagination, reason and religion circled round the same symbol. There was serious meaning in the golden napkin of Rhampsinitus, nay even in the gush of water from the jaw-bone of Sampson's ass. Cramped as we are with conventionalities, we sometimes suppose the ancients devised fictions in the same vapid spirit in which we read them. But pure fiction is an article perhaps quite as scarce as pure truth; and the mind was never less capable of wanton fiction than when farthest from what is called science. In endeavouring to interpret creations of fancy, fancy as well as reason must guide. How much of modern controversy arises out of heavy misapprehensions of ancient symbolism! Poetry cannot be construed by the rule of three. To enjoy it we must in a degree become poets, and the problem often mooted as to whether Homer understood his own mythi is a difficulty which could never occur if we could feel as he did, or at all place ourselves at the antique point of view. In philosophy we depend on reason; in poetry (though no poetry is without its philosophic element) we rather feel our way by entering as far as we can into the sentiment of the poet, and the best interpreter is he who best appreciates the circumstances and impressions which suggested the composition.

In what he has said about the Greeks (who, notwithstanding obscurities in their early history, are perhaps the most instructive example we have of continuous religious development) the writer has used the legend of Prometheus as a convenient centre of view. He has here (neglecting as false the notion which would reduce everything authentic in Greek antiquity to the one standard of Homer) endeavoured to explain the original character or conception of the Nature God, and the modifications it successively sustained through the treatment of Art

and that of philosophic contemplation. He has throughout attempted to distinguish in Greek religion a twofold aspect; the mystic, which may be assumed to be its more natural and original form, and the popular artificial reading which became current in epic poetry. Though the religion is essentially one, some such distinction seems to be required, though the terms "Titan" and "Curete" may not perhaps be exactly suited to introduce or express it¹.

In quoting from Oriental sources the writer is under the disadvantage of ignorance of the languages; but he has taken pains to get the best accessible aids. In regard to Scripture references especially he has not blindly followed the English version, and indeed repeated instances will be found where the latter would have supplied either no meaning or a clearly false one. For those who do not value truth in the abstract only, German criticism offers abundant help for cultivating a better acquaintance with the Bible.

The most serious consequence of misunderstanding the forms of ancient thought and expression is the estrangement between religious theory and common practice characteristic of our day. St. Paul arrived at his idea of a justifying faith by reversing the natural course of thought; he argued from conceptions to facts instead of from facts to conceptions. The dogmatical theology derived from him has busied itself more with his conceptional machinery than his essential meaning. Hence the wide gulf between action and belief, which diverge not only in their moral application but in theoretic principle. Action assumes the natural relation of cause and effect, while religious profession is wholly mystical; the latter is based on a notion of magic, the other on that of science. The practical issue of the contradiction is compromise; to make up for lack of performance by unjustifiable appeals to Jupiter; adopting a principle for Sundays distinct from that suggested by every-day

¹ The writer has quoted from the last (3rd) edition of Creuzer's *Symbolik*, altogether perhaps the most serviceable book existing (of a philosophical character) on general mythology.

experience, neither heartily accepting the new philosophy nor remaining consistently faithful to the old. To bring morals and religion together by reconciling faith and practice, all that would seem to be required is to ascertain what the nature of the divine government really is; and if it be impossible *there* to discover any inconsistency, at once to discard the anomaly gratuitously introduced into human thought and practice. The Egyptians are not incommoded by their inundation, and winter, as remarked by a modern authoress², is trying not so much because severe, for severity, she adds, whether in temperature or authority, hurts no one so it be but steady; but when, like a real tyrant, it is capricious. Why in the divine government need we intermingle an imaginary system of caprice with the real one of order, or thwart the obvious plan of God's education by praying in one direction while acting in another, wasting valuable time over "stupendous facts" and mysteries which to plain minds are the reverse of edifying, and which answer no one purpose in promoting the object of our lives?

"It is vain," said the *Times*, on a late occasion (Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 15, 1849), "to talk of general laws, for it is a mere gratuitous assumption to suppose a system of laws omnipotent over the whole creation visible and invisible, known and unknown, intelligible or mysterious." Yet why, it may be asked, should we think the unknown to be governed after a different fashion from the known; or why is it more gratuitous to infer the laws whose action we trace in all within our comprehension to extend to unexplored cases, than to imagine the Almighty exercising a double control, becoming a capricious inexplicable agent exactly at the point where our present information ends?

For what are laws of Nature? They can only mean the order constituting an unvarying series of causes and effects which the Author of Nature has chosen to be the form of his government. Up to a certain point we know this order to be

² Livonian Tales.

undeviating; we are justified in presuming, that though unperceived by us the same order extends to unknown cases; and this not merely because it is the only possible presumption which is *not* gratuitous, but because we should otherwise be forced into the alternative of supposing what Christ himself denounced as absurd³, that the larger part of the Creator's arrangements is at variance with the rest.

Wherever in outward nature a stoppage occurs, all goes wrong. If a sewer is blocked up the air is polluted; if an antiseptic is swallowed the stomach is destroyed. So it is in intellectual matters. Truth exists for man only so long as it is allowed to grow; confinement is death to it. Those who feel that they have not yet succeeded in making a final conquest of "divine truth" cannot be expected to sympathize with those who have. The latter save themselves much trouble and anxiety by simply holding fast their creed and calling in dogged adhesion to the formula, "Yea verily! and by God's help so I will." The discontented class alone undertake education; since education, at least all deserving the name, implies consciousness of present deficiency, or the necessity of becoming wiser and better. Hitherto its attainment, or rather the attainment of its most elementary conditions, has been stayed by paltry squabbles about the externals of religion. It was said of old, the corruptions of the best things are the worst; the fairest institutions degenerate into the foulest abuses. It seems but too clear that the only way to better things lies through the labyrinth of theological controversy. In order to convince ourselves of what religion is, we must first become fully aware of what it is not. To the public such discussions are naturally distasteful, and that not only on account of the abstruse nature of the questions raised, and probably also from an instinctive appreciation of their comparative worthlessness, but in the presumption that the official depositaries of the sacred oracles, knowing already all that can be known about

³ Matt. xii. 25.

them, are fully equal and faithful to their trust. But the principle of deputation may be carried too far. It is not every physician, even supposing him to be fully master of his profession, who will venture to prescribe an unpalatable remedy. If we neglect our own spiritual interests, we cannot be surprised if they miscarry. That they have so is clear, since the trustees are at issue among themselves, and many of them openly abandon their charge and church. It is hard to be called to do personally what we imagined had already been effectually done by deputy, but there is no alternative. It is like being enrolled for the militia, troublesome but necessary. Yet after all, the task, if resolutely taken up, will be found easier than we thought. A sample may give a tolerably correct idea of the general character of the commodity. If we could submit to unlearn, reparation would be comparatively easy. Salvation, in the sense of escape from various degrees of mistake and its inevitable consequences, misconduct and discomfort, is the educational process, undoubtedly a laborious and arduous one; but theological salvation, meaning escape from an imaginary curse, is a matter of pure "faith" or act of the mind, consisting chiefly in dismissing the false beliefs in which we were before entangled. Can it be hard to think that God never cursed his creatures, but on the contrary is always blessing them? That his goodness may therefore be counted on prospectively, it being "his good pleasure to give us the kingdom"? That the fear and darkness bewildering us are fogs of our own breath, the false worship disappearing of itself on discovery of a better? That religion is no fruit of exclusiveness, but a divine seed in the mind requiring light and air for its health and growth, and becoming degraded only when it falls prostrate before a whim or idol, that stunted artificial state which has neither the earnestness and playful beauty of its mythical beginnings, nor the usefulness of its maturity? In this, as in many other cases, the real difficulty is not in the subject, but in fallacies of perverted ingenuity. Men deify brutes, their fellow-beings, their own ideas. In the break-up of old faiths some fall back

upon a worship of form, while others take refuge in wild sentimentality. There are people whose religion consists in self-torture; who exclude themselves from the world, or think to please God by giving up to what they suppose to be his service something whose loss is felt to be injurious to their health or business; by consecrating a day out of the week to peculiar ceremonies, by fasting or other penance. Such extravagances result from misconceiving the character of the Deity and the relation in which we stand to him; from forgetting that religion tasks the whole man; not exacting a service of mere sentiment or imagination which reason disowns, but directing all the faculties to act in unison for the agent's good. The ancients were as the eagle intently gazing on what he wants strength to reach; we are the owls blinking at the first daylight, which, however, we are slowly learning to support. Our spiritual light is still sadly dimmed by Gothic windows and still more Gothic traditions; but clouds do not extinguish the light of heaven, religion will outlive theology, its lamp will be kindled afresh and burn brighter than before.

LONDON, June 8, 1850.

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INTELLECTUAL RELIGION.

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INTELLECTUAL RELIGION.

§ 1.

ELEMENTS OF THE MYTHICAL.

It is impossible that man in the infancy of his faculties should be intellectually or spiritually religious. Impressed with a vague idea of superior external power, he is ignorant of its extent and character. His first attempts to scan the invisible are like the efforts of the undisciplined eye to apprehend the remote. The child tries to touch the distant horizon, and the uncultivated mind hopes to obtain impressions of the Deity equally palpable to the senses. God is seen in the clouds or heard in the wind; everything uncomprehended is at once referred to supernatural agency, just as a pool of unknown depth is supposed by popular credulity to be unfathomable.

The mind's success in mastering the problems presented to it must obviously be in proportion to the cultivation of its faculties. This is peculiarly true of religion; for if there be any thing in which differences of mental training are emphatically marked, it is in the investigation of that problem which surrounds and comprehends every other, and which tasks the whole of the faculties for its adequate solution. But in the life of ages, as in the life of the individual, some of the faculties are more quickly matured than others; the reason is of slow growth, and its healthy development, indispensable to the fitting education of a religious and moral being, is often impeded

or prevented by the anticipations of the feelings and imagination.

That mental childhood which experience alone can educate, and which the Egyptian priest in Plato describes as the peculiar characteristic of the Greeks, is not confined to the savage, the "child of ages," but may be found in every age and at every stage of civilization. For all civilization is imperfect and comparative, a compound of many elements often very unequally shared by those who live within its influence. Its name is easily confounded with those material goods and facilities of luxurious excitement which, without proportionate educational activity, are as corrupting as instruction without morality, or food without exercise. As a man may be intellectually a child long after he has ceased to be so physically, so nations comparatively enlightened contain many individuals who are but the spoiled children of civilization, contributing nothing to its progress, and who more or less belong to that intellectual infancy of mankind which has been called the mythic age¹.

"There is no sane mind," said Dr. Haslam, "but that of the Deity." A man is never perfectly sane, or perfectly matured. In every stage he shares more or less of that tendency to self delusion most conspicuous in the earliest recollections of his race, and which was rendered inevitable by his undisciplined avidity for the marvellous, and his incapacity to distinguish sensations from external facts. Let the inward thoughts be assumed to be faithful copies or pictures of external objects, and all mythologies may instantly claim to rank as truths, inasmuch as they truly represent what once existed as mental conceptions; every gratuitous creation of fancy or unsupported generalization of the intellect takes its place as a reality in time and place, in history and science. Upon this hypothesis it would be literally true that the fleet Lusitanian mares became

¹ *Ἰδιωτῆς πας καὶ ἀπαιδευτὸς τροπὸν τινὰ πᾶσι ἐστὶ, φιλομυθεῖ δὲ ὡσαυτῶς ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ πεπαιδευμένος μετρίως.* (Strabo, i. 19.)

pregnant by the wind², and the good Samaritan of the parable is converted into an historical personage locally accredited by the monks of Palestine³.

Again, the natural man is full of childish curiosity, but is easily repelled by the task of investigation, and satisfied with reasons insufficient or false. He finds it easy to wonder, but difficult to understand. He justifies his ignorance by insisting on the miraculous. The ready resource of a First Cause at once silences doubt and supersedes inquiry⁴. The excitement of the marvellous is enjoyed with little expenditure of thought. Hence the ancients were unscrupulous in their appeals to divine causation on the most trivial occasions. The expression "*το Θειον*," the supernatural, was synonymous with any thing remote, strange, or otherwise impressive. Unaccountable events were said to be divinely brought about⁵; the Pelasgi were "divine" because no one knew who they were or whence they came⁶; the remarkable defile of Tempe was said to have been formed by a special contrivance of God⁷; the law of storms was the arbitrary volition of Boreas or Æolus; the earthquake or volcano were the forges of Vulcan or the writhings of Enceladus. In the first ages of the world man was of gigantic size and strength, of preternatural longevity⁸, and favoured by immediate intercourse with heaven. He was held by posterity to have been what in pious and poetical simplicity he thought himself, a friend and guest at the tables of the Gods⁹. His bread was angelic ambrosia rained down from the sky; the river from which he drank, and whose remote sources had been unvisited, was "heaven descended;"¹⁰ the whole universe

² Justin, 44, 3.

³ Hasselquist, Voy., i. 184.

⁴ *Θεων τελεσαντων ουδεν απιστον*. Pind. Pyth. x. 78.

⁵ *Θειη τυχη*, or, *ουκ ανευ θειας προνοιας*. Herod. iv. 8; ix. 91. Diod. S. i. 190. Pausan. iv. 29; vii. 8; x. 14. Appian, B.C. 1154.

⁶ Hom. Iliad, T. 177.

⁷ *Θεια φροντις*. Ælian, V. H. 3. i. p. 162.

⁸ Euseb. Pr. Ev. ix. 17. Spanheim to Callim, H. Dian. 132.

⁹ Paus. viii. 2.

¹⁰ Thus the Nile was "*διιπετης*," Iliad. π, 174; Odyss. iv. 479, "*δια το αφανεις εχειν τας πηγας*," says the Scholiast.

seemed alive with Deity; angels came to comfort him in his dreams, and his awakening was but a livelier sympathy with a fictitious world, in which the flight of a bird, the fall of a meteor, or a rumour of uncertain origin, were so many intimations from heaven¹¹. Even ecstasy and frenzy were considered divine¹²; and the barbarous Scythians repudiated a doctrine implicitly believed by the more credulous Greek¹³. A superstitious value was attributed to the casual exclamations of children¹⁴, and enthusiasm or drunkenness were inspiration¹⁵. Everything appears miraculous before it is understood. As writing was attributed to Hermes, and the mechanism of language was an inscrutable mystery to Socrates and Pythagoras¹⁶, so the results of human ingenuity still astonish those who are unfamiliar with the detailed operations of a factory, and the world itself remains to most men a scene of fortuitous change or capricious will instead of a fixed and intelligible arrangement.

§ 2.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ANCIENT AND MODERN MIRACLE.

Cicero gives a useful rule for testing remarkable occurrences. "Nothing," he says¹, "that is impossible can ever have happened; but that which is possible need not excite our astonishment; for it is only our ignorance of the cause of the unknown phenomenon which creates the miracle." One of the first of modern philosophers² repeats the same thing in nearly the

¹¹ Lennep to Hesiod, Th. 10.

¹² Plato, Phædr. 244. Winer, R. W. B. ii. p. 781.

¹³ Herod. iv. 79. The Delphic oracle was described as "fatidici specus quorum exhalatione temulenti futura præcinunt."—Pliny, H. N. ii. 93. A draught of the intoxicating Soma juice was said to exalt to heaven. Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 789, 790.

¹⁴ Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 14.

¹⁵ Strabo, x. 717, 165, Tch. Plut. de defect. Or. 481. Payne, Knight Anct. Art. s. 68, n. 18.

¹⁶ Plato, Cratyl. Aul. Gell. x. 4. Cic. Tusc. i. 25.

¹ De Div. ii. 22.

² Humboldt, Kosmos, p. 20.

same words. "The forces of Nature appear to operate magically, shrouded as it were in the gloom of a mysterious power only when their workings lie beyond the bounds of generally ascertained natural conditions." To the early inhabitants of the East everything was unexplored, and therefore everything was miraculous. They assumed the universe to be either itself animated or peopled in all its parts by innumerable spirits; and the only doubt was as to the moral complexion of those beings, whether their intents were wicked or charitable, whether emissaries of heaven or of hell³. Religious teachers naturally adopted a character and language in conformity with prevailing impressions of the supernatural. Without any intention to deceive, they assumed in virtue of their mental superiority either the actual title of divinity, or at least a divine commission⁴; and if, as Plutarch reasonably observes⁵, God so highly favoured poets and musicians as to grant them inspiration, no one could reasonably be surprised that kings and lawgivers, such as Minos, Zoroaster, or Numa, might be honoured in the same way. "For the gods," he argues, "might seriously converse with such excellent persons as these in order to instruct and encourage them in their great attempts; whereas if they indulged poets and musicians, it could only be by way of diversion." It was easy for men like Empedocles, Epimenides, or Apollonius of Tyana, to pretend to control the powers of Nature by feats which, superstitiously interpreted, gave them a real control over the minds of the common people. Pherecydes, by tasting the water of a fountain, was enabled to predict the approach of an earthquake⁶; but the vulgar inference that the possessor of such knowledge must be a god, was as gross an error as that of the ignorant Maltese who thought Paul superhuman because he was uninjured by the serpent⁷. Habitual modes of thought are reflected in language; and, according to the common complaint of philosophers of the serious mistakes

³ 1 John iv. 1; Deut. xviii. 22; Matth. vii. 16.

⁴ Strabo, xvi. 761.

⁵ Vit. Numæ.

⁶ Pliny, N. H. ii. 81.

⁷ Acts xxviii. 6.

about things which have originated in an incautious use of words⁸, the ancients were themselves frequently deceived by their own figurative expressions. Thus, from the words ὁ λαὸς ἑώρα τὴν φωνὴν⁹, "the people saw the voice," the miraculous voice which proclaimed the law on Sinai assumes in Philo a visible form and figure, a complete though mysterious organization of members and spirit¹⁰. The moderns, misled by the *speciosa miracula* of oriental language, are often in their matter-of-fact interpretation led to understand a literally superhuman agency where nothing of the kind was perhaps intended by the writer; for it was common, says Jerome, to conform in writing to the opinions of the times rather than to the literal strictness of truth¹¹. Miracle, in the modern sense, is a direct infraction of the order of Nature; the Divine power controlling, interrupting, or disorganizing itself; it must amount to this, or it ceases to be sufficient evidence in the cases to which it is applied. The ancient idea did not necessarily involve this absurdity; a sign or wonder was little more than a signal exhibition of superior wisdom or address. The pretensions of the ancients to inspiration or magic stood on different grounds from modern charlatanism; they were unassociated with any distinct notions of the absolute perfection and uniformity of natural law; anything unusual or superlative in its kind¹², even an opportune shower of rain, or lucky escape from the fall of a tree¹³, received a superstitious, yet not extravagant distinction from the common course of events. Even the Hebrews, who supposed themselves under the immediate superintendence of Jehovah, did not pretend to such a measure of supernatural intervention as could supersede the necessity of an Arab guide through the desert¹⁴, or exempt their judge from

⁸ Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. 61.

⁹ Exod. xx. 18.

¹⁰ Mangey's Philo, ii. 185, 408.

¹¹ In Jerem. ch. 28. "Multa in Scripturis sacris dicuntur juxta opinionem illius temporis, et non juxta id quod rei veritas continebat."

¹² Comp. Daniel v. 11, 14; vi. 3. Josephus, Apion, ii. 6.

¹³ Hist. Alex. Comnen., ch. 6.

¹⁴ Numb. x. 29, 32.

the common infirmities of human nature¹⁵. And when, in the Bible, God is stated to have made with his own hands coats of skins to clothe the first dwellers on the earth, and useful inventions of other kinds are ascribed to Ceres or Vulcan, to Osiris or Jemsheed, the meaning in plain prose, or at least the only legitimate inference, is merely that these discoveries are of immemorial antiquity, and derived from an apparently intuitive perception of the adaptation of natural expedients to human wants. If superior talent is ascribed to divine inspiration¹⁶, or victory to Heaven¹⁷; if the breeze is called the spirit of God¹⁸, and storms, sickness, or death his emissaries¹⁹; these, in order to be correctly rendered into modern phraseology, must be viewed as the bold but not unusual metaphors of the poetry of the East. "Scripture," says Grotius, "contains miracles enough without gratuitously multiplying them."²⁰

§ 3.

DILEMMA OF SENSUOUSNESS AND SENTIMENTALISM.

Religion often appears to be a mere sentiment, because the reason by which it should be disciplined requires long cultivation, and can only gradually assume its proper prominence and dignity. The faculties are seldom combined in its avowed service; and from its consequent misdirection has been inferred the impossibility of finding within the limits of the mind an effectual religious guide. It has even been said that religion has properly nothing to do with the head, but is exclusively an exercise of the heart and feelings; that all the teaching or education which can properly be called "religious" consists "in the formation of the temper and behaviour, the infusing devotional feeling, and the implanting of Christian principles."¹ In

¹⁵ Exod. xviii. 18.

¹⁶ Exod. xxxi. 3.

¹⁷ Exod. xxi. 13.

¹⁸ Gen. i. 2. Exod. x. 13; xiv. 21. Nahum i. 3. Ps. lxxviii. 26.

¹⁹ Ps. civ. 4; cxlviii. 8. Heb. i. 7.

²⁰ Ad Exod. xx. 1.

¹ Remarks on Popular Education, by H. P. Hamilton. Parker, 1847.

other words, the highest faculty of the mind is not required in the service of him who bestowed it. Through this narrow view the sentiments are over-excited; the judgment becomes proportionately languid and incapable, the connection between the theory and practice of duty is unobserved, and dogmas are blindly learned without regard to their origin or meaning. Superficial religion has every where the same result; it fluctuates between the extremes of insensibility and superstition, and exhibits in this respect a curious parallel to the analogous catastrophe of notional philosophy. The uneducated feeling has only the alternative of unquestioning credulity, or of sacrificing and abrogating itself. This is the universal dilemma of artificial creeds; their votaries divide into formalists and sceptics, Pharisees, and Sadducees; Calvinism, in our own days, has swung back to rationalism, and the symbolical forms of ancient religion are pronounced by a competent observer to have generally led to these contradictory extremes². The passage is easy from one to the other. The devotional feeling of a Catholic of the middle age might have been destroyed if the doctrines of Copernicus or Galileo had induced him to mistrust the infallibility of the Pope; and, in the days of Sir Thomas Browne, it may have been correct to say that a disbelief in witchcraft implied "a sort of atheism." Horace was startled out of his irreligious philosophy by a clap of thunder; but if a heathen who saw an angry Hecate in the eclipsed moon could have understood a modern almanack, he might at once have fallen into the impiety from which Horace was a convert. The want of a proper control over the senses and feelings by the understanding has ever been the great source of religious corruption. The magnificence of external nature, the "sun in his strength," or the "moon walking in brightness,"³ led men to rest indolently in their earliest and easiest impressions, and to invest the most obvious material symbols with the attributes of

² Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. 67.

³ Job xxxi. 26. Deut. iv. 19. Wisd. xiii. 3. Comp. Philo de Confus. linguar. Pfeif. iii. 394. Diod. S. iii. 394. Clem. Alex. Protr. 22.

divinity. To rude men, deficient in precision of language as of ideas, abstract conceptions could be conveyed only by physical representations and visible forms. The Hebrew prophets dramatised the particulars of their mission, and the diplomatic language of the Scythians was contained in significant tokens of birds and mice, of frogs and arrows⁴. For the same reason symbols became the almost universal language of ancient theology⁵. They were the most obvious method of instruction; for, like Nature herself, they addressed the understanding through the eye, and the most ancient expressions denoting communication of religious knowledge signify ocular exhibition⁶. But figurative emblems, however congenial to the infancy of the mind, impeded its progress to maturity. Illustrations were confounded with their objects. The imagery of the temples, understood not symbolically but literally, underwent the same fate which afterwards befel words and notions, and became an unmeaning superstition, useful only as a pious fraud for political purposes, and to provide excitement for fanatical imaginations⁷. To teach the direct lessons of truth was deemed impracticable and unsafe. The emblem or allegory was left unexplained⁸ to minds incapable of interpreting it⁹, and the Egyptians imagined they imitated the example of nature when they concealed their lore within the gloom of temples or beneath the veil of hieroglyphics. Formularies, perpetuated by deferential feeling as inviolable and unalterable, either consigned the understanding to the hopeless darkness deplored by the Apostle¹⁰, or to the equally dangerous reaction of incredulity, which in Greece produced scepticism in philosophy, Euhemerism in religion, and left the gods only as empty names to embellish the titles of Alexander, Demetrius, or Cæsar.

⁴ Herod. iv. 131.

⁵ Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 618. Paus. 8, 8, 2. Iamblic. Vit. Pyth. 23. Strabo, x. 474.

⁶ *e. g.* ἐξηγησις, δειξις θεων, αναφανειν, εξεφηνεν, &c. Herod. ii. 49. Hom. Od. x. 302. Iliad, i. 87.

⁷ Neander's Hist. Trans. i. p. 6. Strabo, vii. p. 297. Qu. Curt. iv. 10.

⁸ Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 144.

⁹ Plato, Rep. ii. 378.

¹⁰ Ephes. iv. 18. 1 Corinth. xiv. 38.

§ 4.

THE HEBREWS.

The religion of the Hebrews was peculiarly of that sensual and sentimental kind which it is almost impossible to confine within the limits of a wholesome enthusiasm. Much of the devotional language of their sacred books must be placed to the account of their rudeness and ignorance. They regarded the order of the world, not as an intelligible succession of causes and consequences, but as a series of wonders played off for their especial service in the way either of reward, instruction, or punishment. The several nations of the earth, presumed to correspond in number with that of the patriarchs who went into Egypt¹, were each under the presidency of one of the angels, while the chosen people were led and protected by God in person, who indeed had made the world exclusively for their sakes. "As for the other people which likewise come of Adam, thou hast said they are nothing, but be like unto spittle; and thou hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop that falleth from a vessel."² The high poetical and moral value of the choicest Hebrew literature is tarnished by an arrogant nationality, and an uncharitable feeling towards the rest of mankind; and if a few prophets pleaded nobly in favour of sincerity and justice, their precepts were neutralized by precedents which under the name of religion justified treachery, exclusiveness, and cruelty. Hebrew religion contained no steady intellectual principle of progress; it might make an effort to recover the plain maxims of morality when they had been forgotten, but it could supply no continuing principle for the support of society except the spur of vindictive ambition, and that puerile and superstitious pride from which it never, except in Christianity, emerged. As the sun stood still, or even went backward for the ancient Israelite, so

¹ Deut. xxxii. 8, LXX. Gen. xlv. 27. Exod. i. 5. Deut. x. 22. Jerus. Targum to Gen. xi. 7. Horapollo. i. 14. Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 17; vii. 2.

² 2 Esdras vi. 56.

even in those latter days, when communications with the supernatural world had become comparatively rare, and Jehovah seemed to have abandoned his people to the persecutions of the Gentiles, the Jew still believed himself to be the especial favourite of heaven, and that a time would come when the ancient promise would by a startling requital be justified before the world. In the mean time, not only men, but animals, and plants, even the commonest weed, had each their allotted guardian spirit³; sicknesses of the most trivial kind, and particularly epilepsy, were attributed to the agency of dæmons⁴. The healing power of a mineral spring was owing to the interference of an angel⁵; and every dunghill was infested by its own Asmodeus⁶.

The Jews as a nation were hopelessly illiterate; even the art of writing was a rare accomplishment among the lower classes in the age of the apostles⁷. The Rabbis, whose learning consisted of a wilderness of formal observances and quibbling interpretations handed down by oral tradition, succeeded to the ancient authority of priests and prophets; and the Talmud is an exhibition of what had passed for wisdom among the most distinguished of the nation for many hundred years prior to its being committed to writing at Babylon or Jerusalem. As proof of the puerility of the Jews in their notions of literary criticism, it is only necessary to recollect that the book of Enoch, an evident imitation of Daniel, written under Herod the Great⁸,

³ Origen to Numb. Op. ii. 323. Jerome to Habak. i. 14. Rev. ix. 11; xiv. 18, &c. Gfrörer Urchristenthum, i. 369.

⁴ Luke xiii. 11.

⁵ John v. 4.

⁶ Magical receipts are given in the Talmud for making the powers of the air (Ephesians ii. 2; vi. 12) visible to mortal organs; and it was considered dangerous by the Jews, as by the Greeks (Aristoph. Aves. 1490, Schol.), to salute any one by night lest it should turn out to be a devil. Devils frequented lonely places, especially ruins, sepulchres, and privies; and Rabbi Afai, when he went alone into a haunted privy, near Tiberias, used peculiar precautions. (Gfrörer. Urchrist. i. 409.) Cardiacus, or the heartburn, is a dæmon who attacks those who drink too much of the juice of the wine-press: canine madness is another of the devil's pranks. (Ib. 412.)

⁷ Bishop Thirlwall's Preface to Schleiermacher's Luke, p. 118.

⁸ Gfrörer, Urchristenthum, i. 93, &c.

is seriously quoted by the Apostle Jude as composed by the "seventh from Adam."⁹ In the Rabbinical schools, a ready memory was as necessary as among the Druidical neophytes, and was more prized than soundness of understanding¹⁰. The great maxim was to "hedge round the law;" that is, to preserve inviolate the traditional and established. The reading of foreign books was placed under an anathema. "Execrabilis esto qui alit porcos," said the Talmud; execrabilis item, qui docet filium suum sapientiam Græcam." Estranged from foreign contact¹¹, and confined to the one only circle of mystic theology, Jewish literature was but another name for the Mosaic law; and its interpreters, the Rabbi and the Scribe, claimed an infallibility and authority over the laity superior even to that of the inspired writers on whom they commented, or of the law itself¹². In one instance¹³ a Rabbi is appealed to as umpire to settle a disputed point of theology between God and the angels; and Rabbi Solomon Jarchi¹⁴ declares that "if a Rabbi should teach that the left hand is the right, and the right the left, we are bound to believe him."¹⁵

The power of changing the course of nature, or of predicting future events, being considered the necessary means of attesting a divine commission, the art of distinguishing the true prophet from the false became one of the most important problems of Hebrew theology; for the love of signs and wonders was the characteristic of the Jew, as the taste for philosophic speculation and discussion

⁹ Jude, ver. 14.

¹⁰ Conf. Deut. iv. 9. Gfrörer. Urchrist. i. 169.

¹¹ Conf. Tacitus, Hist. v. 5. Juvenal, S. 14, 103. Joseph. Antiq. 20, 11, 2.

¹² Mishna Sanhedr. ch. xiv. 3.

¹³ Gfrörer. i. p. 148.

¹⁴ Ad Deut. xvii. 11.

¹⁵ Archbishop Lanfranc, when a monk, instructing some neophytes in Latin, is said to have been reproved by the Abbot as for a false quantity in saying "docere;" he instantly corrected himself, and said "docere." Incredibile prope dictu est, (says Freigius in his Life of Ramus), sed tamen verum, in Parisiensi Academiâ Doctores extitisse qui mordicus tuerentur ac defenderent, "Ego amat" tam commodam orationem esse quàm "ego amo;" ad eamque contumaciam comprimendam publico opus fuisse. The basis of this absurdity was the Hebrew text of the passages Isaiah xxxviii. 5 and Mal. i. 6, literally rendered, "Ego addet super dies tuos."

was the peculiar distinction of the Greek¹⁶. The author of Christianity often deplores the slavery to sense, and the avidity for the miraculous, which prevailed among his countrymen; he reproves them for their blindness of heart and understanding, and for the pertinacity with which they rejected all evidence but that of ocular demonstration and marvellous signs¹⁷. He himself appeals rather to the moral character of his works in evidence of his mission than to their miraculous nature¹⁸; nay, belief was rather a condition antecedent to the works than a result to be always produced by them¹⁹. Yet he is generally represented to have been in this respect obliged to conform with oriental feeling, and to supply at all hazards a sufficient abundance of the coarse food which at the time was necessary to support the enthusiasm of a religious party²⁰. Christianity in its origin was a Jewish heresy²¹; and with its essential and better spirit were blended many of the contracted habits of thinking among which it originated. Its author vainly endeavoured to substitute a more effectual test of truth²² than the rude criterion of supernatural exhibitions, which had so often been found inconclusive and deceptive²³; and it was only by slow degrees that the Apostles themselves abandoned the idea of a political Messiah²⁴, or the narrow notion which would have made the Gospel

¹⁶ 1 Corinth. i. 22. Matt. xii. 38. Mark xv. 32. John vi. 30.

¹⁷ John iv. 48; xx. 29.

¹⁸ John v. 36; x. 25, 32, 37; xiv. 11; xv. 24; xx. 29.

¹⁹ Matt. xi. 58. Mark vi. 5. John xii. 37.

²⁰ A reservation being of course to be made on account of the uncertainty of the traditions. The expression (John vi. 21), wrongly translated in our version, "They wished to take him into the ship;" followed by "immediately the ship touched the shore," throws a doubt upon the miraculous nature of the fact recorded. In the same chapter Christ is called on by the very persons said to have just before witnessed and been convinced by the miracle of the loaves, to give some "sign" as a foundation for their believing his mission (v. 30); the question either destroys the authenticity of the antecedent miracle, or must itself be regarded as unhistorical, as an artifice of composition devised to elicit the doctrines of the answer given to it.

²¹ Acts xxiv. 14.

²² Matt. vii. 16, 20.

²³ Exod. vii. 11. Mark xiii. 6, 22.

²⁴ Luke xxiv. 21.

exclusively “the children’s meat”²⁵. The more liberal views of the anti-Jewish party, though ostensibly sanctioned by miracle, were strenuously resisted by their fanatical brethren; and the first council of Jerusalem reported in the Acts, was held for the purpose of exonerating the Gentiles from some of the more intolerable and unnecessary observances of the Mosaic law. But though Christianity made an early effort to emancipate itself from Jewish fetters, there were many inveterate habits of thinking intermingled with it against which it was the less likely to rebel, because they meet with a faithful echo and support in all ages among the ignorant and larger portion of mankind. Jesus might easily foresee from the temperament of his countrymen the hazardous extremes to which they might be exposed by their ready credulity, and the dangerous use which might be made by zealots and impostors of their extravagant and long-cherished expectations. Yet even his own followers inherited not only many of the usages and festivals of the Jews, but an ample share of their propensity to superstition. Neither Christianity nor Judaism could effectually separate the pure and natural elements from the false and artificial as long as the latter had the prepossessions of mankind in their favour, and met with no check from philosophy. Practical exigencies rescued our own municipal law from feudalism, and made it conform more and more nearly to the actual requirements of society; but religion stood comparatively aloof from the necessities which insured the improvement of empirical art, and its only risk being a want as yet unfelt, it continued to cling to antique forms as to the necessary conditions of its existence. It flung off the more galling of its chains, and made a temporary stand against the tyranny of authority; but the real source of slavery was in the mind, which, enfeebled by indolence, and imperfectly taught by philosophy, again resigned itself to a superstition akin to that against which it had revolted. Hence the prevailing unwilling-

²⁵ John viii. 33. Matt. iii. 9; xv. 27. Mark vii. 27. Rom. ix. 7. Acts x. 14, 34; xi. 2.

ness to reason on religious subjects; hence too the doctrines of Christianity, associated during so many dark ages with a belief in supernatural intervention, still appear from habit as if indissolubly and essentially connected with them; and to place an unhesitating faith in the marvels of Palestine is as rigorously exacted from the candidate for salvation as the weightier matters of the law of love, its meekness, forbearance, and beneficence.

§ 5.

TEMPORARY CHARACTER OF RELIGIOUS FORMS.

Religion is an eternal, never-failing principle; but its name has generally been usurped by those artificial forms of ritual or creed, which, founded on peculiar circumstances of time and place, are confined within certain geographical or chronological limits. It is indeed impossible to conceive any system of religious symbols or dogmas, which, not wearing the livery of a particular time, shall have an equal pertinency and validity in all ages and nations. No such standard has ever yet been realised¹. The ceremonial of Moses and of Mahomet had only a local and temporary application, and conceptions partake of the same partial and artificial character. Creeds as well as ceremonies are limited in their usefulness, and consequently in their duration. Forms are in their nature transitory; for being destitute of flexibility and power of self-accommodation to altered circumstances, they become in time unconformable to realities, and stand only as idle landmarks of the past, or like deserted channels requiring to be filled up. Charity is indeed an eternal truth, a universal duty; but the Apostle admits the partial and temporary character of religious institutions, whether of ceremony or symbol, for he continues, "whether there be prophecies, they shall fail, whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." For both knowledge and prophecy, the attainments of a particular age, and

¹ Erravit multis in rebus antiquitas, quas vel usu jam, vel doctrinâ vel vetustate immutatas videmus. Cic. de Div. ii. 33.

the institutional worship adapted to them, are partial and imperfect²; and must inevitably be superseded by something worthier and better as the sphere of observation becomes enlarged, and the results of thought more matured and comprehensive. How wide the interval between the religion of the patriarchs and that of the prophets of Israel; or again, between the spirit of Moses and of Paul; between the political and jealous Jehovah of the Hebrew, and the universal parent of the Christian! From savages who scarcely know of God, or who look to him as a being rather baleful than beneficent, from the slave of sense, who, reversing the order of creation, forms a God after his own image, and like the Thracian or Negro supposes him to be dark skinned or ruddy³, according to the varieties of human complexion, to the unpersonified unity of Xenophanes, or the "unmixed good" of Plato, how many the steps of intellectual gradation, each of which, if creeds were always rigidly inviolable, must have been painfully won by suffering and martyrdom. All religions, whether Hindoo, or Greek, have been more lenient to speculative differences than to the infraction of external forms; but forms must at last resign themselves to the power of opinion; and the silent changes of thought would inevitably have been attended with corresponding modifications of external observance, if it were not that the bulk of mankind assume a religion, like a parochial settlement, passively and unreflectingly as a part of their birthright, and consult for ever after their religious prejudices as they do their watches, each confident in his own mechanical result, neither attempting to correct its imperfections, nor even suspecting their existence⁴. The whole amount of the conceptions of our age are but

² 1 Corinth. xiii. 8, 10.

³ Clem. Alex. Str. vii. 711.

⁴ Conventional religion is as a French dinner, of which we know neither the ingredients nor the manner in which they have been compounded, or the hands through which they have passed; but are content to take and eat it as it is served up to us. "Theological systems are too often," says Jortin (Dissert. 2), "as temples dedicated to implicit faith, and he who enters to worship in them, instead of leaving his shoes after the Eastern manner, must leave his understanding at the door, and it will be well if he find it when he comes out again."

glimpses of relative truth bent and refracted in a thousand deviations, which properly belong only to one transitory moment in the continuous development of ages; yet we make our own ideas, whether of religion or philosophy, the invariable measure of those of other people, and of other times; and thus complacently cherishing the conceit of stability where in reality all is in motion, and of completeness where all is imperfect, we obstinately defend under the name of "Divine Truth" the idols of imagination which are already escaping from our grasp, and rapidly passing from the real into the formal, and thence to the ridiculous and obsolete. But every desertion of nature at last produces a reaction. The time predicted by the Apostle⁵ will at length arrive, when artificial forms and transmitted dogmas will have completed their mission, and be absorbed in a system more philosophical and natural.

§ 6.

QUESTIONABLE VALUE OF MIRACULOUS PROOF.

The religious sentiment which at an early age fed on supernaturalism is forced into a different direction without being weakened by the cultivation of the reason. Miracles die out as they approach the confines of civilization¹, and the duration of human life and the general course of nature fall into the routine of common experience. Phenomena, which before appeared arbitrary acts of power, assume when connected and compared an intelligible aspect as orderly results of law. Seeming exceptions to the usual succession of events are rarely seen, and their exceptional character is at once felt to be only apparent and deceptive. Men have never yet attained, and believe to be unattainable², that absolute and exhaustive know-

⁵ 1 Corinth. xv. 28.

¹ Kohl, in his account of the Russian superstitions respecting the sacred curiosities of the Kremlin, gives some curious instances of the rapid growth of mythi in a soil favourable to them. Russia, 1842, p. 216 of the Eng. Translation.

² Men, that is, impressed with the convictions of inductive philosophy, or those

ledge of physical causes which would be necessary for the satisfactory attestation of miracle³. Miracle, as it must now be understood, implies something inconsistent with the order of a perfect government, something overlooked in the original plan requiring an interpolation contradictory to its general tenour. This contradiction was never contemplated by the ancients. Their imaginations were excited by what was strange to look to a divine agent, but it was precisely from their defective notions of the order of the whole that they recognised a peculiar divinity in the exceptional. It was only in the imagination of a poet under peculiar circumstances that two contradictory wills could be supposed to co-exist in the divine mind⁴, and even then the fluctuating ruler of Olympus was made subordinate to a higher and controlling power. A perfect and immutable being cannot break his own laws, or be at variance with himself; his power is only commensurate with his will; he cannot, because he will not, do that which would be inconsistent, prejudicial, and unjust⁵. And why should the order of nature be disturbed for the sake of those who, submitting the understanding to the eye and demanding signs or wonders as an indispensable condition of belief, may discover them abundantly in the uncomprehended order of natural events? Why derange a machinery so vast, so perfect in its connection and so infinite in its relations, in order to effect a doubtful surprise or obscure conviction among the most ignorant of mankind, whose authority as witnesses must ever, from the imperfection of their knowledge, be open to exception, and remain insufficient to transfer the impressions at first received through the long series of sceptical generations? It is not incredible that God can raise the dead, for his ability to do so is abundantly evident in nature; it is incredible only that he who have experienced how often appearances once thought miraculous admit of explanation.

³ By the same mode of arguing, Speusippus is said to have exposed the weakness of the philosophy of definitions. Ritter. Hist. Phil. ii. 456.

⁴ Ἐκὼν ἀσχενοῦσι γε θυμῶν.

⁵ "Look, what I will not, that I cannot do."—*Measure for Measure*.

should do so in a manner inconsistent with his own eternal laws, and it would have been no irrational inference which should have ascribed an admitted infraction of those laws to Beelzebub, to demoniacal agency instead of to divine⁶. Why, it is said, is it unreasonable to suppose that God may choose to exhibit his unquestioned power over the universe by bending it to his will? Why unlikely that on some striking occasions in the past history of the world he should have exhibited emphatic and unmistakeable examples to after ages in proof of his regard for the principles of justice and virtue? It is because, not to mention the questionable morality of many recorded miracles, and the impossibility of providing in any human testimony an adequate guarantee of their reality, he has already done all this more effectually by the undeviating energy of his ordinary laws. Through them he speaks a language addressed not merely to the eye, but to the reason, whose written characters are never to be effaced by time, obscured by doubts, or interpolated with spurious and inconsistent additions. Were miracles really indispensable for religious improvement and consolation, heaven forbid there should be any limits to our credulity, or that we should hesitate for an instant to believe all the exaggerations of oriental expression, or to prefer the wildest

⁶ Comp. Matt. xii. 24, with Robertson's *America*, book iv. p. 169. The mythical idea of sin against the Holy Ghost, as to which see Gfrörer. *Urchrist.* ii. 402, as applied by Christ to the objections of the Pharisees, is that of wilfully and ungratefully misrepresenting the motives of a benefactor, of ascribing acts evidently good to a bad principle. Christ here in a great measure disavows the validity of the evidence of miracle, making, as do the ablest divines, the doctrines a proof of the miracle rather than the miracles of the doctrine. The objection of the Pharisees, far from having anything to do with the idea of universal law, is itself a strong instance of the insufficiency of the argument from miracle, and of its liability to perversion. They who believed in miracle generally could not deny the miraculous pretensions of an adversary; they therefore ascribed them to diabolical power, as Marco Polo and other Roman missionaries represented the fraudulent wonders of the Pagan priesthood. The trial of the spirits was not accompanied by any trial of the fact. The shower of rain which assisted Marcus Aurelius in the war with the Marcomanni was ascribed by the Christians to the efficacy of their own prayers, by the Emperor himself to the favour of Jupiter, by others to the magic art of Julianus, &c.; but no one thought of questioning the miraculous character of the event.

dreams of the child or savage to the rash theories of the philosopher. But the hypothesis of miracle has lost its usefulness, as well as a large share of its popularity. It no longer promotes a spirit of piety, when God is rather studied in the known than guessed at through the unknown, when the ordinary and regular is acknowledged to be more truly divine than the strange and accidental. Addressed to the ignorant and unthinking, it produces no permanent conviction of comprehensive beneficence and wisdom. It substitutes disarrangement and anarchy for certainty and order. Uninstructive, because defying all comparison and analogy, it leads to no useful lesson but that which is better proved without its assistance. It is no more necessary to the present support of Christianity than those usages of the ceremonial law discarded at its outset. A belief in the miraculous, or Messianic character of Jesus, was in his own day the most decisive test of superiority to vulgar prejudice and of a disposition to conform to the spiritualism of Christianity; now circumstances are reversed, for by a strange misapprehension of the nature and objects of faith, the weightier matters of charity and justice are deprived of their due preponderance and made secondary to a blind belief in the supernatural and mystical. But belief in miracle is worse than useless; it creates false notions of God's nature and government; it arms the imagination against the reason; it discourages the cultivation of the intellect, and darkens the path of duty. It demoralizes by superseding prudential care and the feeling of immediate responsibility. It removes God from the world, and brings him back again only by a convulsive start of superstitious amazement. The supposition of a partial and capricious government of nature has much the same effect as if it were unhappily realized. When Ulysses ascribed to God the effects of his own negligence in forgetting his cloak⁷, or when Ajax considered his falling on slippery ground to be the injurious act of Minerva⁸, the real cause of these mischances would probably be unheeded and uncorrected. Superstition miscon-

⁷ Odyss. xiv. 488.

⁸ Iliad, xxiii. 774.

strues human nature as well as divine; it makes God a tyrant⁹, the inexplicable author, or negligent spectator of pain, disease, and evil¹⁰, and attributes to him every severe calamity as a penal infliction, penal, not in regard to the immediate fault or negligence from which it has arisen, but in retaliation for some theoretical corruption or general sin, with which the particular suffering has no ascertainable connection. But in the perfect code of the universe pain is never inflicted except to instruct, to correct, or to save, the uses of adversity being most conspicuous in the precision with which they point their moral. And when the man, abandoning the playthings of the child, to whom alone the explanation of a mystery is a disappointment, begins to appreciate the wisdom of order and the kindness of inflexibility, he discovers the constitution of the world to be in harmony with his awakened powers of intelligent observation. Nothing is unintelligible, though much is not understood¹¹; nothing is miraculous, though everything is wonderful. Throughout the universe he sees no room for prodigies, no possibility of accident. He desires not that God should infringe the regularity of his own proceedings in order to demonstrate the fact of his superintendence or existence, since he derives a much stronger conviction of these truths from the regularity of nature furnishing the basis of a prescience limited only by the inability of the faculties to embrace the wide extent of her arrangements. Miracle should have altered its name with the alteration in the idea, for from the moment when the reality of a divine system of law was manifested to philosophy, the belief in it became blasphemous as well as immoral, an imputation on divine wisdom and goodness. For God is not the God of the

⁹ *e. g.* In the expressions, "*Zeus εθηκε κακον μορον*," &c. *Iliad*, vi. 357; *Paus.* ix. 37; or when the modern Syrians, interrogated why they so abound in vermin while Europeans are free, reply "It is the curse of God on them." *Kelly's Syria*, p. 73.

¹⁰ One of the insuperable difficulties of miracle is the moral one, why, if really possible, it does not manifest itself oftener. A descent of Vishnou is too often wished for in vain.

¹¹ There is no real mystery except essences and final causes.

exceptional or contradictory, but of the consistent and universal; watching over the welfare of the sparrow as well as over Solomon in his glory; the omnipresent, impartial mind working within self-prescribed limits¹², not the subtle magician, mechanical constructor, or patronizing monarch¹³. His inarticulate but impressive voice is heard in silence¹⁴, addressing not the mere senses, but, through their intervention, the emotions and thoughts, and the universe itself, which, as interpreted by poets, spoke only to the feeling for the beautiful, or the passion for the marvellous, becomes the Alexandrian Logos, the eloquent and infallible exponent of the true¹⁵.

§ 7.

INTELLECTUAL RELIGION OR EDUCATION.

The basis of all our real knowledge is the reliance we place on the constancy and precision of nature. Nothing could be truly learned, nor any value attached to experience, but for the

¹² The belief in miraculous agency becomes actually displaced by the discovery of *veræ causæ*, that is, the causes on which events are really found to depend. When it is observed that results once ascribed to supernatural agency are actually or prospectively attainable from natural, the belief in miracle, or of an exceptional action of the Deity, becomes proportionably weakened, and at length is altogether merged in a conviction of the uniformity of his government. The expedient of supposing miracles to be results of a more general and hitherto unascertained law is not only inapplicable to the cases where they are supposed to be wanted, but a virtual abandonment of the whole principle.

¹³ Rectius atque honestius est sic arbitrari summam illam potestatem secretam cœli penetralibus, et illis qui longissimè separantur et proximis unâ et eâdem ratione opem salutis afferre, nec penetrantem atque adeuntem specialiter singula nec indecorè attrectantem cominùs cuncta—talis quippe humilitas ne cum homine quidem convenit qui sit vel paululùm conscientiæ superioris. Apuleius de Mundo, 344, p. 402.

¹⁴ “Dii tacendo res indicant”—*σιγῶντες λαλῶσι*. Porphyry de Abstin. 226 Rhær.

¹⁵ “Unable to see God himself,” says Philo, (Mangey. i. 419; Pfeif. iii. 358.) “we may at least hope to see his image, the most holy Logos, or Word; in whom is comprehended the most perfect of sensible things, the Universe; for philosophy is nothing more than a zealous effort to see and understand these things.”

invariable connection of cause and effect, and the certainty and fixity of the laws of creation. When providential government is admitted to be regular and undeviating, then and then only is an unlimited field of exertion and education opened to the intellect. Were the Creator liable to be influenced by caprice, or to be diverted from his purposes by entreaty, his works would not only be involved in ridiculous confusion, but would be intelligible to himself alone, and destitute of meaning and instruction to his rational creatures. The philosopher would then be really no nearer to heaven than the ploughman. Nature must ever remain an object of childish wonder, not of intelligent study. Even the Chaldees would have abandoned their observatories in despair if they had really credited the miracle of the dial of Ahaz¹; and there would be little prospect of obtaining any certainty in regard to the laws of meteorology, if real efficacy could be supposed to attach to occasional petitions for rain or fine weather. The sentiments of awe and admiration which were the acknowledged source of religious and of all knowledge², could become so only by exciting the mind to activity in the comparison and analysis of the phenomena which nature, in many respects so penurious, furnishes with unlimited prodigality to give exercise to our minds. Her meaning, though not obvious, is never hopelessly mysterious; and her external adornment being always subservient and secondary to an ulterior useful end, both the wonderful and the beautiful, relatively to the human mind, may be regarded as incentives to attention, amusing and exciting the fancy in order to suggest wisdom to the understanding. Knowledge is but familiarity with the means employed by nature to accomplish her designs, and the practical application of knowledge for the purposes of happiness is wisdom. The process by which the mind is generally enabled to discover those natural arrangements which it is the part of wisdom to apply and to obey may be shortly and simply stated. Science is methodised experience. Being is made known to us only through its

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.

² Prov. i. 7. Eccles. i. 14, 20.

manifestations and effects. We examine and compare such of these as can be brought within reach of our sensations, registering their mutual relations, their coordination, conformity, &c. Observation suggests hypothesis, and hypothesis in its turn points out new objects for observation. Facts arranged and compared lead to the discovery of general facts and of those uniformities of action called laws of nature, and an aggregate of well tested and correlated laws is a science. Science is the intellectual tribute to religion; for its office is essentially subservient to religious and moral practice, the knowledge of the true being immediately convertible into the doing of the right. The systematized records of experience to which we give the name of science are unsatisfying to man as a merely contemplative being, but exactly suited to his wants as an active and moral one. They teach him not what is absolutely true, but what is true relatively to himself³. He imbibes from experience a general sense of obligation simultaneously with the perception of truth, at first by that involuntary suggestion which resembles instinct, and afterwards through deliberate and self-conscious inferences. Nature both within and without has ever a definite aim, and inevitably makes him feel the powerful instrumentality by which she ensures the general accomplishment of her object. He is surrounded by incitements on the one hand, and by checks and limitations on the other, being hemmed in as it were by circumstances, so as to be in some degree protected from injuring himself or others by wanton or involuntary indiscretions. But until the understanding is developed, the economy of his being is unsafe and imperfect. A man's most important education begins at the maturity of his faculties, the time at which it is commonly supposed to end, when for the first time he becomes fully aware of the meaning and intimate connection between truth and duty, and when from elementary pupilage he may be said to be launched into the great school of the universe, where knowledge,

³ Il n'y a pas pour l'homme d'autre vérité que la vérité humaine; c'est la seule qu'il lui soit donné d'atteindre. Jouffroy.

self-interest, and sentiment cooperating, lead him more securely in the path of duty and philosophy. But the theory of education, simple enough when viewed as the general reactionary process between the mind and nature, becomes much more complicated when we regard it in reference to particular circumstances and times. The elementary education of the day is a reversal, in some degree an inevitable one, of the natural process; it is the recapitulation of foregone conclusions; its object being the "acquisition of knowledge," an acquaintance with the vast store of experiences preserved in the terms of language, as well as in inferences and reasonings. We enter a world pre-occupied with names and ideas with which it is immediately necessary to become familiar, and which, being the first, are often the sole objects of intellectual training. In this procedure the higher ends of education are sacrificed to its elements. We are trained to believe and remember rather than to think and judge. Words and notions taught authoritatively not only belie the progressive character of science and lose its living interest, but exercise a pernicious influence over the mind, the idea of finality being more calculated to deaden its faculties than to improve them. A dogmatical application of science encourages a dogmatical religion, both by estranging the religious sentiment from the natural field for its development, and anticipating by ready answers, like the Aristotelian philosophy in alliance with middle-age theology, the spirit of independent inquiry, which might otherwise have been tempted to extend itself to graver subjects. No one attempts to recommence the task of original observation; nor would it be possible, even if desirable, to avoid making use of prior discoveries and judgments. Yet artificial teaching may be far from attaining what is implied by the terms education and culture⁴, unless we try to obviate its dangers by adhering as closely as possible to the natural method. All knowledge was once experience; and all instruction, or communicated knowledge, requires experience to verify and support it. Instruction may direct or complete

⁴ *i. e.* the "drawing out," or "growth" of the faculties.

experience, but can never entirely supersede it. The lessons of nature are from the first required to cooperate with those of art, and little information can be gained from artificial sources unless illustrated and attested from natural ones. We could not learn when to avoid or when to seek the fire if we had never felt heat or cold; music cannot be described nor colours made comprehensible to the blind. We begin to draw inferences from experience long before we learn to employ general maxims and language, and, indeed, long before we could be safely intrusted with the discretionary use of either. Axioms, such as those of geometry, are direct appeals to these aboriginal experiences, being those easy and obvious inferences as to number and space incessantly and unconsciously made, which are universally assented to without proof, because the proof is already prepared and present. Truth is no more innate within the mind than light within the eye; yet from its inability to trace the origin of those earliest impressions which by long continued and uncontradicted association have been implicitly received as incontrovertible, the mind hastily assumes the basis of its knowledge to be something intuitive or divine, a part as it were of itself. Axioms however derive their seemingly independent reality not from any priority to experience, but from the multiplicity and familiarity of the experiences supporting them⁵; and hence the peculiar fitness of arithmetic and geometry as elementary exercises of the reasoning powers, each step being a process not merely of remembering and believing, but of experimenting and judging. The general propositions or axioms of the mixed sciences are of a very different character, the experiences on which they rest being remote and complicated, and their truth neither obvious nor complete. Such axioms, being nearer to the end than to the beginning of science, cannot be abruptly taught without in some degree discouraging the reasoning powers of the pupil. Here, where from the nature of the case the mind cannot complete its experiences or insulate its acquisitions so readily as in

⁵ Mill's Logic, i. 306. Herschel's Discourse, p. 95.

abstract science, there are always wide visionary intervals both between the thing and the sensation, and between the sensation and the inference, haunted by phantoms requiring examination and trial like the spirits of the eastern wizard. Facts, causes, and laws can be known only approximatively and provisionally; the aspect of a supposed fact changes when narrowly examined; a cause is only a selection or summary more or less accurate of attendant phenomenal conditions; and laws are resolvable into laws of greater simplicity and generality. Thus the knowledge of to-day is unsettled by the discoveries of to-morrow, and to the mere gatherer of inferences, ignorant of the processes by which they were made as of the qualifications and limits of their truth, science as well as religion is but a mysterious puzzle, as uninformative to the intellect as it is unimpressive to the sentiments. The changes of language are as unsatisfactory and perplexing as the changes of opinion. An acquaintance with cotemporary opinions and precision in the use of terms are doubtless indispensable as forming part of elementary education; yet surely to learn the conventional language and notions of the day should not be its final or only object. Names are but a provisional tabulation of a provisional knowledge; they are the instruments for recording and communicating thoughts, and of arranging and unraveling experiences. But the learning of words is liable to the same abuse as the learning of opinions. We are apt to trust to the all-sufficiency of that instrument through which we derive so much, and mistake the means for the end, the words for the truths. We are in this dilemma with regard to language, that we cannot dispense with its forms without having to commence the whole work of the intellect afresh, yet we cannot use them without being almost certain to ascribe to them more than their real value. The pretensions of language always exceed the actual limits of knowledge. Words include not only what we know, but what we believe, implying things as well as phenomena, so that a proposition logically true was easily imagined to be true absolutely, without regard to the provisional character

of all terminology. Classification and all nomenclature being a result, not an original source of knowledge, can prove no more than is supported by its own basis. Names were given long before their extent could be accurately fixed, and hence their import is always changing, growing with the growth of knowledge, and varying in respect of the attributes and the individuals comprised. Language strictly considered is still more emphatically an index of our ignorance than of our knowledge⁶. It arches over a fathomless abyss, and if from its literal and predicable significancy we subtract its exact and legitimate amount of meaning, there remains an indefinite residuum of assumption corresponding to the immensity of the unexplored region of truth. The page of knowledge as presented in language seems to be filled up and complete, but when narrowly examined the characters are discovered to be cyphers whose ultimate meaning is yet, and perhaps must ever continue, a problem. General terms are like algebraical symbols of unknown quantities, which from incapacity to analyze their elements we allow to stand provisionally as arbitrary tokens without attempting to resolve them into certainty. When we say, for instance, that time has ruined a picture, or that atmospheric influence has caused disease, we merely state a problematical connection between two vague general terms, but are still far from a precise statement of the process, chemical or physiological, which has actually occurred. Words are deceptive in proportion to the extension and generality of their meaning; thus, in the quaint language of Bacon⁷, chalk and mud are comparatively good, earth bad, &c. Deity is the last, the most comprehensive and obscure of all generalizations, the universal solvent of all problems in the early stage of thought, but which in after times is broken into more minute specification, and made nominally subordinate to an effort at a detailed statement of antecedents and consequences⁸. That which nominally explains everything is a real expla-

⁶ "To speak is to begin to err." Goethe. *Gedichte*, p. 75, imp. 8vo.

⁷ *Nov. Org.* i. Aph. 60.

⁸ *Nov. Org.* i. Aph. 48.

nation of nothing. Anaxagoras, therefore, after having once for all announced the great truth that the order of the universe is the work of a supreme mind, is said to have passed on to the exclusive consideration of those material causes which, more or less accurately stated, form the bulk of human science. At first all science appears merged in religion; afterwards religion is as it were swallowed up in science. In proportion as men become familiar with the details of causation, language ceases to indulge in the vague generalities of religious poetry, and is ever more precise and less mystical as knowledge becomes more accurate and full. Every grade of knowledge has its appropriate expression. Thus, what to an oriental mystic would be a plague of Egypt, or outpouring of divine wrath, gradually assumes the more homely name of a simoom or blight, and by a modern naturalist is further particularized as a peculiar development of electricity, an attack of animalcules or fungi. In both modes of expression a divine mover is equally contemplated; for no one more deeply feels the necessity of an intelligent cause than the student of nature, who sees throughout her empire a code of uniform procedure ascertainable, and therefore dictated by reason. The more this agency is defined and understood, the more is its reality felt, and its wisdom appreciated⁹. Nay, it may be said that the religious sentiment can be matured only through scientific cultivation; since the more we know the more we venerate, and the reverence which is the joint result of sentiment and knowledge can alone survive the attacks of change or time, as being never chained to an obsolete opinion or an immoral practice. The causes of the degeneracy of science have been always the same as those which perverted religion. They consist in the estrangement of the one from the other, and of both from the understanding. Science and religion miscarried partly through the subjection of the intellect to the senses,

⁹ Cicero enumerates among "probabilia," or rhetorical clap-traps, the presumed irreligion of philosophers; "eos qui philosophiæ dent operam non arbitrari deos esse." De Invent. i. 29. Pro Cluent. 61. N. D. ii. 2.

partly through the involuntary pride which induced the mind to insulate its results and to rely prematurely upon itself. The prejudices of the senses and the prejudices of opinion were equally unfavourable in both cases. The ancients failed in their science because they paid more regard to words and notions than to things, and in their religion, because they believed they had become acquainted with the universal cause when they assigned to it an existence and a name, or sought an alliance with it in mystical rapture. They either hoped, like Moses¹⁰, to obtain a manifestation of the Deity to the eye, or to create an adequate image of him within the bounds of the isolated understanding. It was only through the imagination that they could hope to pass the interval between earth and heaven, for as yet there was no solid pathway for the reason. They had a vague feeling that the universe is governed by eternal laws of justice¹¹, but the impression was only a rude anticipation of the legitimate discovery, an inference from the analogy of human government, and therefore often confounded with arbitrary volition or chance, not from an acquaintance with the government of nature. Even if they could have been aware of the existence of natural law in its true meaning¹², they knew not how to study or decypher it, so that it was still a mystery, inoperative as a guide to deliberate choice and action. The Stoical maxim "to live agreeably to nature" was the nearest approach of antiquity to a perfect moral code; its defect was the impossibility of applying it when the study of nature was arrested, and when anticipated notions were assumed as final

¹⁰ Exod. xxiv. 10; xxxiii. 18.

¹¹ ουρανίαν δι' αἰθέρα τεκνωθέντες. Soph. Œd. Tyr. 866. Antig. 455. "The universe," says Philo, "does not hang on nothing, but on the eternal laws of God." Pfeif. iii. 90. Mangey. i. 331. "νόμος ὁ αἰδῖος Θεοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου, τὸ ἄχυροτάτον καὶ βεβαιότατον ἐρεῖσμα τῶν ὅλων." True wisdom, says Heraclitus, is not "much learning," but a knowledge of the "γνώμη ἥτις ἐγκυβερνήσει πάντα διὰ πάντων." Diog. Laert. ix. 1.

¹² Even now, the notion of general law is far from being as impressive or perfect as it ought to be (Mill's Logic, vol. i. 372; vol. ii. 114,) the notion of cause being gradually matured into that of law only through a lengthened experience of invariable causal successions.

criteria of truth and right. Visionary theories were thus adopted by rival sects, and while each had its element of truth, the Stoic erred on one side as much as the Epicurean on the other. If nature be a system of regularity and law, we must, in order to live agreeably to it, become acquainted with its laws, in other words we must gain experience, and that not only in the ordinary sense of practical or worldly wisdom, but in its methodised form as science; the intellectual part of religion being only the gaining accurate experiences reduced to general principles so as to be readily available, and accompanied by such a clear view of the resulting obligations as may insure the realization of its lessons. Religion, including morality, is therefore no more than well directed education; and as the basis of all education must be the notion formed respecting the sources of knowledge and sanctions of duty, the first great education question is the essentially religious one, how or upon what principles is the world governed; or rather, is it governed upon any principle, since observances of prayer and belief in miracle inevitably tend to countenance the idea that the divine government is no more than a capricious exercise of grace and favour? Every duty once ascertained becomes obviously a religious duty, and the same sacred character appertains to every process for discovering its criteria with more ease and precision. That there should have ever been a doubt about the real evidences of these criteria can only have resulted from a delusion such as that which makes a savage fall down before the block of his own manipulation. The foundations of the right and good must be sought for in the legislation of nature, as the limits of social propriety are laid down in municipal regulations. Those general arrangements which, perceived either in the physical or moral world, baffle inquiry into their causes, are provisionally assumed as laws of nature, that is, as ultimate expressions of a divine volition, conveying to us such a partial knowledge of the universal order as may be a sufficient guide in cases beyond the reach of instinct. The first elements of the task of discovering them are easy, but its range is the intellectual business of eter-

nity. On the preliminary scene of the drama of mental development each individual pursues with more or less aid from preceding experience his appointed task, a humble one perhaps in itself, yet glorious when considered as part of an endless career of improvement, a contribution to that eternal monument, the great wonder of the modern world, which though often exposed like those of Babel or Memphis to interruption and dilapidation, is unlike them and the philosophical and religious systems of which they may be regarded as types, for ever repaired and renewed, slowly but surely rising towards the unoffended heavens through the cooperation of diversified tribes and tongues. But the work in which philosophy and religion cooperate is effectually promoted only when the mind is humble, distrustful of itself, and trained in conformity with these conditions. If it attempts to forestall the industry of future ages by premature theories and creeds, to idolize its notions as entities, and, whether on scientific or religious grounds, to treat its acquired experiences as final, its progress is arrested at the point where it parted from philosophy, like a degenerate artist who unconsciously forsakes nature in the spirit of mannerism and self-repetition. All notions are subjective, and between human truth and error there is only, strictly speaking, the difference of a greater or less degree of subjectivity. The more subjective class of ideas belong in the history of the mind to what is called the mythic age, but are, in fact, abundantly brought forth by the uneducated or ill-educated intellect in all ages. By correcting the inferences of the senses by reason, and those of reason by confronting them with nature, by distinguishing the knowledge thus obtained as containing different degrees of probability or certainty, we obtain not indeed that absolute truth which the experience of the world has proved to be unattainable, but that knowledge of causes and consequences which conduces to our preservation and promotes our advancement. Education is the formation of the intellectual habits; not by that method which ruined the ancient philosophical schools, and which is still

countenanced by modern opinion¹³, "the instilling truths," for this presumes that we possess truth to an extent transcending human capability, but rather training the mind to the disposition and ability to seek truth, to acquire that philosophic spirit which has been said to be more valuable than any limited acquisitions of philosophy, and for this end to be prepared to surrender to the spirit of truthfulness whatever acquired inferences have from time degenerated into prejudices, and an obstinate adherence to which has always been its greatest impediment. "The most necessary of all rules in the pursuit after truth," says Malebranche, "is never to give entire assent except to things evident; to admit nothing into the mind as truth except that which bears the evidence which this rule demands." For all attainable truth is alterable and expansive, and to pursue it we must be prepared to renounce our "idols" or prepossessions, as the apostles renounced occupation and kindred, since the mind must be purified before it can be enlightened; *Sapientia prima est stultitiâ caruisse*¹⁴.

§ 8.

FAITH.

Religion and science are inseparable. No object in nature, no subject of contemplation, is destitute of a religious tendency and meaning. If religion be made to consist only in traditional and legendary forms, it is of course as distinguishable from science as the Mosaic cosmogony from geology; but if it be the *ascensio mentis in Deum per scalas creatarum rerum*, the evolving the grounds of hope, faith, and duty from the known laws of our being and the constitution of the universe, Religion may be said to include science as its minister, and antiquity, which beheld a divinity in all things, erred only in mistaking its intelligible

¹³ Bishop of St. Asaph's Speech on Education in Freemasons' Hall, April, 1847.

¹⁴ Nov. Org. i. Aph. 68.

character, and in making it a mere matter of mystic speculation. In a more limited sense religion may be contrasted with science, as something beyond and above it; as beginning where science ends, and as a guide through the realms of the unknown. But the known and the unknown are intimately connected and correlative. A superstructure of faith can be securely built only on the foundations of the known. Philosophy and religion have one common aim; they are but different forms of answer to the same great question, that of man and his destination. Though differing in name, character, and language, their mission is similar, and they grew up under varying circumstances to supply the same want. When the human understanding was first roused to contemplate the problem of its destination, it must have been instantly impressed with a sense of its helplessness and incapacity to furnish from its own resources a satisfactory solution. The problem must have been abandoned in despair if it had not been cleared up by the intervention of Heaven. Those consolatory suggestions of ever present nature which convey even to the savage a rough answer to the great difficulty, together with the most necessary elements of religious truth, were hailed on their first announcement with an avidity proportioned to the want of them, and deferentially received and adhered to as divine intimations. The growth of philosophy was checked by the premature establishment of religions. These had grown out of a kind of imperfect and unconscious philosophy, and clothed in the poetic language of an early age had been reduced to a permanent system of dogmas and myths calculated for a time to amuse and satisfy the doubts and aspirations of mankind. But religion divorced from philosophy became obsolete and inefficient. The great problem of nature recurred, and stronger and more intelligible evidence was required to justify the important results which religion had anticipated. Philosophy, properly so called, arose along with scepticism; when men were emboldened to appeal from authority to reason, to estimate the value of evidence, and to analyze the results of experience. There is a virtuous scept-

ticism as well as a necessary faith; doubt, that "best prism of the truth's rays," is a part of true religion as well as of true philosophy, and the proudest boast of its modest and patient spirit is to be "ever learning," though never indeed arriving at (perfect) truth¹. The wise of ancient as of modern times deeply felt the imperfect character of all merely human knowledge; they professed to be only as children gathering pebbles on the shores of the ocean, to see darkly as through a glass², or vision³, or out of the obscurity of a cavern⁴. But the priestly sage was disposed to register his more cherished inferences of faith and hope in formularies too presumptuously rigid to claim for them eternity and infallibility, and so place them as supported by superhuman authority aloof and apart from all other acquisitions, and from the natural revelation out of which they really sprung. Tradition implicitly received took away from religion its power of conformity to the progress of human wants, and fixed it in a mould both fanatical and pedantic⁵. Philosophy challenged this intellectual thralldom, and undertook to achieve for itself upon independent grounds a faith more in harmony with knowledge. But its efforts, though noble, were to a great extent frustrated by a misconception of its object. A divine and infallible creed could not be entirely replaced by the humbler pretensions of a rational one, and philosophy was baffled when in its early attempts it aimed at that certainty which religion had vainly pledged itself to supply. Yet philosophy, though nursed in scepticism, has eventually won both a certainty and a faith; a faith in many respects more durable than that idly inherited from tradition. The same experience which teaches rational beings to look beyond the immediate to the remote, furnishes them with grounds of confidence and encouragement for the task. Re-

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 7. Comp. Philip. iii. 12.

² ὡς δια κατοπτρου, Philo. Mang. ii. 483.

³ Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. 78.

⁴ Plato, Rep. 7.

⁵ Der kampf des alten, bestehenden, beharrenden mit entwicklung, aus—und umbildung ist immer derselbe; aus aller ordnung entsteht zuletzt pedanterie. Göethe.

ligion claims all the faculties as tributaries, and even the imagination may under due restrictions help to exalt humanity by raising it above the limits of the actual, and by giving a more vivid expression to its hopes. Faith is to a great extent involuntary; it is a law or faculty of our nature operating silently and intuitively to supply the imperfections of knowledge. The boundary between faith and knowledge is indeed hard to distinguish. We are said to know our own impressions; to believe in their reality, or in the existence of a substantial cause of them. It follows that the immediate as well as the more remote inferences from phenomena are the blended fruit of faith and knowledge; and that though faith, properly speaking, is not knowledge, but the admission of certain inferences beyond knowledge, yet it is almost impossible in tracing back the operations of the mind to find any even the most elementary inference which is not in some degree a compound of both, and which may not ultimately be resolved into a consistent belief in the results of experience. Faith being thus the inseparable companion and offspring of knowledge, is, like it, liable to modification and correction; that which we call our knowledge of the ultimate purpose of existence being in fact only a belief, or inference from experience, which would lose its rational value⁶ if it were supposed to be so complete and infallible as to exempt us from the necessity of further reflection. All human knowledge must partake of the imperfection of the faculties through which it is derived; and the limited and unsatisfactory character of what we know leaves a wide and most important void to be filled up by our belief. But the more imperfect our knowledge, the more necessary it becomes to examine with suspicion the foundations of the faith so closely connected with it. Faith, as opposed to credulity, and to that blind submission to inexplicable power which usurped its name in the ancient East, is an allegiance of the reason; and as the "evidence of things unseen"⁷ stands on the verge of mysticism, its value must depend on the discretion with which it is

⁶ Rom. viii. 24.

⁷ Hebrews xi. 1. 2 Cor. v. 7.

formed and used. Like all the other faculties, the belief requires to be educated; as the feet are taught to walk, the lips and tongue to speak, so the capacity of belief must be taught how to build securely, yet not arrogantly, on the data of experience. Faith is not that belief of St. Augustine, whose merit increased with the absurdity of the proposition, nor that which attributed to the instigation of God the real or projected murder of an only son. An irrational faith grew out of the opposite irrational extreme of incredulity, when men refused to believe the truth unless authenticated by sensuous evidence that confounded their understandings. True faith is a belief in things probable; it is the assigning to certain inferences a hypothetical objectivity, and upon the conscious acknowledgment of this hypothetical character alone depends its advantage over fanaticism, its moral value and dignity. Between the opposite risks of credulity and scepticism it must be guided by those broad principles of reason which all the faculties require for their regulation. Reason alone can in each case determine where credulity begins, and fix the limit beyond which the mind should cease to assign even a qualified objectivity to its own imaginations. In its advanced stages faith is a legitimate result of the calculation of probabilities; it may transcend experience, but can never absolutely contradict it. Faith and knowledge tend mutually to the confirmation and enlargement of each other; faith by verification being often transformed into knowledge, and every increase of knowledge supplying a wider and firmer basis of belief. Faith as an inference from knowledge should be consistently inferred from the whole of knowledge; since when estranged and isolated it loses its vitality, and the estrangement is as effectual when it is hastily and unfairly inferred as where it is wholly gratuitous. The same experience which is the source of knowledge being therefore the only legitimate foundation of faith, a sound faith cannot be derived from the anomalous and exceptional. It is the avidity for the marvellous, and the morbid eagerness for a cheap and easy solution of the mysteries of existence, a solution

supposed to be implied in the conception of an arbitrary and unintelligible rule, which has ever retarded philosophy and stultified religion. Faith naturally arises out of the regular and undeviating. The same unerring uniformity which alone made experience possible, was also the first teacher of the invisible things of God⁸. It is this

“ Elder Scripture, writ by God’s own hand,
Scripture authentic, uncorrupt by man,”

which is set before every one without note or comment, and which even Holy Writ points out as the most unquestionable authority by which both in heaven and earth the will of God is interpreted to mankind⁹. If man is not permitted to solve the problem of existence, he is at least emboldened to hope and to infer so much from its actual conditions as to feel confident as to its results. Faith takes up the problem exactly where knowledge leaves it, and as from confounding the objects of the two have arisen the discords of sects and the puzzles of philosophy, so the discovery of their true relations and limits enables the mind to

⁸ Wisdom, ch. 13. Rom. i. 20. Philo. Mang. ii. 331. Æschyl. Agam. v. 170.

⁹ Matt. v. 45, 48; vi. 26, 28, 30.

“ O what voluminous instruction here !

Nor is instruction here our only gain—

There is a noble pathos in the skies

Which warms our passions, proselytes our hearts.

How eloquently shines the glowing pole !

With what authority it gives its charge,

Remonstrating great truths in style sublime

Though silent, loud ———

O thou great Jove unfeigned,

Divine instructor! thy first volume this

For man’s perusal ; all in capitals ;

In moon, and stars—Heaven’s golden alphabet—

Emblaz’d to seize the sight.—Who runs may read,

Who reads may understand.—’Tis unconfined

To Christian land or Jewry—fairly writ

In language universal to mankind,

A language worthy the great mind that speaks.”

YOUNG’S *Night Thoughts*.

reconcile and account for the controversies of the past, and in some measure to penetrate the mysteries which occasioned them. Faith, the necessary evidence of the seen as well as the unseen, is the assumed basis of all inferential knowledge, for it is the only assurance we have of the reality of the world in which we move and live. The external something, whose existence we presume but cannot prove as the cause of our sensations, is as much an object of faith as the unseen Deity, or as the anticipated renewal of our existence. Habitually, but unconsciously, we depend on faith in every perception and every act, in every inquiry after truth, and every expectation of a practical result. Faith, thus essential to material comfort and support, is like the pulses of the heart, involuntary and intuitive. But educated in the simplest things, the believing faculty becomes in its ulterior development an instrument for effecting the highest as well as the most ordinary purposes of our being, and opens to every one, as it did to Columbus, a new world. Life, intellectually as well as physically, is like "a star hovering on the horizon's verge between night and morning;" and we stand at the parting of the two roads imagined by the great idealist Parmenides¹⁰, between the ideal and the real, the seeming and the true. On one hand is the infatuation of the senses, leading to uncertainties of opinion¹¹; on the other, faith secure under the control of reason¹². In the progress of thought, as the notional and external becomes more and more an object of distrust, the ideal proportionably increases in dignity and significance, and we feel through faith to belong more to the invisible and future than to the tangible and immediate. In the golden age, the two were undistinguished from each other. Evidence was then felt rather than understood, and faith almost intuitive; the rationalist and religionist were one:—

"Alles wies den eingeweihten blicken
Alles eines Gottes Spur."

¹⁰ Παρμενίδης ὁ μέγας. Plato, Sophista, p. 237 a.

¹¹ Ἀπάτη, δόξα.

¹² Πίστις ἀληθής.

When the tree of knowledge was separated from the tree of life, a dark and forlorn interval succeeded, during which human nature underwent long struggles of revolt and disquietude. More correct views of our migratory and divided citizenship redeem us from this downfall, and restore the intellectual balance. By faith, the companion of knowledge, the contradictory tendencies of our twofold nature are explained and reconciled. The condition of the world, the purposes of Providence, are no longer an impenetrable mystery. By faith we may be at once idealists and materialists, yet neither sensual nor mystical. While we stood upon our mere knowledge, good seemed inextricably mixed up with evil, our world disfigured by a fall, and even knowledge itself doubtful or impossible¹³. We lived in a world of phantoms, and all existence, even our own, might be made problematical. Idealism redeems the imperfections of our knowledge through the intervention of belief. By faith, or that transcendental view which the spirit of Religion¹⁴ superadds to science, the distant is brought near, the temporary is made continuous, the finite infinite¹⁵. What was relatively true is no longer absolutely credible. We see evil, yet believe in universal good; we see diversity, but believe in unity; we are surrounded by change and death, yet cling to the certainty of eternal stability and life.

§ 9.

DUTY.

The limitation of the speculative faculty agrees with man's moral nature. He is more practical than speculative; he

¹³ Δοκος ἐπὶ πασι τετυκται.

¹⁴ There is, properly speaking, no science of ontology; ontology is either Faith, or nothing. Hence Aristotle justly says that the positions of Parmenides and Melissus (*θεωρία περὶ τῆς πρώτης οὐσίας*. Metaph. 3. 3. p. 63) belong more properly to theology than to physics. De Cælo. 3. 1. p. 288. Bek. Metaph. v. i. Karsten's Parmenides, p. 198.

¹⁵ This constitutes the mysterious feeling adopted by ancient as by modern religious philosophy, that in God, or the absolute, contraries meet. Aristot. de Xenoph. Ritter. vol. i. p. 433. Stobæ Eclog. i. 60.

may exist without reflection, but scarcely without action. Prompted to constant activity by his organs and passions, he is either blindly led by them, or obtains a control over them through his reason. Compared with the universe his intellect is disproportionately feeble; its mission is to guide and govern the life of the individual. Thought may reach to heaven, but its immediate uses are limited to earth; it is the spring of action, the inner life of which the records of nations and conduct of individuals are only the outward manifestation. "Let us try to think rightly," says Pascal, "for this is the foundation of morality." Morality is partly in the feelings, partly in the reason; the disposition prepared by the one is educated and matured by the direction of the other, and the old controversy as to whether conscience is natural or acquired may be compromised by admitting it to be partly both. Duty, or the moral rule discovered by the understanding, may be said to imply faith, as being that course of action which we believe to be conducive to the end of our being. But the performance of it is immediately dependent on the accuracy and extent of our knowledge. The tendency of actions for good or evil arises out of the relation in which we stand to the visible or invisible world; the sense of obligation and of right arises out of an acquaintance with that relation, called in the one case knowledge, in the other faith. Faith certifies the aim of existence; knowledge acquaints us with the laws by conformity with which that aim is to be attained. Nature has made a provision for moral self-government in that her authority is not despotic or inscrutable, but by its precision and uniformity calls forth the exercise of deliberate choice, vesting the control of our being in ourselves. It is only through nature's invariable regularity, that a line of conduct can be framed agreeable to it. This is duty. But duty is means to an end. Every rational being knows that he is formed for some end proportioned to his nature; and he therefore believes that only those actions and habits which tend to promote this end can be called good; that is, suitable to his nature, and calculated to promote his happiness. The details of duty depend

on our multifarious relations to each other, and to the external world; and as it appears from experience that all these relations are governed by undeviating laws, all duty is resolved into learning and obeying those laws; the more we know and conform to them, the more effectually do we realize the ends of our existence and secure our happiness. Good intention is not virtue unless its acts be discreetly conducted in regard to those penal consequences which the Deity has attached to the infringement of his laws, always in such a manner as to point significantly to the special breach or error from which they result. Hence the intimate dependence of the moral on the intellectual faculty. If the one could ever be perfectly educated, and the other, raised above all illiberal selfishness and passion, were completely under its control, it would be literally true to say that pleasure and pain are the final criteria of good and evil, since the useful and agreeable are essentially one, and all vice being either ignorance or temporary forgetfulness¹, no perfectly sane person fully informed could commit an immoral act. False action is far more often the fruit of false speculation than of evil purpose. The growth of virtue is simultaneous with that of wisdom, the performance of the good implying a proportionate acquaintance with the true derivable from comparing the tendencies of man's nature with the limitations of his condition. He requires two sorts of knowledge, that of his own nature and of external objects. Both being subject to determinate laws, their laws may become known, and the knowledge, in proportion to its extent and accuracy, is the key to every problem of morality and duty. Codes of morality can only answer general questions in a general way; for instance, they prescribe prudence and temperance, but cannot in particular cases anticipate the advice of the lawyer or physician, or

¹ "More evil is done by misdirected than by dishonest views, and the accumulated mischiefs arising from error are of greater prejudice to the advancement of society than those which have their origin in an abandonment of principle." De Morgan on the Study of Natural Philosophy. Quarterly Journal of Education, No. 5.

dispense with the aids of scientific experience. Much is still left to the discretion of the reason, nor can any amount or variety of knowledge be superfluous to aid in discerning the means of happiness, and in overcoming the proverbial difficulty of being good². But the same reason which is enabled to discover the laws and limits of the individual, suggests also the conception of a wider end, a less selfish good, to which the aims of all individual being are subordinate and subsidiary. Thought rises from individual to social law; from particular societies to humanity at large; from the laws of man to those of the universe. Hence those limitations of individual action called reciprocal rights and duties; the same intelligence which prescribes the accomplishment of the ends of nature in ourselves teaching the duty of respecting the performance of them in others. The good is not merely that which is good to us, but that which conduces to the order and happiness of all; for only the uneducated feelings are egotistical and individual, the matured conscience is impartial and universal. The whole extent of the arrangements comprising the sources of duty may be regarded as theoretically discoverable, though as yet discovered but partially; each new discovery not only revealing new duties, but investing all duty with a new and more expansive character, bringing it more and more clearly into harmony with self-interest. The supposed identity of duty with self-denial was a result of that struggle of the conscience with imperfect knowledge which produced the self-mortification of the ascetic. The motives of duty are provisionally disinterested, because, though Providence has made no chasm between the right and the useful, no real antithesis between self-love and conscience, their coincidences often lie beyond the range of our observation, the intellect being as slow to perceive as the passions to acknowledge their identity. Duty therefore precedes science, because its intellectual foundations are matters deep and difficult, and hence in the immaturity of the mental powers it is necessary to be trained to the habit of complying with what anterior experience

² Simonidis frag. 139.

has proved to be true and right before we can become capable of judging impartially between the reason and the passions. Yet again it may be said that the intellect is master and leader of the conscience, since it discovers rules which the conscience must obey; and that even when performing its task imperfectly, intelligence alone makes the distinction between childish servility and manly principle. Of all creation man alone has the privilege of self-examination; of knowing in some measure the purposes of his being, and of calculating the means adapted to promote them. Matter fulfils its part with mechanical exactitude, its punctuality being the result of external wisdom. As we ascend the scale, enfranchisement accompanies the increasing capacity of knowledge, and the animal exercises both will and discernment in the gratification of its wants. In this instance, however, volition is still almost exclusively bound to intuitive emotions of pleasure and pain, indicating to the sentient but unreflecting agent what it should prefer or avoid, what is evil or good to it. To rational beings alone pleasure and pain in the ordinary sense are rarely the sole criteria of good and evil. In addition to those indications which operating inevitably and unconsciously still remain in many cases indispensable for safety, intelligent beings are enabled to know their relations and destination, and from this higher view to judge of things not merely as agreeable or painful, but as facilities or hindrances; and the self-conscious reason manifested in man may aspire to imitate the exactitude with which inferior creatures unconsciously obey the wisdom and will of their Maker. But greater freedom involves greater responsibility. To education is committed the weighty task of rearing the faculty which the Deity has separated from himself, and challenged to a reverential yet honourable competition; of bringing to light those laws which when known to involve the conditions of happiness imply corresponding duties, and of disciplining the will to conform to the obligations so discovered.

Virtue is said to be acquired when this practical conformity has become habitual by repetition, but since all human practice

is infirm and all knowledge defective, we endeavour to fortify the perceptions we possess of our true interests by recurring to the maxims of antiquity, the hoarded experience of the world, which like the tuition of a parent speaks to the ignorant and helpless with authority, or, as it were, with the power of inspiration. "There is no attribute which men more gladly recognise in the teacher to whom they resort than that of infallibility; and in proportion to the importance of the truths sought for, and the supposed difficulty of ascertaining them, is the readiness of ordinary minds to recognise the existence of that attribute in one who claims a prerogative which the supreme Author and source of truth has not seen fit to delegate to any mortal being, that of finally and peremptorily deciding all controversy."³ But the office which the Almighty has not thought fit to delegate to another is effectually exercised by himself. In the unwritten law of nature he has provided a code corresponding in perfection with his own perfect knowledge, written in a universal language, and guarding against every contingency.

§ 10.

CULTIVATION OF THE RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT.

The exercise of faith and the fulfilment of duty both assume the combined operation of the faculties. Between faith and duty, between a bare assent and a willing conformity in practice lies the powerful machinery of sentiment; the true and the right must be felt as well as known; we must not only distinguish but love them. Love is the most concise and expressive name for the spur to virtuous action, the force necessary to make the conclusions of the understanding practically effective in the resolutions of the will. Religion exists only when it influences the whole mind, when the sentiments adopt that attachment to the good which is love's most exalted form, and attended with its most lasting pleasure. Hence the Platonist as well as the Christian sum up the whole of human duty in

³ Bishop of London's Charge, October 19, 1846.

this one comprehensive term of love, as implying the practical fulfilment of all law, human and divine. A tendency towards the beautiful and good is learned intuitively—

“ By sound diffused, or by the breathing air,
Or by the silent looks of happy things”—

the infant unconsciously imbibes this pure feeling from the glory and beauty of external nature⁴, or from the moral charm of parental tenderness. Instructed, the feeling becomes a principle; and as the sphere of observation is extended, the abundant display of beauty and beneficence indefinitely multiplies the occasions for its exercise. Nature is discovered to be a legislation of love; a willing obedience to which is the most perfect freedom, because its restraints are only the necessary conditions of happiness and even of existence. Nature seemed at first “unfeeling and coldly impartial; since the sun shines on the bad as on the good, and to the transgressor as well as for the just sparkle the moon and stars⁵.” But the same confidence and love which children learn to feel for the comparatively feeble and capricious rule of a human being, is transferred by the matured reason to the conception of a parent unchanging and universal, whose government being unerring and complete, is at once a system of unalterable law, and of unalterable love. Once convinced of the completeness of the system, and of its perfect adaptation to produce general happiness, the mind recognises in its severe and uncompromising discipline the crowning proof of the beneficence of its author, and no longer shrinks from the word “necessity” to the nearer sympathies of a humanized Deity, since the human is synonymous with the imperfect, and necessity is only another name for universal undeviating love. But this combination of kindness with inflexibility constituting the essential perfection of con-

⁴ Dieu s’y peint mieux que dans les lignes d’un catéchisme : il s’y peint en traits dignes de lui ; la souverain beauté, l’immense bonté d’une nature accomplie, le révèlent, tel qu’il est, à l’âme de l’enfant ; cette beauté physique et matérielle se traduit pour elle en sentiment de beauté morale. Lamartine, Voyage en Orient.

⁵ Goethe.

stancy and truth, can be appreciated only by intellectual cultivation, through which alone man becomes capable of responding to the sublime love of the universe⁵. It is this which exhibits to the religious sentiment the immortal spirit of harmony and good which it discovers through all existence, admitting no miracle or even apparent self-contradiction except the wonderful power of healing and salvation, which turns even vices and deformities into instruments of beneficent design, reconciling all things to itself. Love thus generalised is the effectual completion of faith and knowledge; for we believe implicitly only where we love; we love truly only that which we know⁶; and when it was said that the performance of the right follows the perception of the true, the sentiment of love, or the perception of the beauty of truth must be superadded to the idea in order to make it unconditional and incontrovertible. Love is the last stage in man's religious progress; early taught to feel supreme power, he gradually learns to appreciate its associated wisdom, and lastly the universe assumes to him the diviner aspect of love, satisfying every demand of his complicated faculties, and calling forth in his conduct an imitation of the pattern exemplified in nature. "The great secret of morals is love⁷; a going out of our own being, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own." The great moral teachers and criteria, pleasure and pain, are but a lesson of selfishness to the cold and individualising spirit, until through sympathy and love their suggestions are exalted and dignified. Our neighbour then becomes as part of ourselves; the relations of family, friendship, citizenship, indefinitely multiply the susceptibilities of the individual, until the widening sphere of benevolence connects not only man with man, but man with the universe. The animate and inani-

⁵ To the uneducated all law appears arbitrary authority.

⁶ 1 John iv. 20.

⁷ Shelley.

mate, though with diversity of gifts, are members of the same spirit—

“The ineffable, all-pervading mind,
Fixed in the secret web of harmony,”⁸

whose love mingles with every manifestation of power, and whose very penal arrangements are beneficent⁹. The love of God, widely different from the mimicry of fanaticism, is a phrase little understood. It may be felt in nature's poetry, but cannot be fully developed except through the rational solution of her problems; it tasks the intellectual as well as the moral faculty, comprising the true as well as the good in its estimate of the beautiful, and fed by every thrill of pleasure felt in the pursuit of knowledge, as by every new perception of the love external to it. “Love,” said Empedocles, “is not discoverable by the eye, but only by intellect; its elements are indeed innate in our mortal constitution, and we give it the names of Joy and Aphrodite, but in its highest universality no mortal hath fully comprehended it.”¹⁰ Many have loved a principle, and laid down their lives for what they believed to be true. Nature herself, whose adornment is only an accessory, a perfection more admirable because apparently unstudied and collateral, seems to invite admiration to the superior beauty of usefulness and truth. Yet so powerful is the dominion of the senses, that it is only by metaphor that the term love is applied to intellectual contemplation; and Plato complains of the narrow conventionality which limits the term best expressing the pursuit of all that is beautiful and excellent to one only, and that not the most elevated among its manifestations. The conception of love of God implies that which is attainable by man only in a limited degree. Universal sympathy supposes universal knowledge, a perfect acquaintance with all beauty discoverable either by the eye or intellect. Perfect intellectual sympathy presumes identification, or at least so

⁸ Karsten's Empedocles, v. 60. Tenneman. Hist. i. 250.

⁹ Dante, Inferno, cant. iii. 6. ¹⁰ Karsten's Emped. v. 110.

close and intimate a relation with the universal reason as to be guided by it in every thought, word, and action; it amounts in short to that inspiration¹¹ or mental absorption contemplated as possible only by the Eastern mystic. Plato, whose mysticism, however lofty, is never irrational, points out, though perhaps in too sanguine terms¹², the path which must be trod in order to reach these lofty regions of intellectual sympathy, of which earthly love is but a childish anticipation, or a feeble and fleeting symbol. The first steps are described as the engendering of beautiful thoughts in communion with fair and congenial minds; at first, in fixing the attention and affections on one beautiful object; then, comparing this with others, in observing how under all forms beauty is every where beauty's brother, and so rising from the contemplation of particulars to the idea of beauty generally. The pupil then, no longer superstitiously devoted to a single object, becomes a lover of all forms that are beautiful, yet not so much of forms, for he especially learns to set mental far above physical beauty, and to appreciate the conformity of the beautiful in moral and civil duties with the capacities and consequent obligations of his own nature. He is then initiated in science, so as to understand the loveliness of wisdom; and having been already taught to generalize his love, and to extend it beyond the limits of a single attraction, he aspires even at the outset to the contemplation of a beauty more large and majestic than any contained within any one isolated pursuit, and, "launching boldly on the wide ocean of beauty, he brings forth in profusion the lovely and lofty conceptions of philosophy; until, strengthened and confirmed, he learns to contemplate one only science, which is that of this universal beauty."

"He who has been educated to this point in love by the due and progressive contemplation of the beautiful now arriving towards the completion of his task on a sudden beholds a beauty

¹¹ The self-sufficing contemplation independent of action or desire for reward, in the Bagvat Geeta, p. 40, the point where deliberate choice seems to be superseded, and to merge in an unerring instinct.

¹² Sympos. 210 B.

wonderful in its nature, the same for whose sake all these toils have been endured, a something eternal, unproduced and indestructible, neither growing nor decaying; not like other things partly beautiful and partly deformed, or at one time beautiful, at another not; not beautiful in relation to one thing, and deformed in relation to another; nor shaped to the imagination as a fair face or figure, nor like any portion of the body, nor like any one discourse or science. Nor does it subsist in any other thing that lives, nor is it in earth, or heaven, but it is eternally unique and self-subsistent, and monogeneous with itself. All other things are beautiful by participation with it, with this difference, that they all are liable to be produced and to decay, but this never becomes either more or less, nor suffers any change. He who ascending from a correct system of love begins to contemplate this supreme beauty has nearly reached the consummation of his labour. For this is the true course of love, that, beginning with those transitory objects which are beautiful, we ever ascend towards that which is beauty itself, rising as it were by progressive steps from the love of one form to that of two, and at length of all forms that are beautiful; from beautiful forms to beautiful habits and duties; from beautiful practice to beautiful doctrines and contemplations; until from the meditation and comparison of many doctrines we arrive at last at that which is nothing else than the doctrine of the supreme beauty itself, in the knowledge and contemplation of which we may at length repose."

"Such a life as this," continues the dialogue, "spent in the contemplation of the beautiful, is the life for men to live;" it is what by Plato would be called the philosophic, by us the religious life. There is much in the description that may appear at first sight overstrained and rhapsodical. It might be objected that the life of man is essentially active, not contemplative; and that the finality, the knowledge, and the repose, presumed to be the completion of the course marked out by Plato, are not within the reach of man in this stage of his existence. But these objections are anticipated. The connection between

knowledge and practice, between the moral and intellectual faculties, are nowhere more insisted on than among the Socratics. It is true that the pleasures and advantages of science might have been explained in simpler language, and it is equally clear that the assumed apprehension of the supreme "monoedic" beauty being confessedly incapable of full realisation on earth may be looked on as a mere metaphysical chimæra. However, neither Plato nor his master professed to have reached this pinnacle of truth; on the contrary, in the midst of the struggles of dialectics their boast was in the consciousness of ignorance, in the absence of vain pretension, and in ascertaining the limits of certainty rather than assuming the possession of it¹³. But to doubt the possibility of certainty, to reject the existence of one all-comprehending science merely because human studies are partial and limited¹⁴, would amount to a far greater absurdity, to no less than an intellectual atheism, an abdication both of religion and philosophy. Thought can be reached only by thought; and human thought can communicate with the universal thought only through a knowledge of the laws often seen and always presumed to be acting connectedly in whose uniform tenor it is expressed. This is the highest generalisation at present within our reach: yet, if for the right direction of science it is fit we should know its limits, considerations of even higher moment require us to believe that there must be a knowledge, though for the present an inaccessible one, beyond those limits, a master science or true philosophy realising the visions of Plato, and which may one day enable us to know as we are known.

¹³ Xenoph. Mem. 3, 9, 6. Plato, Apol. 21.

¹⁴ Conf. Aristot. Eth. N. 1, 3, ad fin.

ANCIENT COSMOGONY.

Ἦειδεν δ' ὡς γαῖα, καὶ οὐρανὸς, ἡδὲ θάλασσα
Τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μιῇ συναρρηρότα μορφῇ
Νείκεος ἐξ ὀλοοῖο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἑκάστα.

APOLLON. RHOD. Argon. i. 494.

"Jeder Veda enthält mehre und zuweilen sich widersprechende Philosopheme über Kosmogonie, und es wird eben so unmöglich sie zu vereinen, als die orthodoxe Meinung herauszufinden, weil späterhin die Philosophen in ihren Ansichten bedeutend abweichen, selbst wo sie auf die heiligen Bücher ausdrücklich sich berufen, und wieder die unzähligen Puranas eine eigene Schöpfungsfage an der Spitze haben müssen, wenn sie auf den Namen eines Purana Anspruch machen wollen."

VON BOHLEN, Das alte Indien, vol. i. 158.

ANCIENT COSMOGONY.

§ 1.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ANCIENT WISDOM.

THE earliest exhibition of the religious sentiment arising out of the action of the external world upon the mind has been said to be allied to fear. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;"¹ for a vague superstitious awe is the impression which external power is at first most likely to produce upon a mind unable fully to understand its operations². Fear is as inevitable in the religion of the ignorant as force in the government of the savage. It was probably through the influence of this feeling that superior intellect first succeeded in gaining a moral power and in interrupting the wild equality of nature. They whose powers appeared to transcend those of other men, and who by greater familiarity with physical agents were really able to form more distinct conceptions respecting them, to give them names³, and even to affect an authority to interpret or control them, naturally became invested with a share of the superstitious reverence paid to the mysterious objects of their worship. Such was the divine authority ori-

¹ Prov. i. 7. Gen. xxxi. 53. Statius, Theb. iii. 661. Not that the religious sentiment is fear only; it is rather that general sense of limitation and dependence which under different circumstances may produce many varieties of feeling. Comp. Jerem. x. 2.

² Virg. Georg. ii. 491, and parallels in Lucretius.

³ Herod. ii. 52. Diod. S. ii. 40.

ginally ascribed to priests and prophets. These first ministers of Religion derived their knowledge immediately from Heaven, or from nature⁴; their skill in art was magic; their poetry and music inspiration⁵. They were the privileged expositors of the so-called "Word of God," personified as "the first-born of Heaven" in the Persian Hom, or the Egyptian Thoth, and transmitted like Agamemnon's sceptre from age to age unchanged. They alone were able to bind or influence the Protean changes of nature; to exorcise Leviathan⁶, to control fate⁷, and to read futurity⁸. The whole universe seemed to them one living revelation. They discovered wisdom in stones and trees⁹, in fowls and fishes¹⁰. The authority thus obtained united the office of king with that of priest; it was a divine commission, its regulations being a transcript of the will of God as manifested in heaven¹¹. The processes of agriculture and the first institutions of civilization depend on the heavenly luminaries¹², and on physical conditions. Thus were the first laws written by the finger of God in the firmament, on the heavenly Meru or Olympus, in unmistakeable characters of light, and the second promulgation of the law was in analogy with the first, when Zoroaster received from heaven the gift of fire¹³ and the word of life, or when Sinai, like Olympus, trembled and smoked during the communication of the statutes and judgments of the Almighty. The Sun, "the Brazen Watchman of Crete," vigilantly upheld the laws revealed by Jupiter to Minos¹⁴; and the bull, at once an emblem of physical and social existence, the leader of earthly institutions as of the heavenly constellations, surrendered its prerogative only when

⁴ *Θεοφάτα εκ θεων.* Iliad, v. 64.

⁵ Iliad, i. 70. Hesiod, Th. 31.

⁶ Job iii. 8. ib. Hizig.

⁷ Numb. xxii. 5.

⁸ 1 Sam. ix. 9. Conf. Exod. vii. 11.

⁹ Plato, Phædr. 275 b.

¹⁰ Job xii. 7, 8.

¹¹ Creuzer, Symb. i. 36; ii. 12, 104, seq.; iv. 371. Gen. i. 14. Job xxxviii. 33. Jerem. xxxi. 35; xxxiii. 25.

¹² Virg. Georg. i. 5.

¹³ Greigniant, Rel. i. 317.

¹⁴ Plato, Minos, 319, 320. Creuz. S. i. 40.

superseded by an equally famous legislator in the person of the Athenian Theseus¹⁵.

“The dawn of learning,” says Sir John Malcolm¹⁶, “has almost always been confined to those who, being intrusted with the care of sacred ceremonies, have devoted their exclusive knowledge to the exaltation and support of their religion.” In early ages all contemplation was religious; there was no distinction between the secular and sacred; the whole universe was divine, and it was this divine problem which the sages of antiquity undertook to expound. They devoted themselves to its interpretation with the rashness of an inexperienced sketcher who attempts to unite in one grand composition all the features of earth and sky before he has properly mastered the rudimentary details of his art. They professed to survey nature with the watchfulness of the dog-star¹⁷, with the penetrating glance of Lynceus, or Atlas, who saw down into the ocean depths¹⁸. There was then no distinct astronomy, theology, history, &c.; there was but the one mental exercise, whose results were called “Wisdom.” This primeval wisdom was of the same comprehensive character as that ascribed to Solomon. It was an intimacy with nature, an association of the derivative spirit with its author, that which personified might be said to have dwelt alone with him before the creation¹. Its pretensions were therefore as universal as its source. The priestly astronomers of Egypt were also legislators and judges, scribes and historians. They taught men and kings the first lessons of agriculture²⁰; they were physicians of the body as well as of the soul²¹; masters of the hydraulic art which irrigated the valley of the Nile by means of waterworks and canals; and

¹⁵ Diod. S. i. 94. Jones's Works, vii. 81. Zoëga, Obelisc. p. 11. Ælian, N. A. xi. 10, 11.

¹⁶ Hist. Persia, i. 181.

¹⁷ Creuz. Sym. ii. 104.

¹⁸ Hom. Od. i. 52. Virg. Æneid, i. 741.

¹⁹ Prov. viii. 22.

²⁰ Comp. Ecclûs. vii. 15. Diod. S. i. 14.

²¹ Creuz. S. ii. 13. Herod. ii. 84.

they were famous architects as shown by the enduring character of their works. The letters invented by Mercury, and the music taught by Apollo, were but the analogies and harmonies of nature interpreted by the priests, who, pretending to supernatural authority, assumed an unbounded control over their countrymen, and comprised within the circle of religious regulations the minutest details of their customs and conduct²².

Science and art under religious patronage were unfruitful and unprogressive. "The guardians of infant science on the banks of the Ganges, the Euphrates, or the Nile, rendered it venerable in the eyes of their untutored cotemporaries by combining it with religion; but they at the same time enslaved it to their own superstitions, and for ever stopped its progress at the point where it was bound to opinions held sacred and immutable."²³ Art was checked by the arrest of science, by that horror of innovation which is still seen in the rigid forms of an Egyptian statue; all the energies of mind were exhausted in the pursuit of those mystical analogies and religious symbols which form the puerile and often unintelligible subject of the regulations of oriental lawgivers, such as the hooks and pillars of the tabernacle, the distinctions of clean and unclean, the sin of interrupting a cow while drinking, or that of a student in theology carrying a watering-pot²⁴. These technicalities were treasured up in the exclusive spirit of the adept. From the excessively religious Egyptians²⁵ Herodotus could get no authentic information as to the sources or rising of the Nile²⁶; the object of the priests seemed to be to withhold information

²² Conf. Herod. i. 46; ii. 29.

²³ Sir J. Mackintosh, Ed. Review, vol. xxxvi. p. 221. Penny Magazine, art. Sculpture. Plato, Laws, ii. 656. "*Παρα ταυτα ουκ εξην ουτε ζωγραφους ουτ' αλλοις οσοι σχηματα και οποι' αττα απεργαζονται καινοτομειν ουδ' επινοειν αλλ' αττα η πα πατρια.*"

²⁴ Menu. 4, 12, 38, 59. A singular example of "Wisdom" is given in Revel. xiii. 18, founded on the Rabbinical figure "Gematria."

²⁵ *Θεοσεβειες περισσως.* Herod. iii. 37. Lucian de Imag. 27.

²⁶ Herod. ii. 28, 29.

rather than to communicate it; the sacred legends were told without attempt at explanation²⁷, and he who self-instructed was able to divine their enigmas was directed strictly to reserve his knowledge to himself²⁸. Priestcraft or "wisdom" partook of the habitually jealous character of early empirical art, guarding its results in the same spirit of selfish cunning with which they seemed to have been wrung in association with the elementary conveniences of life from a grudging nature²⁹. Yet this reserve was as much the inseparable condition of theology as the deliberate artifice of its authors. It is impossible for the illiterate to grasp a vague and illimitable mystery, or to be suddenly initiated into an unexplored range of speculation. The sacred legends were then, as now, simply narrated; they were often probably understood little better by the officiating priest than by the vulgar; and though like nature, from which they were derived, they were rich in meaning, the meaning in both cases was too undefined and extensive to be easily taught; every one had to search and learn it for himself.

§ 2.

FORM AND CHARACTER OF ANCIENT INSPIRATION.

Nature's original lessons are conveyed through the medium of visible imagery, and their utterance, though without sound or language¹, has the advantage of being universally intelligible. Poetry, therefore, or the articulate expression of this silent but universal symbolism, was accounted the language of the gods, and of divinely inspired men. The ancient bards, such as Thamyris, Tiresias, or Homer, though blind as to outward sense,

²⁷ Ideler Hand-buch, i. 138. Herod. ii. 19, 130. Lobeck, Aglaoph. 144.

²⁸ Macrob. Sat. 1, 7, p. 236. Zeun. Plut. de Hom. Poes. ch. 92, p. 1131. Strabo, x. 476. "ἡ κρυψίς των ἱερῶν σεμνοποιεῖ το θεῖον μιμουμένη την φύσιν αὐτοῦ φευγούσαν ἡμῶν την αἰσθησιν."

²⁹ Comp. Prov. xxv. 2; Isaiah xlv. 15. Hesiod's Works, 42.

¹ Psalm xix. 2. Lengerke, Psalmen, vol. i. p. 101.

were full of eyes within²; Actæon-like they "had gazed on nature's naked loveliness," and the words they uttered were not their own, but that of the divine spirit within them³. To the poet-priests of nature, represented by names like Orpheus or Eumolpus, were ascribed the first religious establishments as well as the first poetical compositions⁴.

— "Dictæ per carmina sortes
Et vitæ monstrata via est."⁵

But the earliest poetry was not a contrivance purposely planned to win the savage to civilization; it was the wild and spontaneous growth of natural enthusiasm. It was not a premeditated art or ornamental refinement, but an indispensable want, a necessary medium for the communication of ideas; it was not a device deliberately adopted to interpret impressions, but a revelation unconsciously excited in the mind and communicated to the tongue by the feelings. It was no exclusive invention of the individual, but the utterance of those common thoughts suggested more or less distinctly to every mind by nature, whose inspired authenticity was stamped by the universal echo of assent they met with when clothed in shape or sound. The inspiration of antiquity, and the poetical imagery which flowed from it were not understood figuratively, but felt literally; and in this superhuman view of their nature were implied both the absence of deliberate invention, and the truth and unconscious fidelity of their expression. The development of psychology has never entirely banished the belief in realism and intuitions; and if to a mind like that of Plato the results of combination and comparison appeared as celestial emanations, no wonder that, when the natural and mental laws were wholly unobserved, the first revelations of intellect should appear not only true but miraculous. All men can in some measure feel, but few can understand, still fewer express⁶. The work of poetical im-

² Hom. Odyss. viii. 64; x. 493.

³ Hes. Th. 31. Odyss. xxii. 347. Comp. Luke xii. 12. 1 Cor. xii. 10.

⁴ Paus. ii. 30; iii. 13. Photii Bibl. p. 451.

⁵ Ep. ad Pison. 403. ⁶ *i. e.* more than the simplest propositions.

agination at first appears as a new creation⁷; yet, in reality, it is only an effort of observation, combination, and comparison, which, though seemingly more or less confined to individuals, is in some measure vaguely anticipated by all. Hypothetically, therefore, we attribute the origin of religious poetry and symbolism to distinguished men only, because it is matter of common experience that to bring forth into light the thoughts which before lay hid and unfashioned in the human breast belongs only to genius. It was the privilege of the inspired few to utter what had been secretly felt by many, and to be the medium to clothe in sound and language what was henceforth to be undoubtingly accepted as "divine truth."⁸ The character of these utterances, as well as the mode or form of communicating them, must of course have depended on the standard of contemporary feeling and knowledge. Poetry then performed the office afterwards assumed by philosophy of interpreting man to himself; of making him more intimately acquainted with his own perceptions. Figurative language was the most natural expression of the enthusiasm of the bard, and the most intelligible to the people. It would seem as if the first teachers of mankind had borrowed the method of instruction observed in nature, which addresses the eye rather than the ear, and comprises an endless store of pregnant hieroglyphics. These lessons of the olden time were the riddles of the Sphynx, tempting the curious by their quaintness, but involving the personal risk of the adventurous interpreter⁹. "The gods themselves," it was said, "disclose their intentions to the wise, but to fools their teaching is unintelligible;" and the King of the Delphic oracle was said not to declare, nor on the other hand to conceal, but emphatically "intimate or signify."¹⁰ The ancient sages, both Barbarian and Greek, involved their meaning in similar indirections and enigmas¹¹; their lessons were conveyed either in

⁷ *Ποιησις*.

⁸ Comp. 2 Sam. xvi. 23.

⁹ Apollod. 3, 5, 8.

¹⁰ Plutarch, Pyth. Orac. ch. 21, 25.

¹¹ Pausan. viii. 8. Clemens Alex. Strom. p. 658, 680, 737. Stobæ. Ecl. Phys. 930. Olympiodorus, Creuz. p. 9.

visible symbols¹², or in those "parables and dark sayings of old" which the Israelites considered it a sacred duty to hand down unchanged to successive generations¹³. The explanatory tokens employed by man, whether emblematical objects or actions¹⁴, were like the mystic signs and portents either in dreams or by the wayside¹⁵ supposed to be significant of the intentions of the gods; both required the aid of anxious thought and skilful interpretation¹⁶. Even kings and heroes thought it no degradation to propound or interpret a riddle¹⁷; for it was only through a correct appreciation of the analogous problems of nature that the will of Heaven could be understood by the diviner, or the lessons of wisdom become manifest to the sage. Symbols are either oral or demonstrative; they may address either the ear or eye; but the use of words and letters as conventional exponents of thought was anticipated by a class of signs more universally current; and the former, long after their first introduction, were employed only as accessory explanations of the act or image, just as in modern English law the indenture was in its origin subordinate and supplementary to the formal act of delivery¹⁸. The commonest actions and affirmations were enforced by an appeal to that natural sematology¹⁹ which like the rain-drop reflecting the light of heaven²⁰ transfers ideas powerfully and instantaneously from mind to mind, and is more forcible, though less flexible, than the mechanism of language. The air, the earthquake, the fire, the lights of heaven, or the instinct of animals, had each of them some peculiar quality mysteriously significant of Deity; and when the

¹² Τα αισθητα των νοητων μιμηματα. Iambl. Myst. vii. 1. Φωνᾶντα συνετοισι, Pind. Ol. ii. 152.

¹³ Psalm lxxviii. 2, 6. Deut. vi. 7, 20; xi. 19.

¹⁴ Herod. iii. 21; iv. 131.

¹⁵ Gen. xli. Æschyl. Prom. 496, Bloom. Iliad, viii. 247.

¹⁶ Pind. Ol. ii. 153. Herod. i. 78; iv. 132. Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 3.

¹⁷ Joseph. A. 8, 5, 3. Psalm lxxviii. 2. Judges xiv. 14.

¹⁸ Conf. Gen. xv. 8. Livy, i. 24, 32. Herod. iv. 131.

¹⁹ Iliad, i. 234. Herod. i. 165; vi. 37.

²⁰ Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. 20, 74.

priest first set up a carved image for a god, he did not imagine, any more than the German philosopher, that he was creating the Creator; he attempted only to give fixation and currency to the expression of an idea in the form most easily comprehensible. There was a wide interval between the use of a metaphorical symbolism, and the formation of an abstract theology. The intermediate space in the history of intellectual development is occupied by mythology. This venerable depository of the oldest thoughts²¹ arose when fact and opinion were wholly unsevered; when notions assumed unquestioned the disguise of existences and deeds, and when all abstract speculation fell naturally into the form of narrative. The irresistible propensity of the mind when unchecked by experience to believe its own prepossessions was wantonly developed into a luxuriant growth of sayings and stories²², not, like our own popular legend, subordinate to an educated and more accurate mode of thinking, but comprising, under the form of religion, the whole amount of cotemporary knowledge and civilization. Mythological lore might consist either of sacred commentaries, “*ιεροὶ λόγοι*,” explanatory of established symbols, or of independent traditions embodying physical or moral speculation, in which the elements or planets were the actors, and the creation and revolutions of the world were intermingled with recollections of ancient events. Nature became her own expositor through the medium of an arbitrary symbolical construction, and every fanciful view of the relation between the human and divine received a dramatic form. Mythus, or narrative symbolism, grew up concurrently with that personifying tendency which in religion produced a pantheon, and in language impressed upon the signs for inanimate objects the distinctions of sex. Philosophy was the reversal of this process; it stripped conceptions of their dramatic personality, and often proceeded to question and deny their speculative truth. But as it is proverbially difficult to

²¹ Tacit. Germ. 2. Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 20.

²² *Ἀνθρώπων παλαιαὶ ῥησεις*. Pind. Ol. vii. 54.

state a fact without some admixture of opinion, or to prevent the mind from anticipating inferences, the first philosophy was itself mythical, differing from what it superseded only by being less intolerant and superstitious. Mythology was an imperfect philosophy, though directly opposed to the true philosophic spirit, which is ever tending to contract the sphere of mythus by recurring to experience. True mythus could flourish only when there was no true philosophy. It was also anterior to art; for art implies a premeditation unknown to the first unconscious expression of the feelings. The poetry of art often adopted materials supplied by the earlier poetry of nature²³; but it could not itself have originated them, nor could conscious art have ever created objects of religious veneration. The divinity of Homer's Jove was accepted, not as the mere creation of the poet, but as a revelation made to him from above; and the innovations in sculpture, which the public taste from time to time required, were admitted by the religious, not as results of human invention, but on the faith of a supposed vision of the artist as new communications from the gods²⁴. True mythus was never, therefore, allegory; it was an unpremeditated expression which appeared such only when its subjectivity became obvious, and underwent a construction radically inconsistent with its mythical or sacred character.

§ 3.

CLASSIFICATION OF COSMOGONIC SYSTEMS.

Nature is everywhere different, yet everywhere the same; and mythologies, which are only diversified reflections of it, maintain throughout all their varieties a certain analogy and uniformity, so that, even where no affiliation can be traced, the ideas of one country may serve in illustration of those of another. The problems with which antiquity undertook to

²³ Mythi.

²⁴ Creuzer, Symb. i. 85.

grapple, and which it attempted to solve in its accumulations of mythi, were the same which must everywhere occupy the human mind, the questions of God, of man, and of Nature. The chief business of mythology is to explain known and familiar facts; and the great fact of the world's existence naturally became a principal topic of mythic illustration. Hence the earliest efforts of philosophy took the form of cosmogony. It was an implied prerogative of that wisdom which was conceived as derivative from the Divine to recount what took place at the original construction of earth and heaven, an event virtually witnessed and attested by itself¹. The laws of Menu, like those of Moses, begin with cosmogony; and the history of the Etruscans, like that of the Brahmins and Chaldeans, is contained in an astronomico-theological outline embracing the whole course of time². The lyre of Orpheus³ and the pipe of Silenus⁴ sung how heaven and earth rose out of Chaos; Atlas taught of men and beasts, of rain and lightning, of the eclipses and irregularities of the heavenly bodies⁵, for the earliest hymns and utterances of Nature through the organs of her poetic children were necessarily the reflections of her own being, like the first strain of the infant Hermes:

“Ἦν δ' αὐτοῦ γενεὴν ὀνομακλυτὸν ἐξονομαζών.”⁶

Even Plato so far conformed to the antique method as to preface his moral and political theories with his *Timæus*, so as to connect the institutions of man with the harmonious establishment of the universe.

Cosmogonies are principally of two kinds, varying with the notion formed of Deity as Pantheistic or personal, from the

¹ Prov. viii. 27. Rev. iii. 14.

² Niebuhr's *Rome*, Transl. i. p. 137.

³ Apollon. Rh. i. 496.

⁴ Virg. *Eclog.* vi. 31. Silenus resembles the Ganesa, or Sacred Intelligence of the Hindoos, a personage corresponding with the Egyptian Hermes. *Ælian*, V. H. iii. 18. Cic. *N. D.* Davis and Creuzer, iii. 23.

⁵ Virg. *Æn.* i. 741.

⁶ Homer, *Hymn. Merc.* 59.

most recondite self-evolution to the most familiar notion of manual construction. Extreme instances are the higher Indian and Egyptian doctrines, in which the external world is a mere development of the Supreme Being accompanied with the notion of a divine humiliation and self-sacrifice, and the Zoroastrian and Mosaic systems, in which⁶ a Divine Agent, distinct from the world, moulds a preexistent matter into forms after the manner of a human workman. The greater number of cosmogonical theories are intermediate between these extremes. In most cases a Pantheistic conception is interwoven with physical or human symbols; and this compromise between the obscure and the familiar was very commonly effected by adopting the form of the earliest oriental records, the genealogy⁷. The notion of creation is nothing more than an analogical inference from experience; the commencement of the world was as the dawning of the day, the spring of the year⁸; primæval night was the womb of nature; the seed, the egg, and the phenomena of human birth were each called upon to contribute their share to image forth a conception of the origin of the universe. Among the rest the genealogical form, generally assumed by the traditionary memories of human successions, was found equally applicable to theoretical physics; it explained the abstruse Pantheistic notion of the self-development of the Deity by an easy and obvious analogy, and cosmogony, more and more involved in physical and sexual illustrations through the treatment of hieratic poets, at last assumed the form of a divine pedigree or theogony. The successions of the physical and moral world which the Hindoos are presumed to have intended by their avatars, thus became in Greek theology revolutions of dynasties, and a series of family descents. Greece

⁶ Perhaps to these might be added the Etruscan, though the origin of the cosmogony in Suidas, art. Tyrrhenia, is very uncertain. But many curious general resemblances to Magism are suggested in Micali, "Monumenti Inediti."

⁷ תולדת.

⁸ Virg. Georg. ii. 336.

contained a great variety of local cosmogonical legends, out of which was compiled the fragmentary composition known as the theogony of Hesiod. Many of such substantially independent mythi were now altered and modified to suit the system of the poet who incorporated them, and brought into a seeming concordance and uniformity by being made subordinate to the supremacy of the Cronidæ, and to the genealogy of Zeus. Thus the connection of Hephæstus with Aphrodite⁹ which is but a secondary incident in the pedigree of the Olympians¹⁰, was probably the Samothracian symbol of creation; the net, the same doubtless as that in which Perseus was landed on Seriphus¹¹, represents the garment of the universe¹², or mantle of Brahm; Hermes, who raises the laughter of the gods in the *Odyssee* at the amour of Ares, is the ithyphallic Gigon or Casmilus; the sun, who betrays the deed, and Poseidon, interceding for the culprit, are parts of the same mystery. The nuptials of Peleus, as of Zeus with Themis, Here, or Gæa, are each of them a sacred or cosmogonic marriage¹³, representing the mystic union of heaven and earth, the prolific spring-tide of the universe¹⁴. Almost all nations have endeavoured to enhance their dignity by connecting themselves with the gods and with the origin of the world. They believed their ancestors to have lived nearer to the gods, or to have been themselves gods. Cadmus and Cecrops are half human, half cosmogonical or divine; Thebes rising to the sound of Amphion's lyre is the world awakening at the music of the shell of Vishnou. A similar mythology with characteristic variations is found in the *Vedas*; where the adornment of heaven with stars and the regulation of the seasons are ascribed to the powerful efficacy of patriarchal devotion¹⁵. The walls of Athens and Troy were built by the impersonated

⁹ *Od.* viii. 266. *Comp.* *Iliad*, xviii. 382.

¹⁰ *Hes. Theog.* 945.

¹¹ *Strabo*, 487.

¹² *Comp. Pherecyd.* *Sturz*, 45, 46.

¹³ *Ἰερός γάμος.* *Orphic Frag.* 36.

¹⁴ *Virg. Georg.* ii. 326, 336. *Dicæarchus* in *Creuzer*, *Symb.* i. 13.

¹⁵ *Roth*, in the *Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft*, i. p. 76. *Lassen. Antiq.* i. 769.

elements, and the boundary of the Roman *pomærium* was the zodiacal limit originally marked out by the great Architect in the waste of space¹⁶. The stories of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, the wars of gods with Titans or giants, are the supposed elemental discord out of which arose the harmony and stability of Nature. At the head of each national genealogy men and monarchs issued from the ground, or derived their origin from a mysterious hypothetical ancestor who was either a known member of a theogonic series, or being without any ostensible father was inferred to be divine¹⁷. Yet the original Pantheistic feeling was never entirely eclipsed by the humanising machinery of polytheism; it appears obscurely even in the *Zendavesta*, in the cosmogonical mythologies of the *Puranas*, and in the Homeric epic¹⁸. The oriental story of the protogonic egg became naturalised in the Peloponnesus; the Dioscuri springing from the swan-begotten egg of Leda¹⁹, are the sun and moon capped with the upper and lower hemispheres, or day and night; or to each of the two spheres was attached a feminine moon, Helena being substituted in one dualism for Castor, and the latter forming with Clythemnestra a secondary or Cthonian pair descended from a father whose relation to Zeus is the same as that which existed between the Dioscuri. But the imagery of Greek cosmogony is not confined to that of sex. The Pantheistic feeling is still more distinct in the equivocal and independent generations, such as those of Erectheus and Hephæstus; and it would seem as if it had been sometimes found necessary to modify the common phenomena by some extraordinary mark or restriction in order to convey more clearly the meaning of the conception. The strange figure of generation after swallowing, or by *Cataposis*, as in the instance of Metis, is called by Müller a poetical

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Vit. Rom.* Comp. *Job xxxviii. 5.* *Prov. viii. 27.*

¹⁷ Herod. *vi. 53; ii. 144.* Hebrews *vii. 3.*

¹⁸ Nitsch to *Odyss. Introd. 13.*

¹⁹ Hansa, or the gander, (*Virg. Ciris, 489,*) the symbol of the creator Brahma, a bird sacred to Priapus and to Venus. *Petron. Sat. 137.* *Laur. Lyd. iv. 44.* *Lassen. I. Antiq. 786.*

one²⁰; it is rather a hieratic or Orphic figure similar to those which occur in the legend of Cronus²¹. Whether the cosmogonies termed Orphic²², or such of them at least as are as old as Onomacritus, were strictly speaking revivals of native doctrines or new importations from the East, it is clear that the Pantheism which they taught was not an absolutely new opinion in Greece, but that illustrated symbolically by theologers, and dogmatically by the Ionian philosophy, it amounted only to reassertion of the idea which lay at the foundation of the personifying system. The Jewish Cabbalists endeavoured in the same way to supply from oriental sources what they conceived to be deficient in the simple narrative of Moses where God appears to make a world without foreseeing the probable consequences²³; and they were therefore induced to engraft upon the authorised account much of the mysticism of Plato, of Persia, and of Egypt; the doctrine of self-evolution, of an antetypal creation, and of an antemundane fall. Arbitrary interpretations and changes like these were deemed necessary by philosophising Jews, in order to veil the unseemly familiarity of the Creator as a personal agent. Yet the theory of personal creation is in itself no conclusive evidence of ruder intellects, or of an earlier age. The first children of the elements had not attempted to separate their god from their own being; they rather felt him to constitute the great aggregate of Nature, of which themselves were a part. The most common, and perhaps the earliest notion of the Greeks, with respect to the origin of man, was that he arose spontaneously out of the earth like trees and stones²⁴, like the ants and snakes which burrow in

²⁰ Mythol. 376 or 308.

²¹ Cronus, supposed by some derived from the Skrt—"Kri," to make—Meier, *die ursprüngliche form des Decalogs*, p. 35. By others, related to the word "cruel," the God Krodho, &c.

²² Weiske, *Prometheus*, p. 498 sq. Brandis *Hist. Philos.* i. 59. Damascius, ch. 122, p. 381, Kopp.

²³ Gen. vi. 6.

²⁴ Odyss. xix. 163. Apollod. i. 6, 1. Paus. ix. 60. Hor. Sat. i. 3, 99. Apollon. Rh. iv. 1641. Diod. S. i. 10. Theog. 187.

the ground²⁵, or grasshoppers which swarm upon its surface²⁶. The unknown can only be conjectured from the known; and if man forms any speculation as to his origin, it must be one inferred from the visible analogies of Nature, as the Egyptians conceived themselves to be sprung from the fertile mud of the Nile, the Libyans from the sands of their native deserts²⁷, and the Scandinavians from the dense forests of their hills²⁸. To say that men were descended from Gæa or from the Titans, and were thus collateral relations of the gods²⁹, was only to repeat the dogma of their being earthborn under the form of personification. The idea of man being formed by the gods, which with seeming inconsistency occurs immediately after the passage just quoted from the Theogony³⁰, seems to have been a later and improved opinion implying a greater relative elevation of God above mankind, and perhaps a familiarity with the art of sculpture³¹. It is concurrent with the notion of a personified God, and may adapt itself by suitable modifications to the highest and most dignified conceptions of which such a personification is susceptible. If, however, the notion of Deity has been advanced beyond personification by philosophy, the notion of a humanly creating God would again become comparatively childish and undignified. The gods, with whom in Greek legend man was supposed to live in friendly intercourse, were beings of inferior rank to those who were afterwards supposed to be his

²⁵ Comp. Æsch. Prom. 461, Bloom. Herod. i. 78. The giants were feigned to be snake-footed as being earth-born.

²⁶ Hence Myrmidons, Dryopes, Leleges, Autochthones, Gigantes, &c. Paus. viii. 29, 4. The earth, says Plato, by providing food for her children proves herself their real mother. Menexen, 237, 384, Bek. Politicus, 272 (269). Apollod. iii. 12. 6.

²⁷ Plut. Isis and Osiris, 36. Diod. i. 10.

²⁸ Baur. Mythologie, ii. 367.

²⁹ Ομοθεν γεγαασι. Hes. Theog. 108. Pind. Nem. vi. 1. Nitsch to Odyss. ii. 156.

³⁰ At V. 110, 128, 144, 158.

³¹ Weiske's Prometheus, 515, sq. It was, however, made as conformable as possible to customary notions by supposing the materials fashioned by God into a human form to have been earth, and water, and fire. Γης ενδον εκ γης και πυρος. Plato, Protag. 320 D. Hesiod's Works, 61. Theog. 571.

creators; yet it by no means follows that Eusebius³² was justified in attributing impiety to Greek cosmogonical philosophy on account of the suppression of the name and office of a divine artificer³³.

§ 4.

THE FIRST MOSAIC COSMOGONY.

The creation as described in Genesis is a process advancing by regular stages and in fixed periods of time to its termination. In order to make such a process conceivable, it was necessary to imagine a period of commencement, or "beginning," and a material to begin with. At an epoch thus generally assumed, or in the early days as opposed to the "latter days," so often mentioned in the Bible¹, God by his mandate moulded the confusion of chaos into forms of harmony and beauty. Such is the most probable nature of the process called "creation" by the Hebrews in their account of the "generations" of the heaven and the earth. It is not a creation out of nothing. In the Hebrew, the words "form," "fashion," and "create," are used indiscriminately²; every instance of "creation" supposes a pre-existing material; whales are "created" out of water, and land animals out of earth; man is created "out of the dust of the ground;" and it seems needless to suppose the same word in the two cases to have distinct meanings³.

The supposition of creation out of nothing would only introduce other difficulties; for then the "heaven and earth" of the first verse would be the chaos into which God afterwards intro-

³² Pr. Ev. i. 7, 12.

³³ Comp. Schöman's Prometheus, 111.

¹ Isai. xlv. 10.

² Gen. i. 21, 27; ii. 4, 7. Isai. xliii. 7.

³ When the origination of a novelty is intended, it is called the "creation of a new thing," such as the prodigy of a woman protecting a man, &c. Jerem. xxxi. 22. Numb. xvi. 30.

duces light, order, and form. Without, however, attempting to apply to Genesis the philosophical objection to supposing God to create confusion⁴, the Hebrew phrase heaven and earth, literally, the above and below, is the ordinary expression for the universe formed and distributed as we see it⁵; and is so used in the recapitulatory verse of the second chapter⁶ for the finished results of creation. If the "heaven and earth" of the first verse mean matter or chaos, then "earth," in the second verse, is only an imperfect description of the same thing; whereas this "earth" is avowedly the general mass out of which as afterwards appears both "heaven and earth" are eventually made. But if "heaven and earth" be understood in their obvious sense as a general expression for the finished universe, they cannot consistently with the general narrative have been created out of nothing; since the sequel shows that they are the results of an operation of separation and arrangement continued for six successive days. The first verse has, therefore, been supposed by many critics to be no distinct act of creation, but merely an introduction or title, containing a brief summary of the ensuing narrative. In using the terms, "the above" and "the below," previous to their actual separation and distinct existence, the author is guilty of a slight, but necessary, anticipation of the second and third verses, where those names are assigned to the results of the creative act. In days of old there were no tables of contents or title pages; the first substitutes for them were incorporated with the narrative, as at the commencement of Herodotus and Thucydides, and several of the Bible writers. Such is the case here. The first verse is the preface; the second, a picture of the original state of the material out of which God wrought; the third, the first act of creation. A modern writer would have said with more formality, "God in days of yore made heaven and earth as follows;" or "the following is

⁴ Plat. Timæ. 30.

⁵ 2 Pet. iii. 7, 13.

⁶ Ver. 1.

an account of the creation of all things by God;" or, "in the days when God created heaven and earth, he proceeded thus," &c.⁷

§ 5.

OPINIONS RESPECTING CHAOS.

The earth, or "below," was originally a shapeless mass, consisting, as afterwards appears, of moist and dry materials in the disorderly state called "Tohu Bohu," "waste and void." This primæval mass, like the "*γαία*" of Hesiod, is the progenitrix or material of the firmament of heaven, and of the waters of the sea; and it is only after these have been separated and brought into distinct existence that their parent assumes its specifically determinate character under the name of "earth," which God then assigns to it, in the sense of "dry land." The first earth, therefore, in its original state¹, must have been a heterogeneous compound, some "common form"² in which heaven and earth were as yet undistinguished, and analogous to that indefinite antecedent in Greek cosmogony, chaos. The true meaning of the term chaos is a hopeless etymological puzzle; the Greek philosophers understood it as a personification either of the "void,"³ which creation afterwards filled up, or of the hypothetical first element adopted by each as the "*ύλη*," or as the original unity or first term in a Pantheistic cosmogony⁴. Perhaps neither of these opinions is utterly untrue in itself, or necessarily inconsistent with the others. The mind cannot

⁷ The idea that creation "out of nothing" is a doctrine contained in Genesis has been long exploded. Comp. Bohlen *Indien*, i. 164. Burnett's *Theory of the Earth*, i. 7; ii. 9.

¹ Verse 2.

² *Μορφη μία*. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* i. 7, 8.

³ *Χασμα*, the "magnum inane" of Epicurus (*Virg. Ecl.* vi. 31). Lennep's *Hesiod*, p. 179. *Aristot. Phys.* iv. 1, 7.

⁴ Plato, *Symp.* p. 178. *Sext. Empir. adv. Math.* 309, 382. *Damasc. de Princip.* ch. 124, p. 383, ed. Kopp. *Sturz Acusilaus Fr.* 29, p. 222. Comp. the "Chaonian Zeus" mentioned in *Stephanus Byz.*, and *Valerius Flaccus, Argon.* i. 303. *Serv. to Æneid*, iii. 334, 335. *Georg.* ii. 67.

conceive a purely Pantheistic cosmogony; any attempt to express such an operation in words would amount to a mere acknowledgment of its incomprehensibility. In order to frame an intelligible account of the structure of the world, God must be personified; and a personified God, like a human person, must, according to common analogies, have a material to work on; bhoutatma, omoroka, or nara, the môt⁵ of Phenicia, or the slime of Egypt⁶, are required to be the subject of his manipulations. Cadmus could raise his cosmical city only where the bull had reclined, and Zeus could create the Leleges only by placing stones in the hands of Deucalion⁷. Babylonian tradition makes Belus cut "omoroca"⁸ in twain to form heaven and earth⁹, as the unseen Being of Menu placed in the thought created waters the egg out of which came forth Brahmâ¹⁰. Each coarse adaptation of the language of personification to Pantheism became the foundation of cosmogonical legend, whether expressed under the form of manipulation or genealogy, as when earth engendered heaven, or "Χθων" became married to Zeus under the name of "Cthonia."¹¹ The first philosophy retransferred that relation of God to the universe which had been dramatized in poetry once more into the language of Pantheism; the identity of mind and matter once assumed by the unconscious feelings was doubted, analyzed, and fancifully dressed out by the imagination; afterwards its dramatic form was withdrawn, and it was again deliberately reasserted as a philosophical hypothesis, or religious faith. In this process, however, the mind naturally attempted to connect its ideas with the traditional imagery of antiquity; and the "chaos of the poetical genealogies, always a favourite object of

⁵ Mud. ? Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10, 1. comp. 𐤍𐤍, the Phœnician Erebus, ib. i. 10, 22. Mover's, Phœnizier, 134, 281, 660.

⁶ Damasc. de Princ. ch. 136. Diod. S. i. 7. Iambl. vii. 2. Simpl. to Aristot. Phys. p. 50.

⁷ Hes. Frag. 35, Gottlg.

⁸ The sea, or water?

⁹ Berosus Richter, 19, 50.

¹⁰ Menu, i. 9.

¹¹ Creuz. S. i. 28 n.

speculation to the earliest Greek philosophers¹², became the hypothetical first principle, or “*αρχη*,” which Thales and Pherecydes are said to have compared to water¹³, others to an air or dusky vapour¹⁴, and others again to the All or Infinite, of which the *κοσμος*, or created universe, is only part¹⁵. Yet, even in the hands of philosophers, Pantheism could not maintain its mystic phraseology, but was obliged, in order to be understood, to stoop to plainer language. Hence, the double doctrine which pervades the earlier systems; even the idealists of Elea, in order to suit “opinion,” condescended to frame cosmogonies which do not materially differ from the older forms hieratic or epic. The same abrupt inconsistency which in the Hindoo philosophies perpetually contrasts physics with metaphysics is found also in the Greek; and while the absolute unity of things is reserved for the contemplation and exclusive belief of the reason, opinion more deferential to appearances was permitted to indulge in a dualism, such as earth and water¹⁶, or cold and warmth¹⁷, a passive and an active agent conformable to experience. In the later as well as the earlier philosophy of Greece, it was an established maxim, that, out of nothing, nothing can come¹⁸; and when in the progress of thought, the two principles, the living and the inert, which had been confounded by the earlier Ionian Hylæozoists, came to be recognised as distinct, the material *ύλη* was of course regarded as equally eternal with the independent *κίνησις*. The physics of Anaxagoras supposed a dualism; an original corpuscular chaos with an intelligent activity; and as the Hebrew creation was essentially a process of severance, *i.e.*, of light from darkness, water

¹² Diog. L. x. 2. Aristot. Metaph. i. 4.

¹³ Pherec. Sturz, 39, 45. Schol. Apollon. Rh. i. 498.

¹⁴ Schol. Hes. Th. 117. Valcknaer Eur. Diatr. 12. Aristot. de Cœlo, iii. 5. Bacchylides and Ibicus in Schoman's Prometheus, 107.

¹⁵ Euseb. Pr. Ev. xv. 33. Hesiod, Th. 700, 814.

¹⁶ Karsten's Xenophanes, 146, 148.

¹⁷ Parmenides, v. 110. Aristot. Metaph. i. 5. Diog. L. ix. 22. Tenneman, i. 177.

¹⁸ Aristot. Phys. Aus. i. 4, 3.

from water, and earth from sea, so the Greek became a “διαστασις ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων,” a “διακρισις,” or “διαίρεσις,”¹⁹ that is, the separation and arrangement of preexisting matter, under external agency. “All things,” said Anaxagoras, and the sentiment was so ancient as to be ascribed to Linus and to Orpheus²⁰, “all things at first existed confusedly; afterwards *νοῦς* came, and by its interference arranged them.” From the commencement of Theism, philosophy necessarily becomes more or less dualistic; “*universa ex materiâ et ex Deo constant* ;”²¹ the more distinct the Theism, the more necessary the inference of the eternity of matter. Plato felt himself constrained²² to admit this dogma; for God he thought could not be the creator of a chaos; whatever proceeds from the source of all good must be the best possible, and order is undeniably better than disorder²³. Even the supposition of an outstanding chaos beyond the limits of the *κοσμος*, was in Plato’s opinion inconsistent with the presumed perfection and durability of God’s works²⁴. In a system which assumed God to be the author of only good, it was necessary to find some other hypothetical source of evil²⁵; and he therefore retained the notion of a primitive matter destitute of form and quality²⁶, but possessing the capacity of receiving them from the intelligent principle²⁷. The Alexandrian Jews adopted the Platonic cosmogony, and found no inconsistency between a system which assumed a preexisting matter and the Mosaic account. God was not in our sense of the word Creator, but only “*κοσμοιο τυπωτης*.”²⁸ Philo often asserts the preexistence of matter, and ascribes this doctrine to Moses;

¹⁹ Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 74. Diod. S. i. 7. Schol. Apollon. i. 498. Diog. L. 2, 3, 1.

²⁰ Diog. L. Proem, 4. Apollon. Rh. i. 496.

²¹ Diog. L. vii. 134. Seneca, Epist. 65.

²² Diog. L. iii. 69.

²³ Timæus, 30.

²⁴ Ib. 33.

²⁵ Justin M. ad Græcos Otto. i. 30, 60.

²⁶ *Αορατον, αμορφον, αποιον*, &c. Timæ. 49. Tenneman. iii. 27, 175. Ritter, ii. 318.

²⁷ *Πανδεχες*. Timæ. 51 a.

²⁸ Gfrörer, Philo, ii. 298.

that is, he so interprets the words of the LXX, “ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀοράτος καὶ ἀκατασκευαστος,” the word γῆ being taken for the original matter²⁹, which, having before been without form or arrangement, might Platonically be said not to have existed³⁰. God was instigated by his own goodness to impart some of the excellence of his own nature to matter³¹, in itself devoid of all good³², and which being also inert and dead, could not be said in any sense to have originated from God, who is the source both of good and of life³³. When, therefore, God is represented as creating, through the instrumentality of his logos³⁴, and as bringing the universe out of non-existence into existence, the force of the expression is intended to assert the doctrine of a first cause, not to contradict the maxim, “*ex nihilo nihil*,” the divine agency is, strictly speaking, rather a forming than a creating one, expressed by the terms, “μεθαρμοζεσθαι, μετεβαλεν,”³⁵ &c., its operation is in making the “χειρῶν οὐσία” into the “ἀμεινων,” in bringing good out of evil, order out of disorder, harmony out of discord, and light out of darkness³⁶.

It should be noticed that the common English version of the passage in Wisdom³¹, where the doctrine of the creation of the world out of a “shapeless material” is distinctly asserted, attempts to conceal the meaning by an ambiguity of expression. Such ambiguity is, however, almost inseparable from the delicacy of the subject; and the metaphysical mystery of the Platonists which opposed ideal existence destitute of qualities to visible and phenomenal existence was, perhaps, as unintelligible as the Christian paradox of “creation out of nothing” to which it naturally led, ideal entity and nonentity being to

²⁹ Ὑλη ἀμορφος.

³⁰ Hebrews xi. 3.

³¹ Τῇ οὐσίᾳ.

³² Μηδεν ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἐχουση καλον. Pfeif. i. 12; iv. 340.

³³ Pfeif. iv. 310. Comp. Grimm on the Book of Wisdom, p. 266. Gfrörer's Philo, i. 328 sq.

³⁴ Ὁ τα μενοντα φερων καὶ τα παντα γεννῶν. Pf. iv. 18. Conf. Heb. i. 2, 3.

³⁵ Pf. i. 4, 6.

³⁶ Mang. ii. 367, 414. Conf. de Cherubim. Pfeif. ii. 66. De Monarch. Mangey, ii. 219.

³⁷ Ch. xi. 17.

ordinary apprehensions undistinguishable. A Platonist and a modern Christian might both adopt the passages, 2 Maccab. vii. 28, and Hebr. xi. 3, into their respective creeds, and a metaphysical "faith" alone could appreciate the differences in their constructions of them. Some of the first Christian writers followed the opinions of Plato, and must have supposed them to agree with Genesis; for Justin Martyr makes Plato to have been in these respects a plagiarist from Moses³⁸. But the Christians had more difficulties than one to deal with. If they admitted a matter distinct from God, the result was Dualism and Manicheism; if with Tatian they made matter itself an emanation out of the Deity, they fell into that heresy of the Gnostics, which placed mere matter as a divine emanation on a level with the *λογος*. In this dilemma they boldly asserted the extreme paradox, in defiance of the maxim "*ex nihilo nihil*;" the world was not made by God out of matter, or developed out of himself, but created by him out of nothing³⁹.

§ 6.

THE DARKNESS.

The formless aboriginal earth of Genesis, like the primal universe of Menu¹, is involved in "darkness, undefinable, undiscoverable." Darkness, either coeval with chaos or antecedent to it, precedes creation; for day appears to rise out of night, and night, poetically the parent of day, may with equal empirical probability be made parent also of the universe². This idea personified was the Egyptian Athor or primal Venus, whose inscrutable majesty, worshipped in silence under the significant emblem of a black pall³, became the original Isis, or

³⁸ Apology, i. 58 and 92, p. 156, 252, ed. Otto.

³⁹ Strauss, Dogmen. i. 625. V. Bohlen Indien, i. 164.

¹ Jones's Works, vii. 92.

² Hesiod, Th. 124. Thales ap. Diog. L. i. 9, 36.

³ Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 33, 39.

Mother of Nature⁴, and whose name is said⁵ to signify the “cosmical abode of Horus,” the visible world or sun, rising from the dark cradle of light and being. From this religious dogma arose the Egyptian practice of reckoning the twenty-four hours from evening to evening⁶; a custom alluded to in the Mosaic cosmogony, and prevalent among many other nations, European as well as Asiatic⁷.

§ 7.

THE WATER.

The chaotic mass first presents itself as a universal watery expanse. Water was esteemed by many of the ancients as an “*αρχη*,” or first principle, as being the apparent nourisher and supporter of life, and because by readily passing through the striking changes of the solid, liquid, and gaseous states, it possesses pre-eminently that Protean quality which it was thought the original *ύλη*, or material of the universe, must have possessed. Water might readily be observed, according to Aristotle’s definition¹, to change into various forms while its essence continues the same; or, to express the same idea mythically, the sea deities, Thetis², Nereus³, and Proteus⁴, are susceptible of every sort of transformation, and return at last to their original shape. Considerations⁵ such as these, combined with traditions emanating from the ancient centres of civilisation in the alluvial plains of Babylonia and Egypt, constituted the philosophy of Thales, as

⁴ Stobæ, Eclog. Heeren. i. 52, p. 950.

⁵ Isis and Osiris, ch. 56. Damascius, ch. 126.

⁶ Laur. Lydus. de Mens, i. p. 36.

⁷ Macrob. v. 1, 3. Ideler. Chron. Hand. p. 42. Tacitus, Germ. 11. Cæsar, Bell. Gall. vi. 18. Aul. Gell. N. A. 3, 2.

¹ Metaph. i. 3.

² Apollod. iii. 13. 5.

³ Ib. ii. 5, 11.

⁴ Virg. Georg. iv. 406.

⁵ Plutarch. de Plac. i. 3. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 14. Heraclid. Pont. xxii. p. 74. Cic. N. D. i. 10. Schol. ad Hes. Theog. 885.

long before his time the same causes had originated the theological doctrine of the derivation of the gods and the universe from Oceanus and Tethys⁶. These earlier dogmas influenced the more advised opinions which succeeded them; and it is impossible to form a just conception of the earliest Greek philosophy without adverting to its relative position in regard to its predecessor, theology. The theologers⁷, it was said, were the first philosophers⁸; the philosophers continued to employ mythi as illustrations⁹, and it would have been well if they had not so often added to their number. It is more consistent with the sententious and traditional character of ancient "wisdom" to suppose that Thales philosophized upon some sacerdotal dogma already current and approved, such as the Homeric—

Ωκεανος, ὅσπερ γενεσις παντίσσι τιτυκται¹⁰,

than to imagine him as an ancient Werner propounding an original Neptunian theory on the sea-beach of Ionia, or the banks of the Nile, where the same inferences had long before been made. Aristotle expressly refers these opinions of Thales to the immemorial dogmas of the ancient sacerdotal bards¹¹, who made Oceanus and Tethys the universal parents, and the water of the Styx as the most ancient of all things, so also the most solemn and revered. In common opinion up to the days of Aristotle¹², the sun was supposed to be nourished by moisture¹³; or, according to Herodotus¹⁴, to be fed by absorbing the water of the Nile; "the sea drinks the air," said Anacreon¹⁵, "and the sun the sea." The opinions of the Ionian sage have not

⁶ Iliad, 14, 201.

⁷ "Παμπάλαιοι θεολογήσαντες." Aristot. Metaph. i. 5.

⁸ Plut. in Timæ. Plat. Plato Cratyl. 402.

⁹ Ὁ φιλόσοφος φιλομυθος. Aristot. Metaph. i.

¹⁰ Iliad, xiv. 201, 246. Heyne.

¹¹ Metaph. i. 3, 6. Bek.

¹² Meteorol. ii. 2, p. 551.

¹³ Τρεφίσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγείου ἀναθυμιάσεως. Plut. de Plac. ii. 17. Diog. L. ix. 9, 10. Stob. Eclog. Phys. i. 510, 524. Porphy. Austr. ch. 11.

¹⁴ Herod. ii. 25.

¹⁵ Anac. xix. 3.

unreasonably been taken as a mark of the increasing intercourse of the Greeks with Egypt, since they were only a rationalising interpretation of the well-known Egyptian dogma which recognised a divinity in moisture¹⁶, and which identified the great and good Osiris with the fertilising Nile¹⁷. The inhabitants of the cultivated plains of India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt derived all their prosperity from their great rivers, which they partly on that account conceived to have their source in heaven. The natural conditions of a hot climate caused moisture, as the most essential condition of existence, to be regarded as divine¹⁸, as the inhabitants of the mountains and colder regions hailed the source of life in fire, and light, and the warm breezes from the south¹⁹. Hence the striking resemblances in many Asiatic cosmologies. The Chaldæans ascribed the origin of all things to water and darkness²⁰; the Egyptians to slime, penetrated of course by the "subtle understanding spirit" of Platonic philosophy²¹; the Vaishnava dwellers in the plains of India²² to the waters, over which brooded Narayana²³. The author of the somewhat inconsistent cosmogony in the second chapter of Genesis attributes to water a share equally important, or even more so than the writer of the first. He speaks as an inhabitant of the sandy wastes of Asia, and imagines the original state of the earth to have been a parched desert destitute of animal or vegetable life. In this hypothesis there was a time when earth existed without water; whereas, in the former account, water originally usurped the whole earth. In the one an appropriate abode for the land animals is prepared by removing the superabundant moisture; in the other, vegetation first springs

¹⁶ Damasc. ch. 126. Jambl. vii. 2.

¹⁷ Heliodori Æthiop. ix. 22.

¹⁸ Hence the notion of the "dew of Jehovah." Comp. Bohlen. Ind. i. 162.

¹⁹ *i. e.* in the Eddas.

²⁰ Berosus, p. 49.

²¹ Guigniaut, Rel. i. p. 512.

²² Megasthenes in Strabo, xv. 712. Schwanbeck's frag. M. p. 135.

²³ *i. e.* "mover on the waters," Menu, i. 10. Comp. Lassen, Ant. i. 777.

under the influence of a dew which the as yet sterile earth emits from its own bosom.

From the oriental comparison of the terrestrial surface to a lotus flower borne on the face of the waters²⁴ and the cosmology on which it was founded, was probably derived the ancient dogma respecting an "ocean stream," respecting which Herodotus²⁵, though not denying the generally received opinion that the land is surrounded by the sea, expresses his scepticism²⁶. The idea of a circumfluent ocean river is said to have been originally Egyptian, or at least to have been imported from thence into Greece by Hecataeus²⁷. But the idea was not limited to Egypt. The Hebrews imagined the earth as floating in the midst or upon the surface of the waters which had once covered it, so that God is said to have "founded the earth upon the seas, and established it upon the floods."²⁸ Thales used the same phrase; he said the earth "rested on the waters."²⁹ The subterranean abyss was called by the Hebrews the "great deep,"³⁰ or the "deep that lieth under,"³¹ from whence, as in Homer³², all the springs and rivers, even the sea itself are derived³³. When therefore God poured a miraculous supply of water from the rock, he is said to have "given drink (as it were) out of the great depths;" and the deluge of Noah, or the "breaking up the fountains of the great deep," was, physically speaking, only a temporary return of the original condition of the earth's surface, when even the mountains are said to have been covered by the sea³⁴.

²⁴ Ritter, *Asien*. i. p. 5.

²⁵ Herod. ii. 23.

²⁶ Conf. Dionys. *Perieg.* 41. Mela. i. 1. Ælian, V. H. iii. 18. Bochart, *Canaan*. i. 36. Gesner's *Orpheus*, p. 420, sq. Herod. iv. 8.

²⁷ Diod. S. i. 37. Schol. Apollon. Rh. iv. 259.

²⁸ Psalm xxiv. 2; cxxxvi. 6.

²⁹ Εφ' ὕδατος, Arist. *Metaph.* i. 3, 5.

³⁰ Gen. vii. 11. Psalm lxxi. 20.

³¹ Gen. xlix. 25. Deut. xxxiii. 13. Exod. xx. 4.

³² *Iliad*, φ, 196.

³³ Job xxxviii. 8.

³⁴ Psalm cvi. 6.

§ 8.

THE SPIRIT OF GOD.

Above the darkling waters is said to hover, or rather “gently brood,” a wind or moving air; air considered not as a dead independent substance, but an emanation of a living Being, and therefore the breath or spirit of God. There is something mysterious in the source and passage of the wind, which caused it to be referred to the immediate agency of the Almighty. Fire and air, says Aristotle, have their natural motion upwards¹; they are generally classed by the ancients among πνευματικά, spiritual things, in opposition to the ὑλικά, or material things, such as earth or water². The air, it was said, is a life-giving principle, distinct from the three material elements³; and consequently in Hebrew cosmogony the water is the material out of which are made the birds, as well as its own peculiar inhabitants, the fish. The same idea is represented in the birth of the Assyrian Dove Goddess Semiramis, or Venus, the daughter of a fish, or of the waters⁴. The air, on the contrary, is pure spirit⁵; it was personified in Minerva and in Neith⁶; or as the Vayu of the Vedas, identical with Maha Atma, (Great Spirit,) and the emphatic “That,” which in the beginning “breathed without afflation.”⁷ The invisible all-vivifying air is a natural symbol of the soul⁸, for “the breath is the life,” “irrecoverable when once it has passed the barrier of the lips⁹; a comparison immemo-

¹ Phys. i. 2.² Heraclid. Pont. xxii. p. 78.³ Laur. Lydus. iii. 25, p. 122. Anaximenes ap. Cic. Acad. ii. 37.⁴ Guigniaut, R. ii. 31, 33. Hygin. fab. 197.⁵ Anima, or ψυχή, Virg. Eclog. vi. 32. Orphic frag. 19, where it is said that “soul arises out of water.” Clem. Alexand. Strom. vi. 746. 11. Heraclitus said that the death of soul is water—the death (corruption) of water, earth; water arises from earth, and “soul from water.”⁶ Diod. S. i. 2.⁷ “Tad,” i. e. “He,” or the unrevealed. Creuzer, Symb. i. 426, 513, 514.⁸ Συμβολον εστιν ὁ ἀερ τῆς ψυχῆς, Proclus, in Plat. Cratylum. Boisson, p. 99.⁹ Iliad, ix. 404.

rially recorded in common speech¹⁰. The soul, says Plutarch¹¹, being reasoning and intelligent, is not only the work of God, but a part of his nature—not only ‘ὕπ’ αὐτοῦ, but from him, and proceeding out of him—ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ and ἐξ αὐτοῦ; it is a part or fragment¹² of that great Maha Atma of the Hindoos which lives and breathes through all extent, and which in the opinion of the philosopher Anaximenes envelops and contains the world as the human soul comprehends and contains the body¹³. The boundless æther, conceived by Anaximenes to be the source of universal life, was a vital element possessing an inherent force of circular movement, in whose general vortex the heavenly bodies are carried onwards in their paths¹⁴; a rotary impulse which Diogenes of Apollonia ascribed to condensation, and to the known tendency of fluid particles to form circular eddies when moving towards a centre¹⁵. The most elevated part of the æther was of a refined and igneous nature¹⁶, investing the denser regions of the lower air as a tree is encircled by its bark; and it was by the breaking up of this igneous æthereal integument, the *flammantia mœnia mundi*, that those living intelligences the sun and stars became distinct existences¹⁷. The spirit of the atmosphere, the general respiration of Nature, is the source out of which proceeds all the multiplicity of being¹⁸, the universal life and intelligence¹⁹; in short, it is Deity²⁰; and though the seeming materialism of this doctrine

¹⁰ As in the words anima, πνεῦμα, spirit.

¹¹ Quæst. Platon. p. 1001.

¹² Horace, Sat. ii. 2, 79. Virg. Æn. vi. 747.

¹³ Stobæ, Eclog. Phys. Heeren. p. 296. Aristot. de Animâ, i. 2.

¹⁴ Diod. S. i. 7. Cic. Acad. ii. 37.

¹⁵ Euseb. Pr. Evang. i. 8, 12. Comp. Aristot. Phys. i. 2.

¹⁶ The æther was supposed to partake of the nature of fire, and both ideas were blended in that of spirit—sc.—“Aurai simplicis ignem,” Virg. Æn. vi. 730, 747. Cic. Tusc. ii. 5, 13. De Div. i. 49. Aristot. de Cœlo, iii. 3, 5. Sextus Empir. adv. Math. 9, p. 324 c. Karsten’s Xenophanes, p. 161, 165.

¹⁷ Euseb. ib. p. 47, Gaisf.

¹⁸ Simplicius in Arist. Phys. 32 b. Tenneman, i. 336.

¹⁹ Ib. 33.

²⁰ Ib. 42.

was sometimes contradicted²¹, for God, said Xenophanes, is all eye, all ear, but “without afflation” or respiration²², the infinite æther more or less symbolically understood preserved its character of “Divine” even in the philosophy of Anaxagoras; it is “the universal Father,” said Euripides²³, “as earth is the common mother; and upon what is vulgarly termed dissolution, the elements (for nothing is absolutely destroyed) return to the sources from which they respectively came, the earthly to earth, the heavenly to heaven.” “Seest thou,” he exclaims, “this infinite æther which encircles the wide earth in its liquid embrace? This is to be esteemed as Jove—this, this, is God himself.”²⁴

It was in this natural feeling that the presence of the Almighty was supposed by the Hebrews to be accompanied and indicated by a rustling of the air, as when the evening breeze stirred the groves of Paradise, or when the Lord’s going forth was betokened by a motion in the tops of the mulberry trees²⁵. The air, in short, was God’s breath or spirit; its office and power was emphatically that of quickening, or giving life; it was this which in the beginning of things made pregnant the dark abyss of waters; which in after times animated Ezekiel’s dry bones²⁶; which lives and breathes in man’s nostrils²⁷; and the withdrawal of which resolves all things into their original dust²⁸.

²¹ Plato, Timæus, 33 c, Πνεῦμα οὐκ ἦν περιστοχὸς δεσμεῖον ἀναπνοῆς.

²² Diog. Laert. ix. 19.

²³ Frag. Chrys. 7.

²⁴ Heraclid. Pont. 441. Eurip. frag. incert. 1. Herod. i. 131. Guigniaut, R. i. 154 n.

²⁵ 2 Sam. v. 24. Gen. iii. 8. Job iv. 12.

²⁶ Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10.

²⁷ Job xxxii. 8.

²⁸ Psalm civ. 29, 30.

§ 9.

SYMBOL OF THE DOVE.

The use of the word "brooding," in relation to the superincumbent spirit, is connected either as cause or consequence with that Jewish adaptation of Asiatic symbolism in which the spirit of God was represented under the bodily shape of a dove. The birds soaring through the "sacred atmosphere"¹ towards heaven were naturally presumed to be the ministers and interpreters of the gods², and emblems of purity and goodness. It is the nature of wings, says Plato³, to lift heavy bodies towards the habitation of the gods; birds were indebted for their supposed skill in augury to their airy residence, and every god had some bird peculiarly his own, who was made the confidant of his intentions⁴. Images of birds, under the name of "Tongues of the Gods," were suspended in golden cages beneath an azure or sapphire ceiling in the royal palace at Babylon, where they were probably employed under the direction of the Magi for purposes of divination⁵. In Syria the dove and the fish were sacred animals⁶, and among the Hebrews the dove was the only bird employed for religious purposes⁷. The Hebrew name for dove, "Jonah," from a root signifying to ferment, probably refers to the character of sexual attachment and warmth which made it the well-known emblem of love and fecundity. The ancients ascribed its holiness to this characteristic, and it was worshipped not only in Syria⁸, but according to De Sacy⁹ among

¹ Διὸς αἰθήρ. Æsch. Prom. 88.

² Θεῶν κηρυκὲς. Eurip. Ion. 180. Origen ag. Cels. iv. 569. Apollon. Rhod. iii. 1111.

³ Phædrus, ch. 26.

⁴ Eratosthenes, Catasteris. 41. Porphyry, Abstin. iii. 5, p. 226. Aristoph. Aves, 482.

⁵ Philostrat. Vita Apollon. i. 25, p. 34. Guigniaut, Rel. i. 341. Diod. S. ii. 29.

⁶ Lucian de Deâ, S. ch. 14 and 54.

⁷ Levit. i. 14.

⁸ Tibullus, i. 8, 18. "Alba Palæstino sancta columba Syro."

⁹ Guigniaut, Rel. ii. 31 n.; i. 513. Schol. Apollon. Rh. iii. 539. Heyne, Apollod. 396. Creuz. Symb. ii. 398.

the Semitic tribes in general. Isis seeking her lost husband on the Syrian coasts is there changed into the symbol of the national Deity¹⁰, and assumes as universal nature a corresponding Assyrian title, the fish-born "Semiramis," or "Dove Goddess."¹¹ According to the legend, a miraculous egg fell from heaven into the Euphrates; it was brought to land by the fishes¹², and being there incubated by doves, produced the infant Venus¹³. The child, brought up by the shepherd "Simma," received the name of "Semiramis," or "Mountain Dove,"¹⁴ afterwards became the wife of Ninus¹⁵, and at the close of her mortal career departed from earth in the dove-form¹⁶. Semiramis was also one of the names of Atergatis or Athara, the goddess of Hierapolis, where was to be seen an ancient statue representing her with a dove upon her shoulder¹⁷. This was probably only another and later form of her legendary mother, the fish goddess, Derceto of Ascalon, with whom her name and legend are closely connected, although she had then ceased to partake of the fish, and was the mulier formosa throughout¹⁸. Another story told how a fish saved Derceto, who, during the

¹⁰ Guignt. R. i. 391.

¹¹ Diod. S. ii. 4. Ovid Metam. iv. 43. Semiramis, a daughter of Derceto.

¹² *i. q.* the fish incarnation of Vishnou, or Ninus, the Assyrian name for Pisces; see Dupuis, vol. v. p. 7, and from Nun through his son Joshua, who, like Moses and Christ, "goes forth out of the water" (comp. Joshua iii. 6, 17; iv. 18, 19, 23), the Christians probably derived their fish emblems engraved on rings as tokens of the Saviour. Guignaut, R. i. 121 n. Winkelman. Allegorie, ch. 5, p. 235.

¹³ Hyginus, fab. 197.

¹⁴ Diod. S. ii. 4. Hesychius, voc. Semiramis. Bochart, Canaan. ii. 740.

¹⁵ The fish.

¹⁶ Diod. S. ii. 20.

¹⁷ Lucian de Deâ Syriâ, 33. The dove in Egypt was sacred to Athor or the first Venus; see Guignaut, R. i. 513. Description de l'Egypte, pl. 4, fig. 6. Conf. as to the true name of Atergatis, Strabo, xvi. p. 748 or 785. Xanthus, ed. Creuzer, 183. Baehr's Ctesias, 393.

¹⁸ Conf. Creuz. Symbol. 3rd ed., vol. ii. pt. 2, plate 1, fig. 7. The deluge was annually commemorated in the temple at Hierapolis, said to have been founded by Deucalion or Semiramis; the waters were supposed to have disappeared through an opening within the sacred precincts. Lucian, ib.

darkness of night had fallen into the lake of Bambyce, and how the fish was rewarded by being placed in the Zodiac¹⁹. This mythical relation of dove and fish is evidently a physical allegory; the vicissitude of light and darkness, of humidity and warmth, of the wintry and the fair season. The voice of the migratory²⁰ turtle was the harbinger of spring²¹; and the dove, to which as to every natural symbol was ascribed a prophetic power²², was placed among the vernal constellations as the herald of returning serenity and life²³. The Pleiades rise heliacally when the "rains are over and past"²⁴, and doves were universally²⁵ sacred to the goddess of Nature, ascending out of the waters, and dividing the empire of the year with the pluvial fishes²⁶. They were called the "heralds of the seasons,"²⁷ and Chiron of Amphipolis explained the story of the doves bringing ambrosia to Jupiter²⁸ to mean the spreading out the harvest on the offertory of Nature. There can remain little doubt why a dove was chosen to perform the office of directing Noah and Deucalion²⁹ how to escape the waters of the deluge, or why it guided the Argonauts on their astronomical voyage through

¹⁹ Eratosthenes, Catast. 38.

²⁰ Aristot. H. A. 8, ch. 6.

²¹ Canticles ii. 12.

²² Herod. Baehr. ii. 57. Strabo, vii. 328. Rosenmüller, Morgenland, i. p. 34. Æl. N. A. xi. 27. Virg. Eclog. ix. 13.

²³ Schol. Arat. Phœn. 254. Eratosthenes, Cat. 23.

²⁴ Canticles ub. s.

²⁵ Ælian, H. A. iv. 2.

²⁶ It is curious that the word dove, in so many languages, should be allied with the word dive or dip; *e. g.* columba, *πελειας*, taube, &c. from taufen. The Pleiades are perhaps named from *πλεω*, and are daughters of Atlas, the patron of navigators. Indian navigators, we are told by Pliny, carried birds with them and used them as pilots to guide them to land. (N. H. 6. 24.) Jethro or Jothor, Exod. iii. 1. LXX. —from Thor, bull, or Dove, called also Raguel, "divine shepherd," is father of Zipporah, or "little bird," and of seven daughters altogether, who are engaged in drawing water. (Hyades? Exod. ii. 16.) Compare the names of the Dodonæan nymphs or Hyades, the *Διονυσίου τιθηναι*, in Pherecydes, Sturz, p. 109.

²⁷ By the poetess Mcero of Byzantium.

²⁸ Odyss. xii. 63. Müller, Kleine Schriften, 2. 121.

²⁹ Plutarch. de Anim. Solertiâ, ch. 13. Etymolog. Magn. voc. Dodonaïos.

the perilous pass of the Symplegades³⁰. On the standards of the Assyrian monarchs it became, like the Roman eagle, a national symbol, and Babylon is styled the dove-city³¹, while Nineveh is the abode of its correlative the fish³². The symbolical aspect of the fish is two-fold; sometimes, as in the Babylonian legend about the fish-man Oannes, Oe, or Noah³³, it is the originator of civilization; or, speaking physically, the successor of winter, and in this sense the goddess Atergatis is the daughter of the fish and of the waters³⁴. In another view, the wintry fish, as following the fair season, may be said to swallow up the dove, as in the instance of Jonah—"the dove," who sings psalms from out of the "belly of hell,"³⁵ or, as when the prolific force of Osiris is devoured by the fishes of the Nile³⁶. But the power of light and life descends into the bowels of the monster, only to insure its destruction³⁷; and after a contest of three days within the jaws of darkness³⁸, the sun God liberates the patroness of the dove in the persons of Andromeda and Hesione³⁹.

³⁰ Apollod. i. 9, 22. Odyss. xii. 64.

³¹ Jeremiah xxv. 38; xlv. 16; l. 16, with the commentators. Jerusalem was also a dove city (Zephan. iii. 1), and the royal sceptre of its kings was tipped with a dove bearing a golden crown in its mouth, according to Lightfoot. The figure between Jupiter and Juno in the Syrian temple at Hierapolis, with a dove on its head (Lucian, D. S. ch. 33), has been compared to Dionysus and to Semiramis.

³² Wesseling ad Diod. S. ii. 3, n. 22.

³³ *i. e.* Aquarius. Comp. Schaubach's Eratosthenes, p. 119. Helladius apud Photium, p. 874. Berosus, Richter. Hitzig's Minor Prophets, 363. Creuzer, Symb. i. 57, 59; ii. 401.

³⁴ Creuzer, S. ii. 405.

³⁵ Jonah ii. 2. Comp. Psalm xlii. 7; cxx. 1; cxxx. 1; cvii. 26, 28.

³⁶ Sacred fish, supposed by the inhabitants to have been favourites of Abraham, are still preserved in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. Kelly's Syria, p. 106.

³⁷ Like the ichneumon worshipped at Heracleopolis, Ælian, H. A. x. 47. Bochart, Hieroz. 794, and said to jump down the throat of the crocodile.

³⁸ Orci fauces.

³⁹ Tzetzes to Lycophr. Cassan. 33, p. 7. Hellanici frag. p. 162. The Bull, as well as its Pleiades, emerges from the ocean; for instance, Europa's bull, and that presented by Neptune to Minos. Nineveh is rescued from its impending fate by

It will not be wondered at that an emblem so well known as that of the sacred bird of Venus⁴⁰ should have found its place in Christian symbolism. "The Virgin Mary," says the Protevangelion Jacobi⁴¹, "continued in the temple as a dove educated there, and received her food from the hand of an angel." No man, says the Sohar, knew what became of the dove which returned not to Noah's ark. Of course it could not have perished; but like Aaron's rod, or Balaam's ass, would resume its functions in the days of the Messiah. "It returned," says the Sohar, "to its own place; and it shall carry in its mouth a crown, which it shall place on Messiah's head."⁴² It very naturally followed that the dove should perform a part in the important ceremony of anointing or baptism by which the person of the Messiah in Jewish opinion was to be publicly made known⁴³. When Christ, therefore, the Sun of Righteousness emerges, or "goes straightway," out of the water, the dove, the well-known emblem of the Holy Spirit⁴⁴, appears in bodily shape, accompanying and testifying his mission. As a token of endearment⁴², it might have been also significant of that divine love which brooded over the shapeless chaos, or mundane

the preaching of Jonah, and even now a place is shown in its neighbourhood as the prophet's grave. Tavernier in Winer's Dictionary, i. p. 703. It seems not improbable that the writer of the book of Jonah has connected the name of an ancient Hebrew prophet with the symbols of the worship of the synonymous Assyrian "Dove;" and it may be worth consideration whether the legendary marriage of Semiramis with Menones or Onnes, an officer of Ninus, Creuz. S. ii. 400; Diod. S. ii. 5, may not afford a clue to connect the religion of the Dove with that of the Memnonia and the mournful obsequies paid to the God of Nature under the name of Memnon in Assyria and Egypt.

⁴⁰ Propert. iv. 5, 63.

⁴¹ Ch. viii. 2.

⁴² Ad Numb. fol. 68.

⁴³ Justin M. Tryph. 8 and 49—the word taube in German, is related with taufen, "to dip, or baptize," as dove probably with dive, or dip.

⁴⁴ The spirit of God, says the Talmud, hovered above the waters as a dove hovers above her young, yet touches them not. Wetstein to Matt. iii. 16, and Targum Megilloth to Cant. ii. 12, where the voice of the turtle is rendered by "vox spiritus sancti." Conf. Deut. xxxii. 11.

⁴⁵ Cant. ii. 12. Psalm lxxiv. 19.

egg, and which carried in its mouth the olive-branch over the waters which had desolated the earth. It was equally adapted as a moral emblem to signify the commencement of a new religious era of mercy and charity; and the introduction of this image at the baptism of Jesus was still more appropriate, if intended to convey the idea of a dove-like incubation over the purifying baptismal waters through which a new moral world was to be created, and the chaos of the soul regenerated by the spirit of Christianity.

§ 10.

LIGHT.

Many physical and mystical reasons may be imagined for supposing light to be something independent of the sun. Neither light nor darkness are any part of the chaos, or original hurly burly¹ of the earth; they are external, and qualitative. Light, says Aristotle², is an energy or activity of the power of transparency; that is, something which it seems unreasonable to confound with material gross bodies. If, in the opinion of the Hebrew writer, light had been a substance, there would, in this instance, have been a "creation out of nothing;" but light is no more matter or substance than the darkness which is its opposite. The singularly emphatic summons by which light is called into existence is probably owing to the pre-eminent utility and glory of that element, together with its mysterious nature, which made it seem as

"The God of this new world,"

and won for it the earliest adoration of mankind. If the writer had designedly employed the elevated diction which merited the eulogium of the Greek critic from the mere sense of its appropriateness and grandeur, he would in all probability have ex-

¹ Tohu bohu.

² De Anim. ii. 7, 4.

tended the same majestic simplicity of language to the whole act of creation; he would have imagined the eternal inscrutable Being pronouncing once for all the creative fiat, "Let heaven and earth be made, and they were made;" or he might have adopted the still more sublime idea of the Veda, where God creates worlds by a mere thought³. But the poetical effect is evidently inartificial and unstudied; and the peculiarity of its form is probably owing to the difficulty of ascribing the origin of the subtle element to any familiar source. Earth and water, the materials of creation, could not have been supposed to have given birth to the refined element of light any more than to that of air; and it would have been derogatory to have supposed that light already existed commingled with darkness from which it could be separated by a mere demarcation of its boundaries. Hence, in all the ancient religions, light is more or less identified with the person of the Deity; either literally or figuratively it is an emanation from himself, the garment with which he is invested⁴, the shrine in which he dwells. It was one of those deep mysteries which can be referred only to omnipotence. Its path and propagation were alike inscrutable⁵; its locality and habitation was a sphere more lofty than that of the Sun⁶; for Job is challenged by the Almighty to divine its true dwelling-place, or to point out the way to it⁷. God is the only existence who could be supposed anterior to light⁸. The old theologies had separated the reign of Helios from the remote principle personified in Pthah⁹; and many of the Greek philosophers are said to have thought the sun, like the moon, to be not the original source of light, but only a receptacle or reflection of it¹⁰. In the general arrangement of his plan, the Hebrew

³ Colebrook's Essays, i. 47. V. Bohlen Genes. 9.

⁴ Psalm civ. 2.

⁵ Job xxxviii. 24.

⁶ Comp. Julian's Oration to the Sun.

⁷ Job xxxviii. 19, 24.

⁸ Isaiah xlii. 16; xliii. 13; xlv. 7.

⁹ Old Egyptian Chron. Cory's frag. p. 89.

¹⁰ Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 8, 10.

writer is obliged to suppose a separation of light from darkness before the formation of the sun, in order to account for the existence of day and night. In Hebrew opinion the boundary between light and darkness was the visible blended with a notion of the rational horizon, a line rounded off at the level of the circumambient waters¹¹. But this division was not so absolute and complete as to prevent that slight mixture on the confines of each which occasions the phenomena of twilight. Hence evening, ערב, is literally, the “intermingling;” and daybreak, בקר, is so called from the root, “to cleave or split,” because the light appears to break into, or cleave the darkness.

§ 11.

THE FIRMAMENT.

The firmament, literally the “expansion,” is the same as the heaven¹, overhanging the surface of the earth like a tent or curtain²; and God is therefore said to have “stretched out” the heavens, and spread out the earth³. The material of the firmament is compared to sapphire stone⁴, to crystal⁵, or to a molten mirror⁶. It was made to “divide” the primæval waters, and with strength sufficient to support the stores of supernal moisture, called “the waters above the heavens,”⁷ where the throne of Jehovah was established in the midst of them⁸. It formed, as it were, a solid roof to the habitable world⁹, and was propped by mountains or pillars¹⁰, like the “brazen heaven” of the Greeks upborne by Atlas. Birds here found the utmost limit to their

¹¹ Job xxvi. 10.¹ Ver. 8.² Job ix. 8. Psalm civ. 2. Isaiah xl. 22.³ Isaiah xlii. 5; xliv. 24. Zech. xii. 1.⁴ Exod. xxiv. 10.⁵ Ezek. i. 22.⁶ Job xxxvii. 18.⁷ Psalm cxlviii. 4.⁸ Psalm xxix. 3, 10; civ. 3.⁹ Γαῖα μὲν τοῖς πρῶτον ἐγγείνατο ἴσον ἑαυτῇ

Οὐρανὸν ἀστεροεινῶν ἵνα μὲν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι.—Theog. 126.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. xxii. 8. Job xxvi. 11.

upward flight¹¹; and meteors, such as lightning and thunder, which were "the noise and fire of the Deity,"¹² are able only by a special contrivance to penetrate the heavenly vault; the Hebrew word for lightning probably means the "breaker through,"¹³ and God is obliged to make a temporary passage through the roofing of the sky for the rain and thunder¹⁴. Some analogous and uncommon way of "opening the heavens" was a necessary preliminary to the disclosure of celestial visions¹⁵; and to account for immoderate deluges of rain, the firmament was supposed to have doors¹⁶, or windows¹⁷, the opening of which, by releasing the upper waters, would, of course, submerge the earth, and reduce it to its original state of a universal ocean¹⁸.

This "brave overhanging firmament" was literally, to the Hebrews, "a roof fretted with golden fire." The lights of heaven were "set" in it, and the stars were attached to it like studs of gold¹⁹. It is a well-known doctrine of antiquity, that when the elements had become separated from each other by their comparative weight or lightness, fire, as being lightest of all, assumed the highest altitude²⁰, and that, consequently, the earth is inclosed by a fiery integument, or "empyrean," of which the sun and stars are a part²¹. The heavenly bodies after their formation, effect what God himself had before performed, when he separated the light from the dark; they are to rule over the changes of day and night; to be "for signs and for seasons, for days and for years;" "signs," because the aspect of the heavenly host was esteemed portentous astrologically, as well as of changes of weather²²; and "seasons,"

¹¹ Gen. i. 20, litt., *towards* the firmament.

¹² Psalm xxix. 7; xviii. 8.

¹³ Barak or Parak.

¹⁴ Job xxxviii. 25; xxviii. 26.

¹⁵ Matth. iii. 16.

¹⁶ Psalm lxxviii. 23.

¹⁷ Gen. vii. 11. Isaiah xxiv. 18.

¹⁸ Gen. viii. 2.

¹⁹ Athenæ. xi. 78, p. 489.

²⁰ Ex æthere innumerabiles flammæ siderum existunt. Cic. de N. D. ii. 36, 46.

²¹ Conf. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 7, 4; i. 8, 13. Psalm xix. 4.

²² Matt. xvi. 3. Job xxxviii. 33, 36. Wisd. vii. 17, 21. Dan. vi. 27. Luke xxi. 25. *τρίαινα*, Hom. Il. xviii. 485.

because they mark the ordinances and subdivisions of time²³, and were to continue the heralds of summer and winter until the end of the world²⁴. Then, indeed, their mission, as being exclusively confined to the service of earth, would be at an end; they would no longer adhere to the firmament; and when at the last day the heavens would be folded up as a scroll, the sun and stars would fall out of their sockets²⁵, and drop down like the untimely fruit of a fig tree²⁶.

§ 12.

THE WEEK AND THE SABBATH.

The opinions of antiquity are not recorded dogmatically, but in familiar narrative. Complex phenomena are described as successive, and marked by intervals of space and time. Creation is a series of events; and as the imagination is able more readily to follow the picturesque details of the flight of Juno in the *Iliad*¹, or to accompany, as it were, the transmission of the telegraphic beacon from Ida to Argos in *Æschylus*², so the construction of the universe is made more distinctly conceivable by being divided into a processional development, each stage of which is pronounced to be perfect before the commencement of the next. The cosmogony of Genesis, like that of the *Zendavesta*, is arranged under six periods or subdivisions; but, instead of the chronology of the year, it adopts that of the week; and there can be little doubt that the principal object of the writer in this distribution of his subject was to sanction the observance of the seventh day by claiming the appointment of God for it. To understand the days of creation in any other

²³ Job xxxviii. 33. Psalm civ. 19.

²⁴ Gen. viii. 22. Jerem. xxxiii. 20. *Æschyl.* *Agam.* 5.

²⁵ Isaiah xxxiv. 4. Conf. Horace *Epod.* xvii. 15. Plutarch, *vit.* Lysander.

²⁶ Matt. xxiv. 29. Rev. vi. 13, 14.

Il. xiv. 225.

² *Agam.* 275.



than the usual sense would therefore disappoint the probable intention. One great object of legend is to give plausible reasons for existing facts and institutions; to support the present by appealing to the past; and to make history and opinion the mutual bulwarks of each other. The institution of the week was common and immemorial among the Semitic tribes, who as Sabæans, or star worshippers, set apart one day out of seven as a festival to their tutelar deity; the Arabians and Babylonians to Mylitta or Anahid; the Phœnicians to Saturn or Chiun; and others to the Sun. The sacredness of the number seven³ was probably, according to the remark of Varro⁴, taken from the Pleiades or Planets, and the week was a convenient quartering of the lunations. Thus the solemn feasts and periodical observances of men descended to them from the gods⁵; an opinion confirmed by their high antiquity, and by their constituting an essential part of priestly régime. Hermes or Thoth, the reputed leader and discoverer of the Egyptian year, was also the inventor of the seven stringed planetary lyre, and his institutions, so remarkably in many respects resembling those of the Hebrews⁶, probably included that of the week, since "the Egyptians," says Herodotus,

³ Comp. the seven altars of Balaam, the seven stones of the Arabians. Herod. iii. 8. Gen. xxi. 28. Virg. Æn. vi. 38. Gesen. Isaiah iv. p. 319. Müller, Archäologie, 299. Guigniant, Rel. i. 359. Ghillany Menschenoffer, 119, 221. The Persians revered the number seven, but did not divide the lunation into weeks. Ideler. Lehrbuch. p. 480. Among the Greeks, too, the number seven was respected, but not adopted into the calendar. Hesiod's Works, 770. Callim. Delos. 251. Plutarch Symp. viii. 1; iv. 7. Æschyl. Septem. 801. Euseb. Pr. Ev. xiii. 12, 16, and xiii. 13, 36. Ewald, Geschichte Anhang. to vol. ii. p. 105.

⁴ Aul. Gellius, N. A. iii. 10. Ideler. Lehrbuch. i. 60, 88. Plato, Timæus, 38. Tacit. Hist. v. 4.

⁵ πανηγυρεις ευρημα καὶ δαρον Θεων. Dion. Hal. Rhet. 1. Strabo, x. 467. Plato, Leg. ii. 653.

⁶ "Ægyptii Judaicque ritus." Suet. Tib. xxxvi. 1. Tacit. Ann. ii. 85. Simpl. in Arist. Phys. 268. *e. g.* the seven days' mourning for Joseph (Gen. l. 10), the sabbatical April festival when crocodiles were innocuous, the sabbatical period observed in purifications, &c. Pliny, N. H. viii. 46. Porph. Abstin. iv. 7.

“were the first to dedicate each month and each day to some god,”⁷ meaning the naming of the days of the week after the planetary Cabiri, which Dio Cassius⁸ also remarks was originally Egyptian⁹. The Hebrews did not name the days of the week, but merely numbered them; from very early times, however, they had ascribed a religious reverence to the seventh day, or dies Saturni; and, to judge from the capital punishment inflicted on the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath, the institution must have arisen at a time when in the character of Jehovah, the “Maker of the seven stars and of Orion,”¹⁰ the severe and jealous prevailed over the merciful. It would appear from the whole of Genesis¹¹, as well as from the use of the word “remember,” in the fourth commandment, that the observance of the Sabbath, or at all events that of the week, was long anterior to the Levitical law in its present shape¹². The first express mention of Sabbath observance is on the occasion of the manna; but the institution was supposed to have originated with Jehovah, the great appointer of times and seasons¹³, in the most ancient times, or at the creation. Yet it does not follow that the same idea of God prevailed among the first observers of the rite, as among the Pharisees, who carried it to a superstitious extreme, or in Christianity, which mitigated its severity. If the original Sabbath was a day of sacrifice to Saturn,

⁷ Herod. ii. 82.

⁸ Dio Cass. xxxvii. 17, 18, p. 42, Steph.

⁹ The days were named after the planets, arranged in the supposed order of their orbits—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon. One of these names was applied in rotation to each of the 24 hours, and each day took the name of the planetary god which happened to fall on its first hour. Saturn presides over the first hour of Saturday—the last hour of Saturday would fall to Mars, and the first hour of the next day would belong to the Sun, and so on. The modern week is thus a curious monument of ancient astronomy. Conf. Fourier’s *Mémoire* in the “*Descript. de l’Egypte*,” i. 807. Ideler. *Lehrbuch*. 48. Plato, *Sympos.* iv. 9. 7.

¹⁰ Amos v. 8. The ancient Sabbath was a feast of rejoicing (Hosea ii. 11), not always, it would seem (Exod. xxxii. 5. Jerem. vii. 9, 18. Ezek. xxii. 8; xxiii. 38), of an innocent description.

¹¹ Ch. vii. 4, 10; viii. 10; xxix. 27; i. 10.

¹² Ewald, *ut sup.*

¹³ Daniel ii. 21; vii. 25. Nehem. ix. 14.

and the Sabbatical ceremonies in the temple under the kings were often only a sequel to the sacrifices in the valley of Hinnom¹⁴, it is easily conceivable how in the estimation of the prophets the observation of new moons and sabbaths should have become an abomination to Jehovah¹⁵, or how under another view the institution should have been regarded not as in itself offensive, but as a criminal abuse of what was originally good¹⁶, and that the glaring profanations of the Sabbath should appear in the retrospect as the chief cause of all the evils which afterwards accrued.¹⁷ The extravagant pretensions of the Jews claimed a universal sacredness for the rest day, which henceforth was so rigidly kept that they preferred to die rather than to commit a breach of it¹⁸. The Christians termed such strictness "Judaizing;" they observed both the Saturday and Sunday as joyful festivals on which it was criminal to fast¹⁹; and an edict was issued by the Laodicean synod prohibiting Christians from discontinuing their ordinary business on the Sabbath under pain of being held accursed. The Roman writers treated the Sabbath as an institution peculiarly Jewish²⁰, as an idle waste of time, or childish superstition²¹. The Jews themselves claimed the Sabbath as their peculiar privilege, given them by God to distinguish them from all other nations²². They testified their respect for its sanctity by connecting it with the most signal events in their annals, making it now commemorative of the creation of the world, and now of the deliverance out of Egypt²³. In all probability its true origin was independent of both these events. The escape from Egypt need

¹⁴ Ezek. xxiii. 37, 38. Jerem. xix. 14.

¹⁵ Isaiah i. 13, &c.

¹⁶ Jerem. xvii. 24. Ezek. xx. 16; xxii. 8.

¹⁷ Nehem. xiii. 18.

¹⁸ Jos. Ant. xii. 6, 2. War, i. 7, 3.

¹⁹ Tertull. Apol. 16.

²⁰ Justin, 36. Tacit. Hist. v. 4. Juven. vi. 159.

²¹ Seneca, in August. de Civ. vi. 11. Horace, Sat. i. 6, 69. Rutil. Iter. 3. Ovid, Ars Am. 1.

²² Ezek. xx. 12, 20.

²³ Exod. xx. 8; xxxi. 13. Levit. xxiii. 3. Deut. v. 15. Euseb. Hist. i. 40.

no more have been the origin of the Sabbath, than the deluge of the rainbow; in both cases a well-known fact was linked to a particular occurrence in order, by making the one a memorial or authentication of the other, to render both more significant and impressive. The Hebrews wisely converted the already established usage of a day of rest into a safeguard of their civil and religious constitution²⁴, of which it already was a part, by adopting it for ever as a "sign"²⁵ or token of their theocratic allegiance, and of the identity of their peculiar God with the universal Creator²⁶. By a similar inversion the Persian creation by Ormuzd in 365 days was reputed to have caused the invention of the solar year²⁷; and the whole religion of Iran with the numerous festivals of its calendar appeared as a perpetual jubilee in commemoration of that divine work²⁸.

§ 13.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE SIX DAYS.

But, assuming the six days of creation to be a copy of the six working days of the week, a question arises how to account for the details of the arrangement; for instance, why the sun and moon are of more recent origin than the grass and plants, and why a separate day is not assigned to the vegetable creation, as well as to the fish and birds. The origin of this apparent irregularity is probably to be sought not so much in physical causes as in the character of oriental poetry to which a symmetrical arrangement of clauses and expressions is as essential as with our own a harmony of rhythmical sounds. It is easy to refer, among the books more strictly poetical, to innumerable passages where a sentiment is purposely divided into two parallel parts

²⁴ Ezek. xx. 12. Nehem. ix. 14.

²⁵ The Hebrew *אוֹת*, or Homeric *τερας* (Iliad. xi. 28), *τειρος*, or *τεκμαρ*. Il. i. 526. Æschyl. Prom. 441.

²⁶ Exod. xxxi. 13, 17. Jerem. x. 16.

²⁷ Guigniant, Rel. i. 709.

²⁸ Ib. 711.

or clauses of perhaps perfectly identical meaning, in order to attain this object of a balanced cadence so agreeable to an oriental ear. The difficulties which have often occurred in reconciling Genesis with geology, might have admitted an easier solution in the rules of prosody and the arrangement of strophe and antistrophe. The whole scheme of creation is divided into two correlative parts. The first describes the origin of inanimate nature; the second, of living beings. To the former belong the plants and humble grass of the field, the emblem of every thing feeble and transitory¹; both being accessories and appurtenances of the earth in order to make it a suitable habitation for living creatures. On the other hand the heavenly luminaries and "the stars walking in brightness"², the

"λαμπροὶ δυνασταὶ ἐμπρεπόντες αἰθέρι,"

take the first rank in the second section of the drama as being first in the scale of active and animated beings. The worship of the heavenly bodies was probably the earliest form assumed by the religious sentiment. The sun, immemorially adored by Persians and Egyptians, was the visible emblem of the Pythagorean Unity³, the leader of the sky, Allmighty, Allgenerating⁴; and when Anaxagoras irreverently announced this great father of the universe⁵ to be only a stone⁶, his more rational philosophy caused him to be persecuted as an infidel⁷. The second moiety of creation stands then in strict relation and correspondence with the first; the three latter days people with life the material world produced during the three former. The first day brings forth the universal light, which on the fourth is embodied

¹ 2 Kings xix. 26. Psalm ciii. 15. Matt. vi. 30.

² Job xxxi. 26. Psalm xix. 5.

³ Laur. Lydus. de Mens. p. 15. Porphy. Abstin. Rhær. 168, 242.

⁴ Plato, Phædrus, S. 56, p. 41. Macro. Sat. i. 17, 21, 23; Fearfully glare his eyes from beneath his golden helmet, says the Homeric hymn in Sol. 10. The "Divine ruler Savitri," *i. e.* "Progenitor" of the celebrated text of the Veda. Guigniant, R. i. 600.

⁵ Sophocl. Frag. 91.

⁶ Max. Tyr. xxv. 3.

⁷ Josephus agt. Apion, ii. 493, Hav. Julian Imp. Oration to the Sun.

and personified in sun, moon, and stars; on the second day are made the firmament and sublunary waters, which on the fifth are inhabited by birds and fish; on the third day the land with its vegetable covering emerges from the deep, and on the sixth it receives its appropriate living occupants, who are to be fed without distinction of graminivorous or carnivorous on the innocent "green herb" which adorns its surface.

§ 14.

POETICAL CHARACTER OF HEBREW PHYSICS.

It was the practice of the old theologers, says Aristotle, to speak of the earth as the centre of creation, and to treat the heavens as a mere covering made for its sake¹. The Hebrew cosmogony exhibits throughout a still more exclusive and centralising spirit; it is exactly the view of the origin of things which would be adopted by a writer living in Jerusalem, who looked on the rest of the world as a mere appendage of the Jewish people². The sun, moon, and stars, are made in order to give light to the earth, and to govern its convenient appointments of years and seasons. Again, the animal and vegetable creation are entirely subservient to the dominion and use of man; man is chiefly regarded as the ancestor of Seth, and successively of Shem and of Abraham. With the commencement of the history of Abraham, all interest ceases in the rest of mankind except as far as they happen to be incidentally connected with the affairs of the Patriarch or his descendants. The Hebrew earth, like the Greek, is the centre of creation³, as Jerusalem is the centre of the earth, and Mount Zion the envy of all surrounding hills⁴. The details of the picture framed in the spirit of nationalism are evidently filled up by poetical

¹ Meteor. ii. 1. Hes. Th. 127.

² 2 Esdras vi. 55, 56.

³ The *παντων ἕδος*, Hes. Th. *ρίζα παντων καὶ βασίς*, Timæus Locrus, Gale, 552, with roots and foundations of indefinite extent. Plato, Timæ. p. 40.

⁴ Ezek. v. 5. Psalm lxviii. 16.

fancy. Jehovah founded the earth upon the seas, and established it upon the floods⁵: a doctrine already explained. But, resting on so unstable an element, it was necessary that the earth should be secured by pillared foundations⁶, poetically called "the beams of the Lord's chambers,"⁷ but which practically speaking are one and the same with the mountains⁸, erected and "set fast from the beginning"⁹, in order to be the props and buttresses of the unfixed world¹⁰; by means of these the earth was firmly pegged into its place and rendered immoveable¹¹. These solid foundations are themselves shaken when God is angry¹²; "the pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished at his reproof."¹³

But, if the earth rests on pillars, it naturally becomes a question on what do the pillars themselves rest? "Whereupon are its pillars sunk, or who hath laid its corner stone?"¹⁴ The Hebrew poet, like the Roman¹⁵, is here obliged to abandon the attempt at explanation, and to resolve the enigma by an appeal to supernatural power. "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the world upon nothing."¹⁶ The world was believed by the ancients to rise towards the north¹⁷;

⁵ Psalm xxiv. 21; cxxxvi. 6.

⁶ Job ix. 6; xxxviii. 4, 6. Psalm xviii. 7; lxxv. 3; civ. 3. Isaiah xxiv. 18. Hom. Od. i. 53.

⁷ 1 Sam. ii. 8.

⁸ Micah vi. 2.

⁹ Psalm lxv. 6.

¹⁰ Psalm xc. 2. Prov. viii. 25, 29.

¹¹ Psalm cxxxiii. 9; xciii. 1; xcvi. 10; lxxviii. 69. 1 Chr. xvi. 30.

¹² 2 Sam. xxii. 8. Psalm xviii. 7, 15; lxviii. 8; xc. 1.

¹³ Job xxvi. 11.

¹⁴ Job xxxviii. 6.

¹⁵ Lucret. ii. 602. Ovid, Fasti. vi. 269.

¹⁶ Job xxvi. 7. Cic. Tusc. v. 24. The seeming contradiction here implied with the theory which supposed the earth to rest on the waters, (see Heiligstedt to v. 5, "manes contremiscunt sub aquis,") is a confusion which recurs in many mythologies, especially the Arabian and Greek, between the under world and the subterrene waters. The notion of earth "self-poised," "ponderibus suis librata," seemed not unnatural to the Greek philosophers. Diog. L. ix. 21. Plut. Plac. iii. 15. Anaxagoræ Frag. ed. Schaubach, p. 149. See Hirzel and Heiligstedt to Job ad loc.

¹⁷ Virg. Georg. i. 250.

going northwards was called by the Hebrews "going up," as to go south was to "go down."¹⁸ In the north were imagined to stand those Atlantean mountains which formed the pillars of heaven and of earth. It could therefore only be by an immediate exertion of Divine power that the north, the highest and most mountainous, and therefore the heaviest region of the earth, could be supported in space, and be prevented from falling into the dark and dismal void of Scheol extended beneath¹⁹, as deep below as Heaven is high above²⁰. This dreary region of Scheol is described as a cruel insatiable monster²¹, the dark pit beneath the waters²², from which there is no escape; it is as a prison; with bars²³, chambers²⁴, and gates²⁵; the house appointed to receive the shades of all living²⁶.

The realm of Scheol was in the south; on the other hand, the habitation of God, the heavenly type of his earthly establishment on Mount Zion, was sometimes placed in the sides of the north upon the mythical mountain of the congregation²⁷, the Persian Alborj, the fable land of gold²⁸, and of that golden splendour (Schekinah) which only occasionally and imperfectly seen by man surrounds God's actual majesty²⁹; or else, in analogy with the earthly establishment of Jehovah's dominion in the midst of his people was his palace above the heavens and their waters³⁰, upon the pinnacle of the earth's circumference³¹,

¹⁸ Gen. xxxviii. 1.

¹⁹ Job xxvi. 6, 7; xxxviii. 17; x. 21.

²⁰ Job xi. 8. Deut. xxxii. 22. Hesiod, Th. 720. Apollod. i. 1, 2.

²¹ Cant. viii. 7. Prov. xxx. 16. Isaiah v. 14.

²² Job xxvi. 5. Psalm cxxxv. 6.

²³ Job xvii. 16.

²⁴ Prov. vii. 27.

²⁵ Isaiah xxxviii. 10. Job xxxviii. 17.

²⁶ Job iii. 13, 19; xxx. 23. Numb. xvi. 30.

²⁷ Isaiah xiv. 13, and references in Rosenmüller's Geography, i. 20, of the Engl. translation. Gesenius's Isaiah, iv. 322. Ewald, Geschichte, Anhang. 46.

²⁸ Herod. iii. 115. Plin. N. H. vi. 11; xxxiii. 4. Lassen. Antiq. i. 772.

²⁹ Job xxvi. 9; xxxvi. 32; xxxvii. 21, 22.

³⁰ Psalm xi. 4; xxix. 10; civ. 3; cxiii. 4.

³¹ Isaiah xl. 22.

where he sits behind the real veil of the firmament³², and looking down from that lofty eminence upon the earth³³ beholds its inhabitants as grasshoppers³⁴.

³² Exod. xxxvi. 35. Comp. Acts vii. 44. Isaiah xxv. 7. 2 Sam. xxii. 12.

³³ Psalm cxiii. 5, 6. Deut. xxvi. 15. Isaiah lxiii. 15.

³⁴ Isaiah xl. 22.

NOTION OF GOD, METAPHYSICALLY.

“Omnibus in rebus, et maximè in physicis, quid non sit citius quam quid sit dixerim.”

CICERO, DE NAT. D. i. 22.

“Τῶν δὲ φυσικῶν ἑσχατον ἐστὶν ὁ περὶ Θεῶν λόγος.”

CHRYSIPPUS, in Plutarch de Stoic. Repugnantiiis, ch. 9.

THE
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NOTION OF GOD, METAPHYSICALLY.

§ 1.

NATURE OF THE IDEA.

A NAME may be said to imply two things: an impression or conception of which the mind is self-conscious; and, secondarily, the cause or object of the conception, the latter being a mere belief or inference. The latter, the predicated object, is not perceived immediately, but only through the intervention of the consciousness. We speak of things, but we know only impressions. Our knowledge of existence is purely hypothetical; and when we speak of matter, of electricity, or of mind, we only give a name to the unknown cause of a particular class of phenomena. The circle of our real knowledge is confined to phenomenal succession and its laws; these are the proper field of intellectual effort, containing all we are capable of comprehending, and all that it profits us to know. If we know nothing of the essence of matter, still less are we able to penetrate the constitution of mind. Why, then, attempt to confine the idea of the Supreme Mind within an arbitrary barrier, or exclude from the limits of veracity any conception of the Deity which, if imperfect and inadequate, may only be a little more so than our own? "The name of God," says Hobbes, "is used not to make us conceive him, for he is inconceivable; but that we may honour him." "Believe in God, and adore him," said the Greek poet¹, "but investigate him not; the

¹ Philemon, Frag. 5.

inquiry is fruitless; seek not to discover who God is; for by the desire to know you offend him who chooses to remain unknown."² "When we attempt," says Philo, "to investigate the essence of the absolute Being, we fall into an abyss of perplexity, and the only benefit to be derived from such researches is the conviction of their absurdity."³ Yet man, though ignorant of the constitution of the dust upon which he treads, has ventured to speculate on the nature of God, and to define dogmatically in creeds the subject least within the compass of his faculties. The overwhelming problem of Deity, the question which involves and includes all others, has generally, by a strange inversion, been agitated before them; and those humbler details of research, from which alone the great problem could obtain collateral illustration, have too often been overlooked until the mind had previously exhausted itself in vain efforts to describe the indescribable.

But, though a knowledge of the divine essence is impossible, the conceptions formed respecting it are interesting as indications of intellectual development. To think becomingly of divinity is the religion of the intellect—the natural religious tribute of man's progressive capabilities⁴. The history of religion is that of the human mind; the conception formed of Deity being always in exact relation to its moral and intellectual attainments. The one may be taken as the index and measure of the other. The attempt to scan Almighty power involves the necessity of elevating ourselves, as a traveller ascends some lower mountain in order to survey the giants of the Alps. Every increase of knowledge adds loftiness, if not distinctness, to the conception; the gross and the refined, however apparently levelled and blended under a uniformity of creed or

² Menander, Frag. 246. Plato, de Leg. vii. 821. "Τον μεγιστον Θεον—φαμεν ουτε ζητειν δειν ουτε πολυπραγμονειν τας αιτιας ερευνωντας."

³ Pfeiffer, i. 46; ii. 258. Conf. Romans xi. 33. Job xi. 7; xxvi. 14.

⁴ Apollon. Tyan. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. iv. 13. Romans i. 21. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. xi. end.

worship, must inevitably vary in their notions of a Supreme Being as much as in their respective estimates of happiness or heaven.

In the progress of religious speculation, two notions of God are generally distinguishable: the positive and negative. The latter, or exclusive method, consists in the abstraction of the inferior and finite, and is the only way in which, according to Philo⁵, it is possible for man to apprehend worthily the nature of God. This view contrasts the Divine greatness with human littleness, and often employs expressions apparently affirmative, such as Almighty, Allwise, Omnipresent, Eternal, &c., but which, in reality, amount only to the negation in regard to God of those limits which confine the faculties of man⁶. We arrive at this negative and cautious mode of expression only when, having exhausted the varieties of symbolism, we remain content with a name which is a mere conventional sign or confession of our ignorance⁷. But this consciousness of ignorance is one of the last acquisitions of philosophy. In the immaturity of the intellect names and signs are undistinguished from things, and, like the imaginary outline of undiscovered countries adopted by mapmakers, mislead the inquirer by inducing him to confound a negative cypher with a positive idea. Hence

⁵ De Somniis, Pfeif. v. 84.

⁶ Of this nature are the definitions, "*Μακαρια καὶ ἀφθαρτος φύσις καθ' ἣν μαλιστα νοεῖται τὸ Θεῖον*;" (Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. xx.) the *το ἀγαθόν* or *καλόν*, the *μονὴ ἐλευθέρᾳ φύσιν αὐτοῦ πληρὴς, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτῷ ἱκανόν*; the *νοῦς τῶν ὅλων*, as opposed to the individual *νοῦς*; the *αἰτίον*, or *δραστηρίον αἰτίον*, or simply *τὸ οὐ*; (Pfeif. Philo, iv. 332, 5. 104. Mangey, i. 582. 655), or the *το μὴ οὐ*, or absolute nothing of Proclus and Hegel. Again it was said, "*Deus est cui omne quod est est id quod est.*" "God is a sphere whose centre is every where, and whose periphery nowhere." "God is he who sees all, himself unseen." Philemon, Frag. 63. p. 361. Philo admits only a negative symbolism as applicable to the Supreme Being. God, he says, may be best compared with two of all known things—light, and the human soul; but this light must be predicated negatively as something dissimilar to ordinary light; *Κυριὸς οὐ μόνον φῶς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντος ἑτέρου φωτός ἀρχετύπον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀρχετύπου πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἀνωτέρον.*—De Cherubim, Pfeiffer, ii. 52; v. 36.

⁷ Most of the so-called ideas or definitions of the "absolute" are only a collection of negations from which, as they affirm nothing, nothing is learnt.

arises the positive or sensuous mode of representation, which, comparing the Deity with something either within or without, confounds the sign with the thing signified, and blends them in some idolatrous form. The character of the worship varies with the elevation or triviality of the comparison. God was first recognised in the heavenly bodies, and in the elements; each and all of which were worshipped in their turn. The Egyptians deified water, the Phrygians earth, the Assyrians air, the Persians fire⁸; that is, the religious sentiment originally derived from the contemplation of nature was, under peculiar local circumstances, directed exclusively or nearly so to certain selected natural agencies. When man attains a consciousness of the dignity of his own being, and reflects upon himself, his idea of Deity becomes proportionably modified. The fire or water assume the human form, and become Osiris or Vishnou, Ormuzd or Apollo. The religion is grovelling or exalted according to the conceptional standard of human existence. The first stage of man's self-consciousness fills his mind with the imagery of structural or organic being, and the vitality of nature, faithfully reflecting his appreciation of his own, is a mere exaggeration of his bodily instincts and wild passions. The last stage of religious development is the matured consciousness of intellectuality, when, convinced that the internal faculty of thought must be something more subtle than even the most subtle elements, he transfers his new conception to the object of his worship, and deifies a mental principle instead of a physical one⁹.

He is, however, unable to remain long in the regions of abstraction, and, being experimentally acquainted with no spiritual existences distinct from his fellow men, his imagination cannot picture anything more exalted than a Being similar, though more perfect than himself. It has accordingly been remarked

⁸ Macrob. Sat. i. 20. Creuz, Comment. Her. p. 184. Symb. i. 1. Wisdom xiii. 1. sq.

⁹ Ὑπεννοήσαν εἶναι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν θεὸν τὸ κατ' ἑαυτὸν εἰκὸς τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ πάντων ἐπιστημονικωτάτον. Sext. Emp. Math. p. 312.

that instead of "God making man," we ought to read "man made God after his own image;" for, do what we will, the highest efforts of human thought can conceive nothing higher than the supremacy of intellect; and this, subjected to the realising and plastic power of the imagination, for ever brings us back to some familiar type of exalted humanity, such as the dignified aspect of a Greek philosopher, or, as a German writer expresses it, the ideal of some eminent university professor. Man at first deifies nature, afterwards himself. The gods of the Greek Olympus were Homeric princes, whose conclave above was the counterpart of the congregation of heroes on earth. The Stoic worshipped the divinity of reason; the god of the Epicurean was the perfection of dignified enjoyment and repose. The tutelary ancestor of Rome, and the Scandinavian Odin, were warriors like their worshippers; and, when the romantic gallantry of the middle age had placed an earthly sceptre in the hands of woman, the Virgin Mary was promoted to a corresponding dignity in heaven¹⁰.

§ 2.

ELEMENTARY RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

Such, speaking generally, are the steps by which the conception of a Deity is naturally developed. The notion of Deity, as well as religion generally, is a product of the combined faculties; the simplest act of devotion implying an effort of the reason, and attesting by its universality the omnipresence of the faculty which produced it¹. Yet the influence is so easy and obvious as to appear as an involuntary

¹⁰ Apollo and Aristæus were shepherds like those who worshipped them (Apollon. Rh. ii. 514), and as Maia's son was called "*Ευμηλος*," Eumäus the swine-herd might plausibly be styled *διος*, "divine" (*Odyss.* xiv. 20. 401, &c.), though there were other reasons to justify the epithet.

¹ Man, so called from the Sanscrit "*Mana*," intelligence. Xenoph. Mem. i. 4. 13.

suggestion or intuition; and it may, therefore, be popularly though not strictly true to say that religion in its earliest form is a feeling rather than an idea, a feeling imaginative and poetical, suggested by an external agency, yet without as yet any distinct personification of that agency. It is an emotion produced in the mind by impressive objects, partly by the beautiful, but more especially by the majestic and terrific²; and its form becomes gradually determined by the class of objects at the time most impressively exhibited, and most prominently instrumental in producing it. One of the earliest and noblest forms under which the religious sentiment found a distinct expression was the worship of the heavenly bodies³, or of the elements; and if the changes of the seasons and aspect of the sky form a prominent topic of modern conversation, the same phenomena exercised a yet stronger influence over the uncultivated minds to which they were objects of superstitious fear as well as of curious speculation. The beam of the celestial luminaries might be justly said to have penetrated the intellect⁴, as having first awakened the idea of a Supreme Being; and it was long before the primitive veneration in which they were held was superseded by a colder and less poetical philosophy⁵. The "Clarissima mundi Lumina," the Liber and Ceres, or Artemis and Apollo of the Greek⁶, were probably the Urotal and Alilat of the Arabian⁷; they are ever foremost among the diversified symbols of natural religion. The ancient Persian from the mountain tops addressed his hymn or incantation to "the sun, the earth, the fire, or the winds;" and, long before he became acquainted with a more

² "Εδειματουντο, θεους οιομενοι τουτων αιτιους." Sext. Empir. Math. p. 312.

³ Plutarch, de Plac. i. 6. Grotius to Exod. xx. 3. Wisdom xiii. Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 22.

⁴ Creuz. S. 3. 323. Pind. Carm. in Def. Solis, v. 6. Dante, Inferno, i. 18. "La pianeta che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle." "Let us meditate," says the holiest verse of the Vedas, "on the adorable light of the divine ruler, Savitri; may he guide our intellects!" Comp. Lassen, Ind. Antiq. i. 808. Menu, xii. 117.

⁵ Horace, Ep. i. 6. 4.

⁶ Virg. Georg. i.

⁷ Sale's Koran, Disc. p. 11. Herod. iii. 8. Bachr.

artificial system of theology⁸, invoked "the whole circle of the sky" as "Jove," or by whatever name he styled in his own language the Zeus Patroüs of his fathers⁹, a power similar to the Uranus of the Phœnician¹⁰ and the Greek, and who may be compared with the Indra of the Vedas, and the God of Heaven and God of Earth adored by Abraham¹¹. It has been sometimes assumed¹² that the general names which figure at the head of old theogonies, such as Uranus, are only later refinements arbitrarily placed by speculators before the personified gods of popular belief. Yet the arrangement is justified by the consideration that nothing but a general idea, corresponding to the more abstract term, could have answered the ill-defined emotions of the earliest religionists; that Nature was deified before man; and that, although those prior names might not at any known time have been popularly worshipped, the order of mythical succession was strictly justified by that of the mental phenomena, in strict conformity with what we know of the normal development of uncivilized tribes, as with the language of the Vedas, and the testimony of Herodotus¹³. On the whole it is indisputable that as mythology was no gratuitous fiction or wanton invention, but had its necessary basis in nature, so those interpreters are in the main right who held that the heathen Pantheon, in its infinite diversity of names and personifications, was but a multitudinous, though in its origin unconscious, allegory, of which physical phenomena, and principally the heavenly bodies, were the fundamental

⁸ Herod. i. 131; iii. 16. Strabo, xv. 1064.

⁹ Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 6. 1.; viii. 7. 3, possibly the same as Ormuzd (Aristot. ap. Diog. Laërt. Proem. viii.), or Mithras, a name both Zend and Sanscrit for the sun. See Rosen's Rig Vedæ Specimen, p. 26, n. 3. "Agnis, tu es Varounas, tu es Mithras, —à te opes cibusque fiant." Comp. Ezra i. 2.

¹⁰ Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10. 12.

¹¹ Genes. xxiv. 3. Wilson, Trans. Asiatic Society, xviii. p. 20. Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 756. 768.

¹² Kenrick's Primæval History, pp. 69. 71. Müller's Mythol. pp. 120. 373. Transl. pp. 60. 306.

¹³ i. 131; ii. 52.

types. "These," says Philo Judæus¹⁴, "are the real objects of Greek worship; they call the earth Ceres—the sea Poseidon—the air Here—the fire Hephaistos—the sun Apollo." These were the sort of beings who figured in the East and in the Egean Islands as Cabiri; as "Θεοὶ μεγάλοι," "Great Gods," at Samothrace; and as "Dii potes" in the books of the Roman augurs¹⁵. This, if not the whole truth, is yet a large part of it; the same problems differently treated in different places and ages, have still preserved a general analogy in the solutions of them; and though we cannot always specify the causes of the variations, or distinguish in particular cases the historical or communicated from the natural and indigenous, all mythology may be assumed to have its explanation in the one most obvious source of its many fictions and of the common feeling which consecrated them.

§ 3.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ELEMENTARY RELIGIOUS FEELING.

The idea of divinity thus unconsciously derived from Nature, and as yet undistinguished from the mind which conceived and the objects which suggested it, brought the two into a vague but close approximation, and made the universe assume the semblance of vital reality and kindred with its rational inhabitants. The glorious images of divinity which formed Jehovah's host¹, and which the jealous Lord of the Hebrew race had himself appointed, or "divided,"² as permissible objects of worship among heathen nations, were the "divine

¹⁴ De Decem. Orac. ii. 189.

¹⁵ Lucian, Jup. Trag. vol. ii. p. 690. Cæsar, B. G. vi. 21. Pherecydes, Sturz. p. 142. Macrobian Sat. iii. 4. Varro, L. L. iv. 10. Creuz. Cic. de N. D. iii. 22, p. 604. See the Stoic explanations, D. Laërt. vii. 147. Menagius, ii. 213. "Jovem quidem aut Mercurium, aliterve alios inter se vocari et esse—quis non interpretatione Naturæ fateatur?" Pliny, N. H. ii. 5. 20.

¹ Genes. ii. 1; xxxii. 2.

² Deut. iv. 19.

dynasty,"³ or real theocracy which governed the early world; and the men of the golden age, whose looks held commerce with the skies⁴,

"Those earthly godfathers of heaven's lights,
Who gave a name to every fixed star,"

and who watched the "radiant rulers bringing winter and summer to mortals,"⁵ might be said with poetic truth to live in immediate communication with Heaven⁶, and, like the Hebrew patriarchs, to "see God face to face."⁷ The children of Uranus and Gæa were fed by their divine parents⁸ on the lap of earth out of the granary of the sky⁹, and at the symbolical "table of the sun,"¹⁰ the great Lectisternium of Nature, whose meats were earth's unsolicited banquet, mortals and immortals partook of the same meal¹¹, and the patriarch Abraham, the "friend of God,"¹² was treated by his divine visitors with the same condescending familiarity as the "blameless Æthiopians," or the Phæacian Alcinous¹³. Men are said in those days to have lived nearer to the Gods¹⁴; they were—

Θεων αγχισποροι
Οἱ Διὸς ἐγγυς, οἷς ἐν Ἰδαίῳ παγῶ
Διὸς πατρῶου βῶμος ἐστ' ἐν αἰθερί,
Κ' οὐπὼ σφιν ἐξίτηλον αἶμα δαιμονων.

Æsch. Niobe.

They built altars, that is, on high places; and, following the immemorial custom of their fathers, worshipped the Idæan or

³ Herod. ii. 144.

⁴ Plato, de Leg. xi. 930 (264). "Τους μὲν τῶν θεῶν ὁρῶντες σαφῶς τιμῶμεν."

⁵ Æsch. Agam. v.

⁶ Paus. viii. 2.

⁷ Genes. xxxii. 30. Odyss. xvi. 161.

⁸ Hence God is called "a shepherd." Genes. xlviii. 15; xlix. 24. Theopomp. ap. Ælium, V. H. iii. 18. Arati, Phœn. 114. Porphyry, Abst. iv. 2. Plato, Politicus, 272.

⁹ Psalm cv. 40; lxxviii. 25.

¹⁰ Herod. iii. 18.

¹¹ Hesiod, Frag. 57.

¹² James ii. 23.

¹³ Hom. Odyss. vii. 201; ix. 106. Hes. Theog. 503. "Zeus Homestius." Soph. Niptra. Frag. 1. See V. Bohlen's note to Genes. v. 24, on the expression "walking with God."

¹⁴ Porphyry, Abst. 42. Plato, Phileb. 16. Cicero, Tusc. i. 12.

Pennine Jove upon his holy mountain. It was then that the gods introduced their own worship among mankind; that Oannes, Oe, or Aquarius rose from the Red Sea to impart science to the Babylonians¹⁵; that the bright Bull legislated for India and Crete¹⁶; and that the lights of heaven, personified as Liber and Ceres¹⁷, hung the Bœotian hills with vineyards, and gave the golden sheaf to Eleusis¹⁸. The children of men were in a sense allied, or "married," to those sons of God¹⁹, who sang the jubilee of creation²⁰; and the encircling vault with its countless stars, which to the excited imagination of the solitary Chaldean wanderer appeared as animated intelligences, might naturally be compared to a gigantic ladder, on which in their rising and setting the angel luminaries appeared to be ascending and descending between earth and heaven. The story of the air-dwelling Tantalus, once the favoured messmate of the gods²¹, may in its dramatic application by the poets represent in part this primitive approximation of the worshipper and the worshipped, an emblem of humanity as yet unestranged from heaven; while by pragmatistical interpreters the imaginary being was reported to have been an astronomer²², or, like the Uranus of Diodorus, a sage deified for his astral knowledge. The same traditional fiction was attached to the memory of the Hebrew patriarch Abraham. He who without reproof²³ had worshipped the Most High on the high places of the earth, and who had contemplated in the innumerable stars the signs and symbols of his own countless posterity, was afterwards supposed to have merely been a cold observer of the celestial movements—the scientific instructor of the Phœnicians and Egyptians²⁴. In the opinion

¹⁵ Berosus, Richter, p. 71. Photius, Cod. 279. Guigniant, R. ii. 82.

¹⁶ Dherma and Minos.

¹⁷ Virg. Georg. i. 5.

¹⁸ Macrob. S. i. 18, 19.

¹⁹ Genes. vi. 2.

²⁰ Job xxxviii. 7.

²¹ Pind. Olymp. i. 87. Nonnus. xviii. 32. Eurip. Orestes, Schol. 972.

²² Serv. ad Eclog. Virg. vi. 42. Cicero, Tusc. v. 3.

²³ Gesen. to Isaiah, xxxvi. 7.

²⁴ Euseb. Pr. Ev. ix. 17. 8. Joseph. Ant. i. 8. 2.

of Philo of Alexandria²⁵ he was originally undistinguished, either in birth or in belief, from the surrounding Chaldæans, who had immemorially esteemed the starry firmament to be God. Like them he worshipped the creature instead of the Creator; and, holding all earthly things as connected by eternal links of harmony and sympathy with the heavenly bodies, he united in one view astronomy, astrology, and religion²⁶. His first migration to Haran was in obedience to the mandate of God that he should leave off contemplating the stars and external nature; and it was only by directing his attention to that microcosm or narrower world, himself, that he at length became acquainted with the True Ruler and Guide of the Universe.

§ 4.

ELEMENTARY RELIGION AMONG THE HEBREWS.

The words uniformly rendered by "God" in the authorised version of the Bible include essential differences of form and meaning in the Hebrew; sometimes the noun is singular, sometimes plural; when plural, it is sometimes joined with a singular, sometimes with a plural verb. The plural is usually explained as being *pluralis excellentiæ vel majestatis*; the "we" of a royal proclamation. But, where the verb as well as substantive are plural, then it is allowed that the Scriptural Elohim is "a term retained from the usages of Polytheism, and may be considered to mean the higher powers and intelligences."¹ Abraham, for instance, says "the gods caused him to wander from his father's house;"² and at Bethel "the

²⁵ De Migrat. Abrahami, Mang. i. 11. 14; ib. 464. Pfeif. iii. 494; v. 260.

According to Exod. vi. 3. Abraham was no more a worshipper of Jehovah than the authors of the Veda hymns of the Brahminical god; in all probability he worshipped the "other gods" of his fathers (Josh. xxiv. 2. Deut. xvii. 3), without any absolute abandonment of his claim to be a monotheist.

²⁶ See also Mang. ii. 12. 417. 442. 602.

¹ Gesen. W. B. p. 56 trans.

² Genes. xx. 13.

Gods appeared to Jacob.”³ The Hebrew God is usually supposed to be attended by a court resembling the divan of an eastern monarch, and, like Jove in the midst of the divine conclave of the Iliad⁴, to be surrounded by a congregation of saints and mighty ones,⁵ “with all the host of heaven at his right hand and at his left.”⁶ When, therefore, he is represented as deliberating with others, “Let us make man after our image,” &c.⁷ it is reasonable to infer that he addresses the present members of the holy congregation included in the plurality of the Elohim, the attendant *στρατια ουρανιος*,⁸ or sons of the gods⁹, assembled in oriental state around their king¹⁰. Jehovah, as tutelar God of Israel, is distinguished from the general company of the Elohim, and emphatically elevated above them under the title of “God of gods,” or “God of hosts,” as their supreme presiding chief, who inhabits a dwelling superior to the starry firmament, which they are not permitted to enter¹¹. But the term “heavenly hosts” includes not only the counsellors and emissaries of Jehovah, but also the celestial luminaries¹²; and the stars, imagined in the East to be animated intelligences, presiding over human weal and woe, are identified with the more distinctly impersonated messengers or angels¹³ who execute the Divine decrees, and whose predominance in heaven is in mysterious correspondence and relation with the powers and dominions of the earth¹⁴. In the 148th Psalm, where all the creatures in heaven and in earth are summoned to do homage to Jehovah, the angels and heavenly hosts¹⁵ are so closely approximated, that it is improbable they can have been very clearly distinguished in the writer’s mind, especially when, in the eighth verse, they assume a corre-

³ Genes. xxxv. 7.⁴ iv. 1; xx. 4.⁵ Psalm lxxxii. 1. Isai. xiv. 13.⁶ 1 Kings xxii. 19.⁷ Gen. i. 26.⁸ Luke ii. 13.⁹ Beni Elohim.¹⁰ Job i. 6; ii. 1.¹¹ Isai. xiv. 13. Gesen. Lex. Tr. 889.¹² Gen. ii. 1; xxxii. 1, 2. Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3. Ps. xxxiii. 6.¹³ Genes. xxxii. 1, 2. Job xxviii. 25.¹⁴ Isai. xxiv. 21; xl. 26.¹⁵ v. 2, 3.

lation with the earthly elements of fire and hail, snow and vapour, themselves in a subordinate sphere made to act as executors of the Divine decrees. Correspondingly, in Job¹⁶, the morning stars and the sons of God are identified; they join in the same chorus of praise to the Almighty; they are both susceptible of joy¹⁷, they walk in brightness¹⁸, and are liable to impurity and imperfection in the sight of God¹⁹. The potentates of the sky, the appropriate types of all earthly authority²⁰, being thus undistinguishable from heavenly beings, the history of the origin of both is supposed to be sufficiently explained, when it is said, that "God by his word made all the host of heaven;"²¹ and the prohibition to worship the one²² made it unnecessary to lay any express veto on the deification of the other. Hence it is that, in the account of creation, the sun, moon, and stars take precedence of all other beings in the scale of animated nature; they dwell in the first created light, as appropriate inhabitants of heaven, as the birds are fitted for the atmosphere, the fish for the water, and land animals for the earth. When the personality of intermediate beings became more generally recognised, it was natural that the "Elohim," and "sons of the Elohim," should be interpreted to mean angels. Many difficulties were thus avoided or explained. It was thus easy to do away with any traces of polytheistic expression; to account for anthropistic representations; to suppose, for instance, that man was created, not literally "in the image of God," but after the similitude of angels. Yet it still remains open to suppose the collective Elohim to have had an original reference to the heavenly host, comprehending in the plural form all that congregation²³ of saints and holy ones, of which Jehovah was afterwards recognised as the Creator and King; that, from long-established habit, the term con-

¹⁶ xxxviii. 7.¹⁷ Ib.¹⁸ Job xxxi. 26.¹⁹ Job xv. 15; xxv. 5.²⁰ Genes. xxxvii. 9. Numb. xxiv. 17. Isai. xiv. 12.²¹ Genes. ii. 1. Psalm xxxiii. 6.²² Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3.²³ עֲבָדָה. Job xv. 15; xxxviii. 7. Matth. xxiv. 29.

tinued to be employed by monotheists as a title of God, and even warranted the archaism of confounding the personality of the angels with the more peculiar and revered name of Jehovah²⁴; that, in short, "the Elohim" may have originally been a collective name for the "other gods" worshipped by the ancestors of the Israelites²⁵, including not only foreign superstitious forms, but also all that "host of heaven" which was revealed in poetry to the shepherds of the desert, now as an encampment of warriors²⁶, now as careering in chariots of fire²⁷, and now as winged messengers, ascending and descending the vault of heaven to communicate the will of God to mankind²⁸.

§ 5.

TRACES OF HEBREW ASTROLATRY.

The Jews continue to preserve in their traditions obscure memorials of an astral worship as having preceded the religion of Jehovah¹. "The Eternal," said they,² "called forth Abraham and his posterity out of the dominion of the stars; by nature, the Israelite was a servant of the stars and born under their influence, as are the heathen; but by virtue of the law given on Mount Sinai he became liberated from this degrading servitude." The Arabs had a similar legend: they believed that previous to the Mahometan revelation evil spirits had with impunity walked through the Zodiac, whence they communicated to sorcerers the secrets of Heaven; this Sabæan period was called the "State of Ignorance;"³ and, by the process which ever makes the Deity of the present the adversary and conqueror of the past, the Greek Astræus, the personification of the starry

²⁴ Exod. iii. 2. 4. 6.

²⁵ Josh. xxiv. 2. Genes. xx. 13; xxiv. 7.

²⁶ Mahanaim, Genes. xxxii. 1. Psalm xxxiv. 7.

²⁷ 2 Kings vi. 17.

²⁸ Genes. xxviii. 12.

¹ Orig. Cels. v. p. 235. Porphy. de Abst. iv. p. 335.

² Bereshith Rabba to Genesis, xv. 5.

³ Sale's Discourse, p. 10, &c.

sphere, was classed among the banished Titans who warred against the gods⁴.

The Nomadic tribes of the interior of Asia were particularly distinguished by the form of religion called Sabaism. Long before becoming acquainted with the stellar mythology of the Greeks, the Arab abiding in the field by night, "rejoicing in the refulgence of moon and stars,"⁵ had amused his fancy by giving names to the more conspicuous astral groups, and names taken from the familiar objects of his life, such as ostrich, camel, or tent, continued to be preserved with others more recently introduced⁶. Each tribe singled out among the heavenly bodies its favourite gods, and consulted them as omens of futurity. From their neighbours of Arabia and Chaldæa, the Hebrews may probably have adopted the few names for the constellations which they appear to have possessed, and which occur characteristically in the pastoral books of Job and Amos, the cluster, or Pleiades, the Wain or Bear, and Chesil, or Orion⁷. The passage in which the prophet Amos indignantly denies the early existence of a pure Jehovistic religion⁸, proves, says a commentator⁹, that the Israelites shared the star worship of the Arabs, particularly that of Saturn, to whom the seventh day was immemorially consecrated¹⁰. This admission, into which the prophet seems to have been led by vehemence of feeling, is one of the most remarkable in the Bible, and coupled with other explanatory passages, as Jerem. vii. 22, gives a far different notion of Hebrew religious antiquity from that commonly entertained. The prophet is remonstrating on the uselessness of mere ceremonial observances; but he goes further; he declares that these external ceremonies were not in fact offered to the true Jehovah, but to Moloch, or to a star god equivalent to

⁴ Servius, ad Æneid. i. 136.

⁵ Iliad, viii. 559.

⁶ Gesen. Isai. iii. 457.

⁷ Ideler, Bedeutung der Sternnamen, p. 264.

⁸ Ch. v. 25, 26.

⁹ Hitzig, p. 53.

¹⁰ The LXX. render the star god in question by the name of Remphan, supposed to be the Egyptian Saturn. Winer, R. W. "Saturn."

Saturn¹¹, the same star, says Jerome, still worshipped by the Saracens¹². This Deity was in all probability metaphysically allied to the "devouring fire" of the Pentateuch. He was not the God of the better religion of the prophets¹³, nor was his law the righteous law of the true Jehovah¹⁴. He had two aspects; sometimes that of darkness and night¹⁵; sometimes an appearance of unutterable brilliancy whose nature is pretty distinctly indicated when it is said that under his feet was a "sapphire pavement, as it were the very heaven itself in its clearness."¹⁶ It agrees with this supposition that heads are hung up to Jehovah "against the sun;"¹⁷ that the king of Ai is hung up by Joshua before the Lord "until sun down;"¹⁸ that the help of Israel comes "in the heat of the day,"¹⁹ and that the sun stood still, because "the Lord fought for Israel."²⁰ No one would assert that the Gods El, or Jehovah, were merely planetary or solar; their symbolism, like that of every Deity, was, so far as we can trace so obscure a subject, coextensive with the range of Nature and with the mind of man, reaching from a stone²¹, or even from the depths of hell²², to the height of heaven²³, from an inherited superstitious "fear"²⁴ to the notion of pure existence²⁵. It is well known that the ancient Hebrews did not deny the reality of other gods, but only asserted the superior power and dignity of their own; so that it is very possible that not only sun and stars, but the gods of the heathen, such as the god of Ekron consulted by Ahaziah, may have been included among those "Eloeim," or companions of Cronus²⁶, whom

¹¹ Baur on Amos, p. 369.

¹² On whose "holy ground" Jehovah was first revealed to Moses. Exod. iii. 1.

¹³ Jerem. v. 12.

¹⁴ Jerem. viii. 8.

¹⁵ Genes. xv. 12. Exod. xx. 21. Psalm xcvi. 2. Isai. viii. 19. 22.

¹⁶ Exod. xxiv. 10.

¹⁷ Numb. xxv. 4.

¹⁸ Josh. viii. 29; x. 27.

¹⁹ 1 Sam. xi. 9.

²⁰ Josh. x. 14. Comp. Isai. lx. 1, 2. 20. Ezek. i. 27. Hab. iii. 4.

²¹ Deut. xxxii. 4. 18.

²² Deut. xxxii. 22. Psalm. cxxxix. 8.

²³ Job xxii. 12.

²⁴ Genes. xxxi. 42.

²⁵ Exod. iii. 14.

²⁶ Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10. 16. Berosus, Richter, p. 50. Movers, Phoenizier, p. 274. Comp. Deut. xvii. 3.

the later writers of the Old Testament place in subordination to Jehovah. Yet it is impossible to deny a direct astrological character to the Power who, seated on the pinnacle of the universe, is described as leading forth the hosts of heaven, and telling them unerringly by name and number²⁷. The stars of Jehovah are his sons²⁸, and "his eyes, which run through the whole world, keeping watch over men's deeds."²⁹ His proper temple is the world itself³⁰, of which the Hebrew tabernacle and temple, like all church architecture, were ultimately imitations³¹. The citadel of Cronus, reared in so many places from east to west, was really the "*flammantia mœnia mundi*," the pile of the celestial spheres in the midst of which God sits upon his burning throne, and which was variously mimicked by the ingenuity of Titanic builders³², by Dædalus in Crete, and by Trophonius and Agamedes at Delphi. In visions after the same fashion, and perhaps only therein more copiously developing an ancestral creed, the later seers of Syria imagined, as the residence of Deity, a crystal palace enwreathed in flames, its roof kindling with moving stars, with lightnings and fiery cherubs in the midst of them. In the centre of the building stood a gorgeous throne beaming like the sun; a majestic Being sat on it, whose garments were whiter than snow; on him no eye could look, nor could any of the myriads who surrounded him venture to penetrate the circle of flame which enveloped his presence³³.

While the Babylonians and Egyptians, among much astrological mysticism, had deduced some really useful results³⁴ from their observations, the Jews continued to regard the stars in a spirit exclusively theological or poetical, and to consider them, in conjunction with the elements, rather as animated

²⁷ Isai. xl. 22. 26.

²⁸ Isai. xiv. 13. Job xxxviii. 7.

²⁹ 2 Chron. xvi. 9. Zech. iv. 10; iii. 9. Prov. xv. 3. Deut. xi. 12. Comp. the "*αθανάτοι Ζηνοί*" of Hesiod, and the "watchers" of Daniel. Lengerke to Daniel, pp. 164. 166.

³⁰ Josephus, War, v. 11. 2.

³¹ Acts vii. 42. 44. Wisd. ix. 8.

³² Movers, Phœnizier. 258, 259. 312.

³³ Enoch, ch. xiv. Daniel vii. 9.

³⁴ Diod. Sic. i. 50.

ministers of Jehovah's will, than as mechanical directors of days and seasons. The children of Israel were themselves supposed to have a certain analogy to the host of heaven, and were the earthly representatives of the children of God in the sky³⁵; and since to number the latter was either impossible³⁶, or a privilege exclusively divine³⁷, so the numbering of the former was an act of peril bordering on presumptuous impiety, a divine prerogative, permitted to God's representative on earth only upon certain conditions³⁸. The stars and planets were properly the angels. They were both of that fiery or luminous composition which by the Stoics, and the ancients generally, was supposed to constitute the spiritual or divine nature³⁹, and the etherial or fifth element of oriental writers⁴⁰. In Pharisaic tradition, as in the phraseology of the New Testament⁴¹, the heavenly host appears as an angelic army, divided into regiments and brigades, under the command of imaginary chiefs, such as Massaloth, Legion, Karton, Gistra, &c., each Gistra being captain of 365,000 myriads of stars⁴². The seven spirits "which stand before the throne," spoken of by several Jewish writers⁴³, and generally presumed to have been immediately derived from the Persian Amschaspunds, were ulti-

³⁵ Genes. xv. 5; xxviii. 4. Jerem. xxxiii. 22.

³⁶ Job xxv. 3.

³⁷ Isai. xl. 26. Genes. xiii. 16.

³⁸ Conf. Exod. xxx. 12. Thenius to Samuel, ii. 24. 10. Winer, Real. W. B. art. David, vol. i. p. 301, note.

³⁹ Virg. Æneid. vi. 730. Cicero, N. D. iii. 14, Creuzer. Herod. iii. 16. Porphyrius de Abst. ii. 5, p. 108, and de Antro, ch. xi. 2 Kings ii. 11; vi. 17. Comp. Psalm civ. 4.

⁴⁰ Diod. S. i. 11, p. 15. Wessel. Strabo, xv. 713. Menu, i. 6. According to Anaximander of Miletus, the external integument of the heavens was a sphere of etherial fire, which, afterwards splitting into fragments, became the sun and stars. These he called "*πλημματα αερος τροχαιοδη*," spherical flocks of æther. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 8. Stob. Eclog. Phys. 510.

⁴¹ Matt. xxiv. 29. Luke viii. 30. Comp. Isai. xxiv. 21. Dan. iv. 35.

⁴² Gfrörer Urchristenthum, i. 357. Matt. xxvi. 53.

⁴³ Tobit xii. 15. Enoch xl. 1. Comp. xxi. 3. Luke i. 19. Revel. i. 4. 20; iii. 1; iv. 5. Kleuker's Zendavesta, ii. 257.

mately the seven planetary intelligences, the first ζωα νοερα⁴⁴, the original model of the seven-branched golden candlestick⁴⁵ exhibited to Moses on God's mountain. The observation of signs and worship of the host of heaven were frequently made a subject of the remonstrances of the prophets, and were at last prohibited by the Levitical code of the restored Jews; but, before the captivity, they had been general practices, and that not only as occasional deviations, but in connection with Jehovah worship⁴⁶. The custom naturally exercised a permanent influence over language; the heavens were spoken of as holding a predominance over earth, as governing it by "signs" and "ordinances,"⁴⁷ and as containing the elements of that astrological wisdom⁴⁸ more especially cultivated by the Babylonians and Egyptians⁴⁹. In that ancient feeling of a necessary sympathy between the physical and moral world which in so many mythologies married heaven to earth, and consecrated a stone as the invention or dwelling-place of Uranus, a darkening of the sun and moon was predicted at the great day of retribution, and the very stars were imagined to have fought in their courses against Sisera⁵⁰. In an imaginative but unreasoning age, figurative imagery becomes mythology; the figure is not a mere illustration, but partakes, more or less, of the character of a belief.

Each nation was supposed by the Hebrews to have its own guardian angel⁵¹, and its own presidential star. Accordingly one

⁴⁴ Philo, de Mundi Opificio. Pfeif. i. 40.

⁴⁵ Philo, de Vita Mosis. Mangey, ii. 151. Joseph. Ant. iii. 6, 7.

⁴⁶ Comp. 2 Kings iv. 23; xvii. 16; xxi. 3. 5; xxiii. 4. Psalm lxxxi. 3. Isai. xlvii. 13; lxv. 11; lxvi. 23. Jerem. viii. 2; x. 2. Ezek. xlvi. 3.

⁴⁷ Job. xxxviii. 33. Gehes. i. 14.

⁴⁸ Hitzig on Job xxxviii. 36. The word Mazaloth, or rather Mazaroth, the signs of the Zodiac, means literally, "warnings."

⁴⁹ Wisd. vii. 17. 21. Philo. Mang. i. 19. Herod. ii. 82. Levit. xix. 26. Deut. xviii. 10. 14. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6. 1 Chron. xii. 32.

⁵⁰ Judges v. 20. Psalm xviii. 7, &c.

⁵¹ LXX. Deut. xxxii. 8.

of the chief of the celestial powers, at first Jehovah himself in the character of the sun, standing in the height of heaven, overlooking and governing all things⁵², afterwards one of the angels or subordinate planetary genii of Babylonian or Persian mythology, was the patron and protector of their own nation, the "prince that standeth for the children of thy people."⁵³ In analogy with the same opinion presuming universal sympathy throughout nature, the discords of earth were accompanied by a warfare in the sky⁵⁴, and no people underwent the visitation of the Almighty without a corresponding chastisement being inflicted on its tutelary angel⁵⁵.

The fallen angels were also fallen stars⁵⁶; and the first allusion to a feud among the spiritual powers in early Hebrew mythology, where Rahab and his confederates are defeated, like the Titans, in a battle against the gods⁵⁷, seems to identify the rebellious spirits as part of the visible heavens⁵⁸, where the "high ones on high"⁵⁹ are punished or chained⁶⁰, as a signal proof of God's power and justice. They were monsters of the deep, the spawn of the all-genetic ocean, yet with a certain correspondence with the sky, the "*κητη τα ὑπ' οὐρανον*" as rendered by the Septuagint⁶¹, who already of old had been wounded by Jehovah⁶², and who again, at the last day, would be made to feel his power⁶³. God, it is said⁶⁴—

⁵² Deut. xxxii. 9. Job xxvi. 9; xxxvi. 30; xxxvii. 22. Psalm xi. 4; cxiii. 4. Isai. xl. 22.

⁵³ Dan. xii. 1.

⁵⁴ Comp. Virg. Georg. i. 474. Dan. x. 13, 20. Revel. xii. 7. Gfrörer Urchristenthum, i. 372.

⁵⁵ Tractat. Succa. p. 29. Comp. Tibullus Eleg. ii. 5. 73. Ovid. Metam. xv. 783. Cicero, Orat. de Harus. Resp. ch. x. Pliny, N. H. ii. 57. Gibbon, ch. xx. 3. Vol. iii. p. 264. Ed. 1807.

⁵⁶ Isai. xiv. 12; xxiv. 21. Luke x. 18; ii. 13. Revel. xii. 4. 7. 9. Dan. viii. 10, 11. Matt. xxiv. 29.

⁵⁷ Job iv. 18; ix. 13. Isai. li. 9.

⁵⁸ Job xv. 15; xxv. 4. 6.

⁵⁹ Job xxi. 22. Isai. xxiv. 21.

⁶⁰ Isai. xiii. 10. Job xxxviii. 31.

⁶¹ Job ix. 13; xxvi. 13.

⁶² Isai. li. 9.

⁶³ Isai. xxvii. 1.

⁶⁴ Job xxvi. 12.

“Stirs the sea with his might—
By his understanding he smote Rahab—⁶⁵
His breath clears the face of Heaven,
His hand pierced the crooked serpent”—⁶⁶

Again, Job ix. 13—

“God withdraws not his anger,
Beneath him bow the confederates of Rahab”—

Now, as Rahab, according to Ewald⁶⁷, always means a sea monster, these passages probably allude to some such legendary dragon as that which in almost all mythologies⁶⁸ is the adversary of heaven, and demon of eclipse; the monster in whose belly, significantly called “the belly of hell,”⁶⁹ Hercules, like Jonah, passed three days, ultimately escaping with the loss of his hair, or rays⁷⁰. Chesil, the rebellious giant Orion, represented in Job⁷¹ as riveted to the sky, was compared to the personification of Assyrian greatness, Ninus or Nimrod⁷², the mythical founder of Nineveh, (city of the fish,) the “mighty hunter,” who slew lions and panthers before the Lord⁷³. Rahab was made a representative of vanquished Egypt, as Lucifer, in his pride and fall, was a type of the grandeur and destruction of Babylon⁷⁴. Rahab’s “confederates,” unmeaningly called in our version of Job, the “proud helpers,” are probably equivalent to the “high ones on high,” the Chesilim or constellations in Isaiah⁷⁵, the heavenly host⁷⁶, or heavenly powers⁷⁷, among whose number were found folly and disobedience⁷⁸, which would be signally punished at the end of the world⁷⁹. “I beheld,” says Pseudo-

⁶⁵ Το κητος, LXX.

⁶⁶ “Δρακοντα αποστατην,” LXX.

⁶⁷ Job, pp. 126. 232. Hitzig’s Job, p. 59. 158. Jablonski, Voc. Æg. p. 227.

⁶⁸ Comp. Servius Virg. Georg. i. 224.

⁶⁹ Jonah, ii. 2.

⁷⁰ Tzetzes to Lycophron, 33.

⁷¹ xxxviii. 31.

⁷² Baur’s Amos. v. 351. Gesenius to Isai., vol. iii. 458.

⁷³ Hesiod, Frag. 67. Diod. S. ii. 8.

⁷⁴ Isai. xiv. 12.

⁷⁵ Knobel to Isaiah, xxiv. 21; xiii. 10; comp. Job xxi. 22; xxv. 5; xxvi. 12.

⁷⁶ Luke ii. 13.

⁷⁷ Matt. xxiv. 29.

⁷⁸ Job iv. 18; xv. 15; xxv. 2.

⁷⁹ Matt. xxv. 41. Rev. xx. 3. 10.

Enoch⁸⁰, seven stars, like great blazing mountains, and like spirits, entreating me. And the angel said, This place, until the consummation of heaven and earth, will be the prison of the stars, and of the host of heaven. These are the stars which overstepped God's command before their time arrived; and came not at their proper season⁸¹; therefore was he offended with them, and bound them, until the time of the consummation of their crimes in the secret year." And again⁸²: "These seven stars are those which have transgressed the commandment of the most high God, and which are here bound until the number of the days of their crimes be completed."⁸³

It was probably from ancient association and custom that Jewish and early Christian writers were led to look on the worship of the sun and the elements with comparative indulgence⁸⁴. Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus admit that God had "appointed"⁸⁵ the stars as legitimate objects of heathen worship, in order to preserve throughout the world some tolerable notions of rational religion⁸⁶, astrolatry being the noblest kind of fetichism. The use of natural symbols appeared to be divested of the gross deformities of idol-worship, and to be as it were a middle point between heathenism and Christianity. Christianity itself had adopted emblems and observances which caused it to be regarded by many as a mere form of sun worship. Christ was the "sun of righteousness" prophesied by Malachi⁸⁷, the "light of the world," the "day spring from on high."⁸⁸ His advent, conformably to the oracle of Balaam, was announced by a star

⁸⁰ Ch. xviii. On the concealment of the time, Comp. Matt. 24. 36. Mark 13. 32.

⁸¹ Conf. Plato, Timæus, pp. 40, 44. Politicus, 273 (269). Phædrus, 247. Stobæ, Ecl. Phys. ii. pp. 936. 938.

⁸² Ch. 21. "Their crimes," meaning the "punishment for their crimes."

⁸³ Comp. Gfrörer Urchristenthum, i. 394.

⁸⁴ Wisd. xiii. 6. Philo, de Decem. Orac. ii. 191. Origen. Cels. B. 8. p. 422.

⁸⁵ Deut. iv. 19.

⁸⁶ Justin. Tryph. p. 274. 349. Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 795.

⁸⁷ iv. 2.

⁸⁸ Luke i. 78. Matt. iv. 16. Ephes. v. 8. 14.

from the east, and his nativity was celebrated on the shortest day of the Julian calendar, the day when, in the physical commemorations of Persia or Egypt, Mithras or Osiris was newly found. It was then that the acclamations of the host of heaven, the unfailing attendants of the sun, surrounded, as at the spring dawn of creation⁸⁹, the cradle of his birth-place, and that, in the words of Ignatius⁹⁰, "a star, with light inexpressible, shone forth in the heavens to destroy the power of magic and the bonds of wickedness; for God himself had appeared, in the form of man, for the renewal of eternal life."

§ 6.

RELATION OF MONOTHEISM TO SYMBOLISM.

It is impossible to assume any period of time at which the vague sense of Deity ceased to be a mere feeling, and assumed a specific form or became an "idea." The notion of external power must have been almost instantaneously associated with some external object; and the diversified reflections of the divine easily came to be looked on as substantive and distinct divinities. But, however infinite the variety of objects which helped to develop the notion of Deity, and eventually usurped its place, the notion itself was essentially a concentrated or monotheistic one. A vague monotheism resided in the earliest exertion of thought¹; being nearly identical with that impression of unity and connection in sensible phenomena which in its simplest form appears to arise independently of any effort of philosophical comparison. The power of generalization, or of seeing the one in the many, that first element both of science and of religion, is so nearly innate or instinctive as to have been termed by Plato a divine or Promethean gift²; and the

⁸⁹ Job xxxviii. 7.⁹⁰ To the Ephesians, 19.

¹ "Νους οξύς και ευκίνητος, ηλθε και εις εμφασιν του παντος. Sext. Emp. Math. 312. Neander, Hist. Chr. p. 5. Iamblichus, de Myst. viii. 2. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. xxi. Lactant. Inst. ii. 1.

² Philebus, 16^c.

philosophical conception of the oneness of the universe and of its author³, usually regarded as the last acquisition of civilization and reflection, appears to have been anticipated by a natural revelation, an indefinite dread of the aggregate of supersensuous nature which is said to be common even among savages⁴. In this indefinite feeling must be sought, if anywhere, that conceptional monotheism of primitive ages, which, like the virtues of the golden age, makes every succeeding epoch, unless it be the present, appear only as a stage in the progress of degeneracy and aberration. The genius of religion, apostrophised by Shelley⁵,—does not wait for the cooperation of science in order to commence her task, the powers of combination are at work long before the maturity of the reason eventually found necessary to guide them; nay, the origin of religion, like that of civilization, may be said to be free from many of the corruptions attending its onward progress, which arise from the mind's inability to deal unembarrassed with the multiplicity of sensuous analogies. Generalisation begins before a sufficient basis has been prepared to make it legitimate, and every successive step in the research into particulars seems to be in mysterious contradiction to the first hurried conclusion. Hence the universal blending of monotheism with

³ Plato, *Timæus*, 31^a. Stobæ, *Eclog. Phys. Her.* i. 360.

⁴ Humboldt, *Kosmos*, p. 17.

⁵ Thine eager gaze scanned the stupendous whole,
Whose wonders mocked the knowledge of thy pride;
Their everlasting and unchanging laws
Reproached thy ignorance. Awhile thou stoodst
Ruffled and gloomy; then thou didst sum up
The elements of all that thou didst know,
The changing seasons, winters' leafless reign,
The budding of the heaven-breathing trees,
The eternal orbs that beautify the night,
The sunrise, and the setting of the moon,
Earthquakes and wars, and poisons and disease,
And all their causes, to an abstract point
Converging thou didst bend, and call'd it God!

polytheism, and the impossibility of discovering historically which of the two is older or more original. Amon or Osiris presides among the many deities of Egypt; Pan, with the music of his pipe, directs the chorus of the constellations⁶, or Zeus leads the solemn procession of the celestial troops in the astronomical theology of the Pythagoreans⁷. "Amidst an infinite diversity of opinions on all other subjects," says Maximus Tyrius⁸, "the whole world is unanimous in the belief in one only Almighty King and Father of all." Even in the most æsthetical Polytheistic forms there is always a sovereign power, a Zeus, or Deus, Mahadeva, or Adideva, to whom in analogy with human governments, that is, on moral as well as metaphysical grounds, belongs the maintenance of the order of the universe. Homer's Jove is alone able to cope with the united strength of all the other gods; he assigns to each of them their respective offices and duties⁹; and his superiority to Fate is proportioned to the distinct recognition of his Divine personality¹⁰. Among the thousand gods of India, the doctrine of Divine unity is never lost sight of¹¹; and the æthereal Jove, worshipped by the Persian in an age long before Xenophanes or Anaxagoras¹², appears as supremely comprehensive and independent of planetary or elemental subdivisions as the "Vast

⁶ Creuzer, Symb. ii. 130ⁿ.

⁷ Plato, Phædrus, 246.

⁸ Dissert. xvii. 5.

⁹ Æschyl. Prom. 229. 442. Hes. Theog. 393. 425. 885.

¹⁰ Hence he is called *Μοιραγέτας* (Paus. v. 15; x. 24), and the *Μοιραι* are his daughters (Hes. Th. 904. Pind. Ol. xii. 3), and, though for dramatic effect his personal inclinations are sometimes represented as half reluctant,

ἔκων ἀσκοντι γέ θυμῳ,

yet, on the whole, his will is identical with Fate (*το μορσιμον Διοθεν*. Pind. Nem. iv. 99. Eurip. ap. Stobæ. Phys. i. 6. 10, p. 170). When, however, Zeus is a subordinate link in the scale of hieratic emanations or generations, *Ἀναγκη* (Æschyl. Prom. Bloomf. 527) and the *Μοιραι* become his superiors, as children of primæval Night. (Hesiod. Th. 217.)

¹¹ Guigniaut, R. i. 172. Bagvat Gita, pp. 70. 79. 81. "They who worship other gods," says Chrishna, "involuntarily worship even me."

¹² Herod. i. 131. Eurip. Fragm. Incert. i. Aristotle, Metaph. i. 5. 12.

one," or "Great soul" of the Vedas¹³. The Chaldaean ancestor of the Hebrews may have been a monotheist in the same general sense; he worshipped one God, "the maker of heaven and earth," as did also Pharaoh, Melchisedek, and Abimelech¹⁴. This simplicity of belief, however, did not exclude the employment of symbolical representations. The patriarchs and their attendants assigned a visible form to the Almighty, they saw and spoke to him¹⁵, and believed him to be present in images and stones¹⁶. The mind cannot rest satisfied with a mere feeling; the feeling ever strives to assume precision and durability as an "idea," or by whatever name we choose to call the objective delineation of its thoughts. All ideas are in their origin sensuous; even those which are above and beyond the senses require the aid of the senses for their expression and communication. Hence the necessity for those representative forms and symbols which constitute the external investiture of every religion; and which, though the religious sentiment is essentially one, make its forms as various as the possible modes of its expression, branching into an infinite diversity of creeds and rites. All religious expression is symbolism, since we can describe only what we see, and the true objects of religion are unseen. Religious forms differ according to external circumstances and imagery, or again according to differences of knowledge and mental cultivation; the annals of their development are those of ethnography and education. The earliest instruments of education were symbols, the most universal symbols of the multitudinously present Deity being earth or heaven, or some selected object such as the sun or moon, a tree or a stone, familiarly seen in either of them. Symbols addressed to the

¹³ Comp. Colebrooke's Asiatic Res. viii. p. 395. Creuzer, Symb. i. p. 195. Aristot. Metaph. xiii. 4, "το γεννησαν πρωτον αριστον."

¹⁴ Genes. xiv. 18, 19; xx. 3. 23; xxiv. 31. 50; xxvi. 28. Comp. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10. 6. Bochart Geogr. ii. 2, p. 706.

¹⁵ Genes. xvi. 13; xxii. 14; with Comment.

¹⁶ Genes. xxxi. 30. 34; xxxv. 2.

ear followed the more obvious and imposing ones addressed to the eye; but, though susceptible of more precision, they were less effective, less obvious and impressive than the others, the painted or sculptured forms despised by the philosopher being the only modes of communication which the ignorant can comprehend¹⁷. The earliest religious language imitated the picturesque and impressive concentration of the visible symbol; it attempted to paint to the ear what had before been imaged forth to the eye; being at first a mere appendage or legendary explanation of its predecessor, until at last it expanded into a variety of narratives whose true object and meaning were gradually forgotten. In the advance of reflection, the figurative or mythical language, which had ceased to satisfy because it was no longer understood, was abandoned for expressions of a more severe or negative kind, and more and more approaching the language of philosophy. But, as the language of philosophy itself is only a more refined symbolism, so the most abstract expression for Deity which language could supply was only a sign for an object unknown, one which could be called more truthful and adequate than the terms Osiris or Vishnou only as being less sensuous and explicit. Those symbols of Deity are the most appropriate and durable which, vague metaphysically, have a positive significance only in a relative or moral sense. In his general relation to mankind, God may still be styled "Sovereign" or "Father;"¹⁸ as also by such titles as "Extension" and "Time;" or the "Beginning, middle, and end;" he "whose face is turned on all sides;"¹⁹ the foundation and the pinnacle;" the "source of life and death." The special circumstances which of old gave to the general idea a speci-

¹⁷ Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. p. 429. See p. 108, vol. ii. pt. 3 of the Appx. to Kleuker's Zendavesta.

¹⁸ The symbol of a parent and his family was one of the earliest and most widely used symbols of the Deity. Champollion says, "Le point de Depart de la Mythologie Egyptienne est une triade formée des trois parties d'Amon-Ra—savoir—Amon le mâle et le père; Mouth la femelle et la mère, et Khons le fils enfant. Cette triade s'étant manifestée sur la terre, se resout en Osiris, Isis, et Horus."

¹⁹ Bagvat Gita, p. 87.

fically appropriate form may still authorize the same comparisons. To the thirsty wanderer of the desert God is still the refreshing water; to the mariner, the rudder and anchor²⁰; by the Hindoo, he may still be compared with the immoveable Himalaya²¹, the undying lotus floating on the waters, or the Aswattha or Pipala tree whose lofty boughs strike root downwards, and spread from a single trunk into a forest; the Persian comparison by which he was likened to the Sun, or the type of the all-generating orb²², suggested by the habits of the Egyptian scarabæus, still retain a part of their original aptitude. Among the picturesque variety of ancient religious forms arising out of the infinite multiplicity of symbolism, those which stand at the extremes of the mental scale, the first worship of the uneducated feelings, and the worship of philosophy, are the purest and the least artificial in their imagery; the one employing but not yet enslaved by the means it used for its expression; the other arising when the mind, having exhausted its ingenuity in efforts of comparison, and having discovered their inadequacy, recoiled from the unprofitable task, and contented itself with a negative or abstract cypher for that which it confessed its inability to comprehend.

§ 7.

USE AND ABUSE OF SYMBOLISM.

Symbolism thus performed a useful intermediate office in the education of the mind. It was the indispensable condition of all affirmative expression respecting Deity, a necessary stage in the transition from a mere feeling towards philosophy. Nor were its effects absolutely and unavoidably demoralising. Aboriginal man may have enjoyed the imaginary privilege of personal conference with God, without those disastrous consequences to mind or body afterwards anticipated by superstition¹. He might recognise the Divine presence under a variety of appear-

²⁰ Max. Tyr. Diss. viii.

²² Horapollo, i. 10. Herod ii. 73.

²¹ Bagvat Gita, p. 86.

¹ Exod. xxiv. 10. 11.

ances; in the evening breeze of Eden, the whirlwind of Sinai, or the stone of Bethel, without resigning the simple monotheism of Abimelech or Abraham. God might be identified with the fire², or thunder³, or the immoveable rock adored in ancient Arabia⁴, without ceasing to be maker and ruler of heaven and earth. Hence, with an inconsistency perhaps unavoidable, the wandering Hebrews of the wilderness are said to have been worshippers of Jehovah only⁵, and yet, at the same period, to have been idolaters, or star-worshippers⁶; for it is the very nature of the symbol, as distinguished from the allegory, that there should be no severance between the image and the idea.

In the Hebrew books, as in Indian and Egyptian, the image of the Deity is reflected in all that is pre-eminent in excellence⁷; Jehovah, like Osiris and Baal, is seen in the Sun⁸, as well as in the stars, which are his children⁹; his "eyes," "which run through the whole world, and watch over the sacred soil of Palestine from the year's commencement to its close."¹⁰ Again, he is the loftiest and most remote among the planets¹¹, presiding over the *dies Saturni*, or seventh day¹², allowing his fellow-luminaries to be represented by the lamps of the seven-branched candlestick¹³. He is the wind sighing

² Deut. iv. 24.

³ Psalm xxix. 3.

⁴ Deut. xxxii. 4. 18. 30. Max. Tyr. viii. 8.

⁵ Deut. xxxii. 10; xxvi. 5. Hos. xiii. 5. Jerem. xxxi. 2.

⁶ Psalm xcv. 10. Amos v. 25, 26. Ezek. xx. 8. 13.

⁷ Comp. Bagvat Gita, ch. 10. "Among the Adityas," says Crishna, "I am Vishnou, the radiant Sun among the stars; among the waters I am Ocean; among the mountains, the Himalaya, and among the mountain tops, Meru," &c. Comp. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, li. 64.

⁸ Comp. Numb. xxv. 4. Joshua viii. 29; x. 27. 1 Sam. xi. 9.

⁹ Isai. xiv. 13. Job xxxviii. 7. Plut. Isis and Osiris, 48.

¹⁰ Zach. iv. 10. Deut. xi. 12. The language of Zechariah is exactly that of the Zendavesta. Kleuker, pt. 2, p. 257.

¹¹ Amos v. 26.

¹² Comp. however, Ewald, De Feriarum Hebra. origine, in the Comment. Societ. Götting. Recent, vol. viii. pp. 182. 189, and Anhang to Geschichte d. V. I. p. 107.

¹³ Josephus, Ant. iii. 6. 7. Comp. Isis and Osiris, 48.

among the mulberry trees, the terrific fire of Mount Sinai, and of the burning bush; or again, he is the water, as well as bestower of the water, which bursts from the rock beneath his feet¹⁴, the "living vision" of fainting Hagar¹⁵, for ever served with tributary symbolical libations of his own gift¹⁶.

The sacred fire of Persia was kindled sometimes on the bare ground, sometimes on the Dadgah, which, however, seems not to have been, in the Greek sense, an altar, but rather itself an image of deity, surmounted by the domed Ateshgah¹⁷, emblematic of the vault of heaven. Sometimes the sacred flame burned upon the tops of lofty mountains, under the real temple of the universe, or canopy of heaven¹⁸. The Hebrew God, the God of the Burning Bush, takes his station on the rude stone which was his legitimate altar¹⁹, or descends in fire upon a mountain top²⁰; and when the offerings of Manoah and of Gideon have been deposited on certain rocks²¹, a flame, the "fire of the Lord"²², for it is equally God's fire, whether issuing from above or from below²³, is seen to rise from the stone and consume the sacrifice.

The Persians, those Puritans of Paganism²⁴, are said to have worshipped one God, and to have originally treated the elements alone as his visible symbols²⁵; afterwards their sym-

¹⁴ Exod. xvii. 6. Numb. xx. 8. Judg. vii. 4. Isai. xliii. 20. Jerem. ii. 13; xvii. 13.

¹⁵ Genes. xvi. 14; xxi. 19. John iv. 10; vii. 37, with Comment.

¹⁶ Comp. 1 Sam. vii. 6. 2 Sam. i. 21. 1 Kings 18. 41, and the libations of the Feast of Tabernacles. Winer, R. W. vol. ii. 9. The idea of an "expression of humility"—2 Sam. xiv. 14. Psalm xxii. 14. Lament. ii. 19—was probably derivative from the rite.

¹⁷ Zendavesta, by Kleuker, Th. iii. p. 27.

¹⁸ Creuzer, S. i. 272, 273.

¹⁹ Exod. xx. 24, 25.

²⁰ Ib. xix. 18.

²¹ Judg. vi. 20; xiii. 19.

²² Levit. ix. 24; x. 2. 1 Kings xviii. 38. Psalm xcvi. 3.

²³ Deut. iv. 36. Numb. xvi. 35. Job i. 16. 1 Chron. xxi. 26.

²⁴ Payne Knight, ancient art, S. 92. Davis to Cic. de Leg. ii. 10, p. 233, Creuz.

²⁵ Strabo, xv. 732. Herod i. 131; iii. 16. Brissonius de P. P. ii. 14. Πυρ ἀγάλμα εφημερον, ἀπορεστον, ἀδηφαγον. Max. Tyr. Diss. viii. 4. Θεων ἀγάλματα μὴ πυρ καὶ ὕδωρ. Clem. Alex. Protr. v. 65.

bolism became more complicated; all the powers of heaven were reproduced on earth²⁶; Ahriman was the Martichoras or great Dragon; his Deves the Gryphins of Tooran; Eorosch, the king of birds, Ormuzd himself; the Amschaspands and Izedes were clothed in those manifold wings of the cherub which they still bear on the monuments of Morghab or Persepolis²⁷. Hebrew theism became similarly involved in symbolism and image worship. We know from the New Testament²⁸, as well as from Josephus and Philo, that the tabernacle and its accessories, the altar and candlestick, were made in strict conformity "to the pattern seen upon the Mount;" that they were "images of heavenly things;" that is, that they were an attempt to express the religion of the universe by a mimicry of its elements and architecture²⁹. The piacular lid of the ark, with its grotesque cherubim, the strictly limited numbers of pillars and curtains, the veil with its blue, purple, and scarlet tissue concealing the sanctuary of the invisible, are a cosmical mythus of which we guess the general character though we may have lost the exact details³⁰. The orthodox establishment tolerated not only the use of emblematic vessels, vestments, and cherubs, of sacred pillars and Teraphim³¹, but symbolical representations of Jehovah himself, and those not confined to poetical or illustrative language. Notwithstanding the repeated assertions in the law of God's jealousy and his hatred of images³², we find repeated traces of attempts to represent him confirmed by his own testimony through his

²⁶ Diog. Laert. Pro. 6. Cic. de Leg. ii. 10. Herod viii. 109. Creuzer, Symb. i. 217.

²⁷ Guigniaut, Rel. Plates, figs. 123, 124.

²⁸ Hebrews viii. 5.

²⁹ Comp. Joseph. War. v. 11. 2. Wisdom, ix. 8. Nork's Dictionary, art. Tempel. Creuzer, Symb. i. p. 172.

³⁰ Origen de Princip. iv. 166.

³¹ Hos. iii. 4. 1 Kings vii. 21. Lucian, De Deâ Syr. ch. 16. Movers, Phœnizier, 292. Bahr, der Salomonische Tempel. p. 113.

³² Deut. xvi. 22.

prophets³³, as well as by the prohibitions inserted in his laws³⁴; the symbolical calf worship of Dan and Bethel continued to the end of the Israelitish kingdom; and even in the Judæan establishment the prohibition of images was not, says Grotius³⁵, so peremptory as to exclude the divine prerogative of making an exception. God therefore admitted cherubim into the holy place, and allowed the bulls and lions of Solomon's brazen sea; and by precept extraordinary, says Tertullian³⁶, he ordered the construction of the brazen serpent Nehushtan³⁷, which continued to be worshipped as an emblem of God, "the Healer and Saviour,"³⁸ to the days of Hezekiah. Men cannot worship a mere abstraction; they require some outward form in which to clothe their conceptions, and invest their sympathies. The religious sentiment, nourished through the senses, in return dignifies their objects, and communicates a sacredness to everything which it employs for its illustration. The grotesque and complex forms which in an oriental idol shock the taste, or baffle the curiosity of research, are the sacred records of ancient metaphysical theology. They often sacrifice the instinct of mere sensuous beauty to the desire to embody the infinite, and to convey by multiplied, because individually inadequate symbols, a notion of the divine attributes to the understanding. The visible and tangible, through the medium of which the idea of the divine was first discovered, continued to be employed for the purpose of representing it in forms the most easily appreciated and recognised³⁹. A material in itself symbolical received the human form, colossal, like the ancient idols of the Buddhists, in the attempt to express

³³ Amos v. 26. Psalm xcv. 10.

³⁴ Exod. xx. 4. Deut. xvi. 22, very differently observed in later times. Joseph. War. ii. 9. 2.

³⁵ To Exod. xx. 4.

³⁶ De Idolatr.

³⁷ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

³⁸ Exod. xv. 26. Wisd. xvi. 17.

³⁹ Cui—opus est videre quod teneat, ne inane fortè sit quod obscurum non videtur. Arnob. in Gent. vi. 8.

God's illimitable greatness⁴⁰; or in a shape more readily carried and appropriated as national or household gods, whose emblematic figures consecrated in temples and dwellings were both the instructors and protectors of men, the records of their belief, and the talisman of their safety⁴¹. And "if in the desire to obtain some faint conception of the Universal Father, the nameless lawgiver, men had recourse to words or names, to silver or gold, to animals or plants, to mountain tops or flowing rivers, every one inscribing the most valued and most beautiful things with the name of Deity, and with the fondness of a lover clinging with rapture to each trivial reminiscence of the beloved, why should we seek to reduce this universal practice of symbolism, necessary indeed, since the mind often needs the excitement of the imagination to rouse it into activity, to one monotonous standard of formal propriety? Only let the image duly perform its task, and bring the divine idea with vividness and truth before the mental eye⁴²; if this be effected, whether by the art of Phidias, the poetry of Homer, the Egyptian hieroglyph, or the Persian element, we need not cavil at external differences, or lament the seeming futility of unfamiliar creeds so long as the great essential is attained, that men are made to remember, to understand, and to love."⁴³

There are, however, dangers inseparable from symbolism, which countervail its advantages, and afford an impressive lesson in regard to the similar risks attendant on the use of language. The very means necessary to familiarize the mind with objects of religious contemplation are as apt to bewilder as to enlighten it. The imagination, invited to assist the reason, usurps its place, or leaves its ally helplessly entangled in its web. The strong tendency to assign reality and objectivity to the merely conceptional misleads in proportion to the prevailing ignorance of psychological laws; names which stand for things are con-

⁴⁰ Ritter, Vorhalle, p. 336.

⁴¹ Levit. xxvi. 11. Herod. i. 164. Isai. xli. 7. Wisd. xiii. 15.

⁴² Ὡς περ χειραγωγία τις καὶ ὁδὸς πρὸς ἀναμνησιν.

⁴³ Max. Tyrius. Dissert. viii. 10.

founded with them; the means are mistaken for the end; the instrument of interpretation for the object. Symbols thus came to usurp an independent character as truths and persons⁴⁴; and, though perhaps a necessary, they were at best but a dangerous path, through which to approach the Deity; in which "many, mistaking the sign for the thing signified, fell into a ridiculous superstition, while others, in avoiding one extreme, plunged into the no less hideous gulf of irreligion and impiety."⁴⁵ The tendency to reaction, produced by these corruptions, has always stirred up the zeal of reformers, whether prophets or philosophers, to break through established forms, and either to restore the wholesome simplicity of original belief, or, at least, a creed more in unison with the advance of knowledge, more intelligibly founded in reason and nature. Such was the true mission and meaning of Mahomet and Buddha, of Xenophanes and Zoroaster⁴⁶; of St. Paul, who, in his address to the Athenians, complains not of their irreligion, but of their superstition⁴⁷, and desires to replace their polytheism by a higher pantheism⁴⁸. These great reformers, as well as the Hebrew prophets, deeply felt the intellectual mischief arising out of a degraded idea of the Supreme Being; and they claimed for their own God an existence or a personality distinct from the objects of ancient superstition. They disowned, in his name, the rites that had been offered to him, and the symbols and images, images of "abomination" and "jealousy,"⁴⁹ which profaned his temple. They were thus led expressly to deny the most cherished boast of their countrymen, the authenticity and antiquity of their laws, and the

⁴⁴ Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 9, 10. 15. 20. The "*πολυθεος πλανε*" is here described as originating among the Phœnicians and Egyptians, and it would be difficult to prove the assertion of a modern writer, that "Europe owes its alphabet to the only nation which in remote ages preserved itself from the use of symbols." Donaldson, New Cratylus, p. 50.

⁴⁵ Plut. Isis and Osiris, 67.

⁴⁶ Strabo, xvi. p. 761.

⁴⁷ Acts xvii.

⁴⁸ Comp. Joseph. Apion, i. 12.

⁴⁹ Psalm lxxviii. 58. Ezek. viii. 3; xxiii. 39; xlv. 7. Jerem. xxiii. 11; vii. 11.

purity of their early worship⁵⁰. Impressed with this important truth, they were insensible to danger, and were impelled by an irresistible and apparently superhuman influence to utter their convictions. In the ardour of their beneficent enthusiasm, they implicitly believed the burden which overmastered their minds and prompted their utterance to be a revelation of divine truth. They were not aware that the mind is most secure when least self-confident, and that the real essence of their mission was not to replace one hallucination by another, but to convince it of its proneness to self-delusion, and to recall it from confounding its own imaginations with realities. They saw not that the utmost which can be effected by human effort is to substitute impressions relatively correct for others whose falsehood has been detected, and to replace a gross symbolism by a purer one. Every man, without being aware of it, worships a conception of his own mind; for all symbolism, as well as all language, shares the subjective character of the ideas it represents. The reverential feeling which constitutes the religious sentiment is guided by a true and eternal instinct; but the modes or forms of its manifestation are incomplete and progressive; each term and symbol predicates a partial truth, and imperfectly describes the relation of the worshipper to the worshipped; remaining always amenable to improvement or modification, and, in its turn, to be superseded by others more correct and comprehensive. Hence the limits of idolatry, or false worship, are as difficult to determine as those of insanity. It becomes criminal only relatively to the condition and capabilities of the mind which practises it. The sin it involves is a sin against knowledge, or against intellectual caution⁵¹; it is the confounding the symbol with the thing signified, the substitution of a material for a mental object of worship, after a higher spiritualism has become possible; it consists in an ill-judged preference of the inferior to the superior symbol; it is not so much a traitorous desertion of the Almighty, as an inadequate

⁵⁰ Amos v. 26. Deut. xxxii. 17. Ezek. xx. 8. 16. 24. Acts vii. 42.

⁵¹ Romans i. 21.

and sensual conception of him; for the mistaken worshipper acknowledges no higher power than that before which he bows, and the Baal whom he substitutes for Jehovah is still to his imagination God. The same god may be honoured under innumerable forms or names, each of which may have its value in proportion to the sincerity of the worshipper, and the fitness of the adopted denomination to suit itself to the actual capacity of his mind. "All idolatry," says Carlyle, "is only comparative, and the worst idolatry is only more idolatrous." The conception of Deity varies with every grade of civilization; and, as every mind must be regarded as less than sane in comparison with the Supreme mind, so every religion may be said to be idolatrous in so far as it is imperfect, and to substitute a feeble and temporary idea in the shrine of that undiscoverable Being who can be known only in part, and who can, therefore, be honoured even by the most enlightened among his worshippers only in proportion to their limited powers of understanding his perfections. The true essence of idolatry is a lethargy of mind, and the arrest of its development through an ignoble subjection either to the senses or to authority. But the sterility of the desert is no disgrace to the Arab. It is not the ignorant savage, poor in resource and in opportunities of enlightenment, who is the most culpable idolater; it is the indolent, the sensualist, the sentimentalist, the man of taste or routine, who, sacrificing his reason or his sincerity to conventional forms, languishes over a superannuated symbol, and, in spite of all the aids of civilization, deliberately abandons the great end of his intellectual existence.

§ 8.

ORAL SYMBOLISM.

"Wisdom," as professed by the ancient priest, by the Hebrews, and other ancient nations, consisted in "Knowledge of God;" a knowledge manifested in a correct appreciation of his attributes and relations to mankind. These attributes and rela-

tions were expressed in audible forms as well in visible ones: the priest danced round the altar or idol, muttering a hymn or chaunt to accompany the sacrifice¹, and the duty of "praising and magnifying the Lord's name," continued for ever to comprise a large part of religious theory and practice. The most ancient mode of addressing the Deity, or of "calling on the name of the Lord,"² appears to have been a sort of rehearsal of the divine attributes and titles, "*ανακαλουμενοι τα των θεων ονοματα*,"³ such as may still be found in the Veda hymns, the Orphic fragments, and the Zendavesta⁴.

Magic virtue was attached to the pronouncing the divine names in proper form and order⁵; an acquaintance with them being an essential part of that divine knowledge by which the soul might be lifted up to heaven⁶. The invention of such names, and the recapitulation of them, were exclusively the prerogative of the priest; the honour of a god might be estimated from the number of his titles⁷, and the endless variety of theological names, as well as of ritualic forms, corresponded to as many observed or imagined manifestations of his presence in nature. The earlier Hebrew names of God are all significant; they are chiefly descriptive of power; El being commonly interpreted the "strong;" Schadai the "mighty;" the God of Melchisedec is the "strong exalted;" Elohim, probably, means the "revered;" the "fear of Isaac," being the God of Isaac. Abraham calls on the name of "Jehovah, the Eter-

¹ 1 Kings xviii. 26—literally "hopped or leaped round the altar." Ewald, Anhang to Geschichte, p. 46.

² Genes. xxi. 33.

³ Diod. S. i. ch. 22.

⁴ The "*επαοιδη*" of the Persians (Herod. i. 132. Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 52), and the Pæan of the Greeks (Iliad i. 472), probably somewhat resembling in style the dry catalogues of Hesiod. Quintil. Inst. x. 1. Theoph. ad Antol. p. 117.

⁵ Origen agt. Cels. i. p. 19.

⁶ Iambl. de Myst. vii. 4, 5.

⁷ The "myrionymous" earth was invoked in names as endless as her powers. Plut. Isis and Osiris, 53. Procl. in Timæ. 4. Hymn, Apollo. D. 82. Ceres. 18. Aristoph. Thesm. 320. Plut. 1164, and hence Artemis begs of Jove to grant her "polyonymy," that she may become equal to her brother Phœbus. Callim. in Art. 7. This was probably the origin of the "*πολυλογια*," condemned Matt. vi. 7.

nal,"⁸ who, at the time of healing the bitter waters, became "the healer,"⁹ as, on other occasions "the Saviour;"¹⁰ "the Redeemer;"¹¹ and "the Judge."¹² On the other hand, the servants of the Lord were forbidden to name the gods of the heathen¹³; and the same superstition which, in other countries, made certain mysterious names unpronounceable¹⁴, either from general religious awe, or a fear lest the power of invoking the god by name should give an advantage to enemies¹⁵, caused the Hebrews to carry so far the Levitical prohibition of blasphemy¹⁶, that they feared even to utter the "terrible name" of Jehovah. Other names, said the Rabbis, imply God's attributes, but this, the Hamphorasch (separate name), reveals his essence¹⁷.

§ 9.

RELATION OF PANTHEISM TO PERSONIFICATION.

Every form of religion contains the two aspects of the popular and the philosophical, variously united or contrasted. Theological philosophy is perhaps only another name for Pantheism; yet the pantheistic hypothesis, in which the universe was conceived to exist only as an expansion of the Deity, was itself no more than a deliberate reassertion of the great mystery apprehended by the earliest religious sentiment, in which God,

⁸ Genes. xxi. 33.

⁹ Exod. xv. 26; xxiii. 25.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. xxii. 3. Isai. xliii. 3.

¹¹ Psalm xix. 14. Isai. xlv. 6.

¹² Judg. xi. 27. 1 Sam. xxiv. 15.

¹³ Exod. xxiii. 13. Josh. xxiii. 7. Psalm xvi. 4.

¹⁴ "Ἀρρητα"—comp. Cic de N. D. iii. 22. Dav. Herod. ii. 61. 132. 170. Creuz. Symb. i. 395. Dion. Hal. i. 68. p. 172.

¹⁵ Hence the Romans kept the name of their own god a secret, but endeavoured to seduce the gods of other nations to quit their native worshippers, so that eventually Rome became full of foreign gods. To this day many of the lower classes in Italy are unwilling to tell their name to a stranger.

¹⁶ Levit. xxiv. 16.

¹⁷ Jerome to Psalm viii. Joseph. Antiq. ii. 12. 4. Philo, de Vit. Mos. 519. 529. Origen in Cels. i. 24.

man, and nature were vaguely blended. It follows that the best religious philosophy is a simple exercise of faith, since mysteries can never be comprehended, and with every attempt to increase the powers of the metaphysical telescope the notion of God only becomes more evanescent and obscure. Pantheism includes many varieties of refinement; it may blend God with Nature, or raise Nature to God; it may be materialism or idealism, spiritualism or personification. For personification, if not immediately present at the origin of religion, is at least closely connected with it; the mind requiring the imagery of the senses in order to develop its conceptions, and the symbol of man himself being one of the most obvious and satisfactory means of doing so. Spiritualism is itself only a higher personification, since all we know of spirit is the thinking faculty of which we are self-conscious, and whose external existence we infer from comparison and analogy. Hence the idea of Deity, whether removed from the world, or pantheistically identified with it, has a natural tendency to assume that noblest form of symbolism, personification; "for it would be unreasonable to think there is divinity in wood and stone, in birds and serpents, and not in man; man who is most Godlike when good, most diabolical when wicked."¹ All religion presumes a relation to some external power, and throughout all its forms may be observed two contradictory tendencies; on one hand the desire to exalt and extend the idea of such a power through the whole range of the universe; on the other to confine it within the limits of an individuality suited more closely to respond to our own imaginations and sympathies. Balanced between these extremes, the mind never abandons itself entirely to either. Neither pure Pantheism nor pure fetichism are, strictly speaking, possible. The religious development of the mind has sometimes been divided hypothetically into the three consecutive states of fetichism, polytheistic personification, and monotheism; the first defined to be a deification of external nature in its separate parts; the second, the reference of the object of

¹ Plat. Minos. 319.

worship to the standard of the worshipper; the third, the recognition of a sole existing cause external to the world. It would be more true to say that all the three states or stages supposed to have been consecutive have, in reality, existed in all times together, though in different degrees. Differences of culture have introduced no new element, but only new forms and modifications of what existed already. If fetichism be understood as a worship of things, merely as things, without the least apprehension of ulterior meaning, it would scarcely be too much to say that it never existed unless in the imaginations and reports of African traders or travellers unable to describe accurately what they did not themselves thoroughly understand. All fetichism may be assumed to be more or less symbolical, and all symbolism, however complicated or polytheistic, to have its share of Pantheism and monotheism. Assuming that nature was deified before man, that all religion was first suggested by external objects, that the symbolism so acquired is never so pure as to be absolutely beyond the risk of confounding the sign with the object, we are involved in a seeming contradiction when asserting on the other hand that there can be no fetichism without some feeling of symbolism, that the tendency to personify existed long before the development of a deliberate polytheism, that man, in short, never entirely abrogates his rational nature, and even in his lowest degradation has a glimmering consciousness of an unseen external agency giving mystical importance to the stone or block which he seems to worship. It is the development of this indistinct but ever-present feeling, rather than the creation of it, which constitutes his religious education. In the endeavour to form an image of such an independent agency, he follows the most obvious analogies, attributing to the rude symbol more and more of his own form and feeling, until in the retrospect of ancient superstition he conceives its superannuated relics to have undergone a metamorphosis, as Niobe was said even after her transformation to weep for her children², and the changes

² *Iliad*, xxiv. 617. *Soph. Electr.* 150.

of Proteus and of Vishnou were supposed to have ceased on their taking the shape of man. Religion acts the counterpart to the mind's progress in self-interpretation. Man's self-consciousness reflects him first as an organic being, afterwards as a moral and intelligent one. Exaggerations of the bodily faculties of size, strength, or beauty, suggest the first forms of vulgar personification; the Deity of the Old Testament is an evident copy of the human shape, endowed with those "parts and passions" which could be reconciled with the more spiritual representations of the New, only through the theological doctrine of "Accommodation." He is, moreover, a distinct, visible Artificer, external to the works of creation which he successively forms, examines, and approves. To the adherents of this rude personalism, every form of Pantheism, or spiritualism, would have seemed unintelligible, evanescent, and atheistic; hence the problem of the Atheism of Thales³, and the Christian complaint of the materialism of Greek cosmogony⁴. The first Greek philosophies were a reaction against these degrading views; but while endeavouring to avoid the personifying extreme they became materialistic or morphological, making the world a universal element rather than a universal Being. Yet the idea of force and of life inseparable from the general conception of the divine always tended to revert to the only available types for its expression, and to become, according to the prevailing degree of mental culture, either a moral ruler or father, or that gigantic physical organism comprehending male and female, heaven and earth, which was the earliest and simplest expression of the pantheistic feeling. It was from this half mystical, half homely and sensuous feeling that in the natural development of thought the rival powers of intellect and sense commenced their divergent operations; in one direction flowed the rich stream of symbolism, from the separation of the original hermaphrodite and the intermarriage of earth

³ Augustin, de Civ. viii. 2.

⁴ Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 7. p. 16. Atheism being always a term of reproach cast by the adherents of a lower creed on those of a more elevated one.

and heaven⁵ to the complicated creations of polytheistic mythology, on the other a more spiritual expression of Pantheism keeping pace with the march of intellectual self-consciousness, which, if employing symbolism, employed it advisedly, confining it to its proper function of explanatory illustration. The philosophical Pantheist, though opposed to the popular mythological forms, might by an exercise of ingenuity reconcile their use with his own convictions. Bowing, like Socrates, before the idol, he might reserve his real veneration for the universal and invisible spirit revealed only in its effects; and being himself enabled through the expedient of the emanation-doctrine to reconcile plurality with unity, and satisfactorily to acknowledge the mystery of the world as a faith, if not to explore it as a problem, he might tolerate the religious use of fanciful imagery in order to express what was otherwise inexplicable to the multitude, without fearing or perhaps foreseeing its liability to abuse.

We often hear complacent self-congratulations on the recognition of a personal God, as being the conception most suited to human sympathies, and exempt from the mystifications of Pantheism. But the divinity remains still a mystery notwithstanding all the devices which symbolism, either from the organic or inorganic creation, can supply, and personification is a symbol liable to misapprehension as much, if not more so, than any other, since it is apt to degenerate into a mere reflection of our own infirmities, and to suggest to our minds in regard to the Deity the same unreasonable expectations which cause such frequent disappointment in regard to our own familiar acquaintance and kindred. Objections to Pantheism not only imply ignorance on the part of the Christian objector as to the nature of his own creed⁶, but as to the point in dispute. Pantheism is in some measure felt, if not acknowledged, by all men. It is no more open to the charge of materialism than a personifying creed; since, if the one blends God with Nature, the other virtually confounds him with

⁵ Comp. Athenæ, xiii. 73.

⁶ Comp. Acts xvii. 28.

a part of Nature. By an inevitable association of ideas the elements of idealism and materialism are always more or less united, and the difficulty felt by the advocates of a spiritualistic belief in excluding the Deity from participation with the material produced those seeming contradictions⁷, which caused Plato to complain of the materialism of Anaxagoras⁸, those inevitable paradoxes of the senses and of the understanding which still afford a ground of supercilious comment to critics who would demand from the creed of the Hindoo that logical consistency which on the inscrutable theme of Deity is not to be found in any, not even in their own⁹. The elements of personification, as well as Pantheism, are in all Nature-worship. A basis of Pantheism pervades the polytheism of Greece¹⁰, and every pantheistic system betrays more or less of the irresistible tendency to personification. Their unconscious union may be found in the oldest Vedas, whose hymns were poetically said to have been "milked out of the elements," meaning that they were derived from the immediate inspiration of Nature at an age indefinitely remote. These hymns are invocations to the Devatas, to the same elemental powers which were the earliest objects of worship to the Persian¹¹ and to the Greek¹². The air, the sky, the clouds, the circle of the horizon¹³, have each an array of figurative titles as separate personifications; the fire (Agni), for instance¹⁴, is drawn in a chariot with red horses, and addressed as "king, assembler of the gods, son of strength, sacrificer," &c. It has been conjectured, from certain legendary hints in the Zendavesta, that one of the chief causes of the religious schism between the Iranian races of Persia and of India was the proneness of the latter to personify those "devatas," or divinities, which the former indignantly denounced

⁷ Cic. N. D. i. 12, 13.

⁸ Phædo, Wytten. p. 66.

⁹ Comp. Wilson's Oxford Lecture, pp. 45 and 47, with the first church article, and the accommodation doctrine.

¹⁰ Nitzsch to Odyss. Introd. p. xiii.

¹¹ Herod. i. 131. Ezra i. 2.

¹² Plato, Cratyl. 397^c. Hom. H. iii. 277. Æsch. Pr. 88.

¹³ Varouna, &c.

¹⁴ Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 760.

as Deves or devils in human shape¹⁵. Yet the spirit of the Vedas, as understood by their earliest as well as most recent expositors¹⁶, is decidedly a pantheistic monotheism; the many divinities, numerous as the prayers addressed to them, are resolvable into the titles and attributes of a few, and ultimately into the One. The machinery of personification unconsciously assumed by the first worshippers of Nature was afterwards philosophically understood to have been a mere expedient to supply the deficiencies of language; and “devotional reflexion”¹⁷ justly considered itself as only interpreting the true meaning of the Mantras when it proclaimed that in the beginning “nothing was but mind, the creative thought of him”¹⁸ which existed alone from the beginning, and breathed without afflation.”¹⁹ The idea suggested in the Mantras is dogmatically asserted and developed in the Upanischadas. The Vedanta philosophy, assuming the mystery of the “one in many” as the fundamental article of faith, maintains not only the Divine unity, but the identity of matter and spirit—the unity which it advocates is that of mind; mind is the universal element; the one God, the great soul, Mahaatma²⁰. God is indeed the material as well as efficient cause, and the world is a texture of which he is both the web and the weaver. He is the Macrocosmos, the universal organism called Pooroosha, of which Fire, Air, and Sun are only the chief members. His head is light, his eyes the sun and moon, his breath the wind, his voice the opened Vedas. As a thousand sparks fly from a single fire, so the thousands of creatures from God; as the web issues from the body of the spider, hair and nails from the skin, and grass from the earth, so the All proceeds from Brahm. Yet it is only the difficulty or rather impossibility of expressing in language the origination of matter from spirit which gives to Hindoo philosophy the appearance of materialism. Form-

¹⁵ Lassen, Ind. Antiq. i. 790.

¹⁶ Menu. xii. 85. 87. 118. 122. V. Bohlen, Ind. i. 152. 154.

¹⁷ Mimansa.

¹⁸ Or “That.”

¹⁹ Lassen, ib. 774.

²⁰ Houghton’s Vindication of Colebrooke. Asiatic Journal, Dec. 1835.

less himself, the Deity is present in all forms; his glory is displayed in the universe as the image of the sun in water, which is, yet is not, the luminary itself. All material agency and appearance, the subjective world of the Eleatic “*δοξα*,” are to a great extent phantasms, the notional representations of ignorance²¹; they occupy, however, a middle ground between reality and non-reality; they are unreal, because nothing exists but Brahm; yet in some degree real, inasmuch as they constitute an outward manifestation of him. They are personified as Prakriti, Nature; or Sakti, the Energy, or manifested Instrumentality of the Supreme, by the sensuous allegorized into his Consort; by the philosopher subtilized into Maia, which, however, is not the mere abstract notion of “Illusion,” but its source; a self-induced hypostasis of the Deity, under which he presents to himself the whole of animate and inanimate nature, the actuality of the moment, the diversified appearances which successively invest the one Pantheistic spirit. The object of divine knowledge is to overcome the illusion produced by the consciousness of individuality, and to arrive at the conviction of the oneness of the soul with God, so that man may feel and affirm with certainty “I am Brahm.” The identification of matter with mind which confounds our notion of substance, and which under a modified form has been so far countenanced as a speculation even by modern experimentalists as to give a strong check to the self-sufficiency of the simplest ontological inferences from sensuous appearance, was boldly adopted by Parmenides and Vyasa²² as the basis of the oldest faiths, or religious philosophies of the world.

§ 10.

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONIFICATION—GREEK SCULPTURE.

The personification of the Supreme Being, that irresistible tendency exemplified from the idol of the savage up to the

²¹ Avidya.

²² V. Bohlen, Ind. i. 161. Comp. Lassen, Ant. i. 834.

metaphorical language of philosophic Pantheism, may take place in two senses; either in connection with the outward form of humanity, or with its inner life or intelligence. The latter is the personification of philosophy; the former a higher kind of symbolical fetichism, which would probably not have continued to maintain its ground in an age of comparative civilization but for the countenance it obtained through the progress of Art. The feeling which would deify the beautiful existed among the Hindoos and Hebrews as well as among the Greeks¹; but among the former it was overborne by another tendency, that wish to blend in one expression a great variety of theological ideas which made the idols of Egypt or India elaborate metaphysical enigmas, a sculptured library of symbols instead of a gallery of art. On the other hand, Greece as well as India had its symbolical temple-theology; its sacred snakes (*οικουρος οφεις*)—its two-headed and three-eyed statues—its centimani and chimæras, and its first efforts of sculpture and of song were more metaphysical than graceful; but either from the self-neutralizing effect of conflicting forms, the natural tendencies of the people, or the circumstances of their external history², the development of religious imagery fell into the hands of men in whom the character of priest was subordinate to that of the artist; in other words, art, from the servant, became the mistress, the teacher, or even the constitutor of the religion in whose aid she had been employed. In this sense the great poets, Homer and Hesiod, were said to have been the “makers” of Greek Theogony³; and successive improvements in the plastic art, really due to the skill and genius of the sculptor, were received as new revelations from Heaven⁴. All symbolism was originally automatic and unpremeditated; so that the first images of the gods were said to have fallen from the sky, and the earliest artists, or rather personifications of sacerdotal symbol-making, such as Dædalus, Thoth, or Hephæstus, were looked upon as either wholly or in part divine. Yet the

¹ Lassen, *Antiq.* i. 771.

² Müller, *Orchom.* p. 303ⁿ.

³ Herod. ii. 53.

⁴ Paus. iii. 16. 1; viii. 42. 4.

influence of the priest was not absolutely extinct; the Ergastinæ and Arrephori, the ministers of the peplos of Athena or the torch of Ceres continued their traditional observances; sacerdotal offices were hereditary in certain families, nor were Demeter or even Zeus ever completely severed from the elements. But the sacerdotal influence was counterbalanced by another of a more generally congenial kind⁵; for the Greek artist was himself a sort of hierarch of Nature emancipated from the strict subservience to precedent commonly inherent in the sacerdotal spirit, and enjoying to some extent that privilege of inventing and modifying religious symbolism usually accorded only to its earliest founders. He employed the privilege rather in the selection and chastened expression of conceptions than in the grotesque accumulation of them; anticipating in regard to forms that mental process which the Platonic philosophy applied generally to ideas. Yet he was not a mere inventor of ornamental postures and forms, for the very beauty of the form consisted, to a great extent, in the appropriate expression of an idea, partly indeed derived from tradition, yet partly too from a profound study of Nature, as well in her moral meanings as in the general law by which she seems to have been influenced in her representations of them, so that art was kept alive by the soul which prompted it, and in the copy, as in the original, the idea of ornament was secondary and subordinate to the beauty and justness of the thought.

Early art was a substitute for literature; and the origin of sculpture was prepared in that necessity of the mind by which natural objects had been invested immemorially with an appropriate emblematic meaning. Among the first symbols of Deity were those fabled ancestors of mankind, trees and stones. To an attentive mind even stocks and stones may be made instructive, and be used like any other cipher or sound to raise the thoughts to religious contemplation. The worship of stones, frequent among all rude tribes, was especially so in Arabia,

⁵ Called by Benjamin Constant, "Polythéisme indépendant," but more properly, perhaps, to be styled the Epic or æsthetic tendency.

Phœnicia, and other parts of western Asia, where several individual stones, as those of Pessinus, of Emesa, and of the Caaba, have obtained historical celebrity⁶. Emblematic stones were worshipped in Greece down to the days of Pausanias, and were appealed to, in the practice of the Arabs and Romans⁷, as a monumental attestation of oaths and compacts. Zuri-Schaddai and Zuriel appears to have been a common name for the Hebrew God⁸, adopted conformably to the custom of the religious East⁹ as a family patronymic; and the emphatic way in which Jehovah is often addressed, as “the Rock” or “Stone” of Israel, seems to indicate something more than a mere poetical metaphor¹⁰, this natural comparison easily generating a corresponding form of worship by the conversion of an idea into a rite¹¹. Meteoric stones were said to have been “invented” by the God Uranus¹² to be made objects of human devotion; they were imagined to have once existed in the heavens as stars, in consequence of their falling from the air¹³, and were therefore

⁶ Theophrast. ch. xvi. Photius, Cod. 242. Clem. Alex. Cohort. 4. Zoega, Abhand. p. 22ⁿ. Apollon. Rh. ii. 1176. Herodian, Hist. v. 3.

⁷ Herod. iii. 8. Apuleius, De Deo Socrat. v. p. 127, Hildebrand.

⁸ Numb. i. 6; ii. 12; iii. 35. 2 Sam. xxii. 2, 3. 32; xxiii. 3.

⁹ Lucian, Pro. Imag. 27.

¹⁰ Conf. Genes. xlix. 24. Deut. xxxii. 4. 18. 30, 31. 37. The other epithet, “shepherd,” in the former of these passages, is evidently not arbitrary, but taken from the habits of a pastoral people; the close analogy of mythus and ritual is exemplified in the sacred stone of Delphi, as in the emblematic torches of Ceres. Clem. Alex. Str. i. 418. Hes. Th. 499. Paus. x. 24; ix. 38.

¹¹ The Messiah, who, as Jehovah’s earthly manifestation or representative succeeded to many of his symbols, became the “anointed” corner stone. Psalm cxviii. 22. Daniel ii. 34, 35. Matth. xxi. 42. 44. 1 Cor. x. 4. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 420. When it is said (Roth, preface to Nirukta) that religious dogmas are usually derivatives from ritual, not its sources, it is not to be denied that an opinion lay at the foundation of the rite itself, of which, however, the rite is often the only remaining record.

¹² Θεός ουρανός. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10.

¹³ “Ἀστὴρ αἰθοπετής.” Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10. 21, Heinichen. Hence Bœtylus is a son of Heaven, Euseb. ib., and is represented as flying through the air. Photius, p. 1061. 1063. 1066. Stones were, therefore, emblems of those Titan Uranides, whose prototypes existed in the sky. (Eurip. Orest. vi. 975. Phœnissæ, iii. Diog.

presumed to be ensouled with a divine or celestial intelligence¹⁴. One of the most expressive and universal symbols of the Deity was fire, the all-vivifying and all-consuming element borne in the van of the Persian¹⁵ and Hebrew armies¹⁶, and for ever burning in the temple of Numa, the Athenian Prytaneum, and on the Levitical altar¹⁷. Stones were revered as the mysterious depositaries of fire—of the spark struck from the rock by the Persian Housheng; and it was probably in this sense chiefly that they received the name of “Bethels”¹⁸ or “houses of God”¹⁹, who was supposed to be actually resident and inclosed within them²⁰. Hence the practice of pouring oil over them; and Heraclitus compared image worship to talking to “houses,” for the same reason that the Christians supposed evil spirits to lurk under heathen statues¹². In the “Bethel” or meteoric stone, the idea of celestial fire was mingled with that of terrestrial, and many fanciful analogies connected these earthly symbols with the nobler fetichism of the sun and stars. The Greeks, who in the most ancient times worshipped the heavenly bodies²², worshipped also rude stones²³. The thirty stones at Pharæ mentioned by Pausanias, and the pyramidal figure of Jupiter Meilichius²⁴, had probably an astronomical

Laert. ii. viii. 10. Comp. Odyss. viii. 186), and which were vomited as stones by Cronus. Hes. Th. 459. Comp. 157. 652.

¹⁴ “*Λιθοι ἐμψυχοι*”—Euseb. Pr. Ev. “*Religiosa silex*”—Claudian. Rapt. Pros. i. 201. The horned Ashtoreth or Astarte herself consecrates in Tyre the fallen meteor, Euseb. i. 10. 21, and her emblems of star and stone are often united. Pellerin, Rec. 3. tab. 54, and cxxxv. 9.

¹⁵ Curtius, iii. 3; v. 2. Ammianus Marcell. xxiii. 6.

¹⁶ Deut. ix. 3. Exod. xiv. 24. Psalm lxviii. 8.

¹⁷ “*Ζεὺς ἀκαματου πυρος ορμη.*” Orph. Frag. vi. 13. Antonin. Lib. ch. xix. Nonni. Dion. vi. 174. Comp. Exod. xxiv. 10. 17. Deut. iv. 12. 24, &c. The angels too were supposed to be of a fiery nature. See Psalm civ. 4.

¹⁸ *Βαιτυλία*.

¹⁹ Plato, Phædrus, 246. Genes. xxviii. 17. 22.

²⁰ Arnobius, i. 39; vi. 18. Clem. Alex. Protrep. p. 40, Pott. Strom. 418, and 862. Plutarch, Alcib. 34. Qu. Rom. 61, p. 279. Spanheim to Callima. in Lavacr. Pallad. v. 33, 39.—Müller, Archæologie, 66. Diod. S. xvii. 49. Exod. xiii. 21.

²¹ Minut. Fel. Octav. ch. xxvi.

²² Plato, Cratyl. 397.

²³ Paus. vii. 22. 3.

²⁴ Paus. ii. 9. 6.

significance; the same may be said of the pole surmounted by the sun's disc worshipped by the Pæonians²⁵, and the stone pillars called in Phœnicia "Hamanim" or "sun images," sometimes topped by a flame or globe²⁶. Upright posts or pillars, whether of stone or wood, were among the most ancient symbols; they represented the divine attributes of firmness, order, unity, the power of stability or regeneration²⁷. The obelisk was rich in meaning; it was the sun's prolific ray, the phallus, or, astronomically, the pole or spindle of the sky²⁸; the pyramid being only a more gigantic obelisk, typical of God's mountain, the Atlantean fabric of the universe, of which the pinnacle is the Lord's house or throne²⁹, while the lower parts are full of dark and intricate passages³⁰, through which the disembodied spirit fulfils the labyrinth of its migrations³¹. The universe, the real dwelling-place of God, of the sun, or of fire, was expressed on coins by an asterisk within a square³²;

²⁵ Max. Tyr. Diss. viii. 8. Comp. Herod. iv. 103.

²⁶ The illuminated column as an emblem of divinity expressed steadfastness and light; to *ιστάως καὶ μονιμὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φῶς*. (Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 418.) "Such pillars," adds Clement, "were worshipped as *αφιδρυματα* of God before the formal establishment of image worship, and of this nature were the pillars of fire and cloud which led the Israelites." The spires of our own churches with their balls and cocks, the latter the "*περσικός ορνίς*," emblematic of the sun (Aristoph. Aves—Payne, Knight, Anct. Art. s. 104), are derived from these ancient symbols. Fire, according to the Pythagoreans (Pseudo Plut. de Plac. Philos. ii. 6), was symbolized by the pyramidal form. Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 14. Comp. Timæ. Loc. de Animâ, p. 554, Gale, and as to the symbolical relation of the Phallus to fire, Plut. in vitâ Rom. ii. Dion. Hal. iv. 2.

²⁷ Hence God is "the rock." Deut. xxxii. 4. 2 Sam. xxii. 2, 32. Psalm xviii. 31; xxviii. 1, and Christ his earthly vicegerent, the "corner stone." Acts iv. 11. Matt. xxi. 42.

²⁸ *Ατρακτος*. Creuz. S. ii. 188. 192. Plato, Rep. x. 13, p. 617. Arati, Phœn. 22. Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 14; xxxviii. 8.

²⁹ Isai. ii. 2; xl. 22. Psalm xcvi. 9; cxiii. 4.

³⁰ Plato, Phædo, 61, 63, 65, Wyttenb. Creuz. S. ii. 113. sq. Herod. ii. 148. As to the labyrinth and its meaning, Virg. Æn. v. 588, and Creuz. S. ii. 113.

³¹ Hence tombs were made into the forms of pyramids, obelisks, or phalli. Comp. the account of the remarkable sepulchral towers near Tartosa, and the fluted pyramidal tombs of the Yezidis, in Kelly's Syria, pp. 47 and 124.

³² Payne, Knight, Ancient Art. s. 96.

a variation of the same hieroglyph produced the labyrinth, which as described by Herodotus, with its twelve halls lying over against one another, seems to represent the houses of the Zodiac, as the Cnossian or Delian dance³³ would be the tortuous path of the stars. In the confusion arising out of the use of symbols, the emblem of God's habitation was easily mistaken for God himself; or rather, that which in a more advanced stage of thought was separated from God was in the first processes of symbolism confounded with him, whether diminished to a stone or magnified to a mountain, such as Mount Arganthonius in Spain, Atlas, Argæus, or Olympus, each of which was at once the shrine and the Deity³⁴. The rude stone or altar³⁵, the dwelling-place of fire³⁶, which, being a symbol or image of the Deity, was at first called after his name³⁷, seemed, in the advance of personification and reflection, no longer fit to represent him; the rock-born spark was dramatised into the Mithras Diorpus of the Persians³⁸; and Vesta or Hestia, alone among the Greek Pantheon, was left as tenant of the "house of the gods."³⁹ Yet the gods of statuary and poetry, though in point of form so different from the original symbols, and from the physical beings they represented⁴⁰, continued in many respects unchanged; the material was the same, a substance the least susceptible of decay⁴¹, the form yielded but to slow and cautious innovations, and it was only by degrees that the divine unity expressed by one stone or pillar⁴², or the dualism represented by two⁴³, underwent that

³³ Plut. Hes. 21. Callim. Delos. 306. Iliad xviii. 591.

³⁴ Creuz. Symb. i. 36; iii. 137; iv. 622. Strabo, vii. 298. Isai. li. 1. Paus. ix. 34.

³⁵ Exod. xx. 24.

³⁶ Judg. vi. 21; xiii. 20.

³⁷ Comp. Payne, Knight, Ancient Art. S. 94, and Genes. xxxiii. 20. Exod. xvii. 15.

³⁸ Ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας. Guigniaut, Rel. i. 371. Statius Theb. i. 719.

³⁹ "Θεῶν οἶκος." Plato, Phædrus, 247. Ovid, Fast. vi. 295. "Nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intellige flammam."

⁴⁰ Plato, Laws, p. 931.

⁴¹ Gesen. to Isai. xl. 20; xlv. 14, 15. Wisd. xiii. 11. 13.

⁴² Pind. Nem. x. 115.

⁴³ Such as the Jupiter Meilichius and Diana Patroa of Sicyon, Paus. ii. 9, or the

transformation of the artist which was either limited, as among the Egyptians⁴⁴, to certain prescribed types, or virtually emancipated, as in Greece, by the subordination of theological ideas. In the latter, the shapeless blocks called Hermæ assumed more and more of the human form; until, according to the adage⁴⁵, men appeared literally to have grown out of stones and trees. The circular disc of the sun, appended to the Pæonian pole, has a rude resemblance to a human head⁴⁶; the first development of the arms assumed, as in the curious Numidian figure of Baal-Hamon⁴⁷, the cruciform shape; the rude post became a bust, to which were superadded the distinctions of sex; the legs were divided⁴⁸, at first, as in Egyptian art, stiffly, afterwards with greater freedom⁴⁹; till at length Jove was allowed as it were to walk forth out of the block⁵⁰: the age of Dædalus began⁵¹, and the finished statue appeared to have issued out of the original pillar or pedestal on which it was mounted, as the human goddess Atergatis is represented on the coins of Ascalon standing upon the body of her chronological predecessor, or mother, the fish-deity Derceto⁵².

two poles representing Castor and Pollux at Sparta, a figure still preserved in the astronomical sign Gemini. Plut. de Amor. Frat. 1. Comp. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10. 8. Herod. ii. 44. 111. 121. Creuz. Briefe, 39. 1 Kings, vii. 15. Lucian, De Deâ, S. xvi. 28. We may add the two pillars erected in front of Solomon's temple, and those of the temple of Dagon at Gaza, for it is difficult to ascertain where the quarterly reviewer of Bunsen's Egypt, p. 163, found his "open style of columnar architecture," and his "pairs of columns at considerable intervals from each other."

⁴⁴ Plato, Laws, ii. 656. 239, Bek.

⁴⁵ Odyss. T. 163. Comp. Matt. iii. 9. Virg. Georg. i. 63.

⁴⁶ Winkelman, Geschichte, i. 1. 9.

⁴⁷ In the museum of the Asiatic Society, and figured in Pt. 3, Fig. 21 of Gesenius' "Phœnician Inscriptions," s. 57.—Ghillany, "Menschenopfer," p. 530.

⁴⁸ Comp. the story of the leg-tied Zeus. Isis and Osiris, ch. 62.

⁴⁹ It would seem as if men feared lest the free use of legs, as in the instance of the Samian Juno (Athenæus, 672^d), would enable the god to run away from them, and consequently the first "Dædalean" statues were chained. Note to Plato's Meno, p. 97, Variorum Ed. p. 78. Comp. Paus. iii. 15. 7.

⁵⁰ Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. 62.

⁵¹ Plato, Hipp. Major. 282. Pausan. ix. 3.

⁵² Creuz. Sym. ii. Pt. 2. tab. i. Fig. 7. tab. ii. Fig. 10.

§ 11.

GREEK POETRY.

The first efforts of poetry, as of sculpture, were dedicated to the service of the gods. The muses of Parnassus and Helicon were originally from Pieria, the country surrounding the foot of Thessalian Olympus¹, which, as the revered site of the oldest Æolian civilization, became ever after mythologically sacred as the habitation of the so-called "Olympian" or poetical divinities². Human reason has been said to be chiefly distinguished by the progressive character which it owes to the use of memory and language³; and the Muses were beautifully imagined to be daughters of Memory⁴, the only power through which, in the infancy of literature, the acquisitions of thought can be recorded and preserved. The barbarian Lycurgus, like the Persian adversary Afrasiab, the representative at once of ignorance, sterility, and winter, tried in vain to extirpate those "nourishers of the soul,"⁵ who accompanied with their songs the triumphant progress of the God of Nature⁶; inextinguishable germs of civilization whether native or derived were implanted on the soil of Greece; the lesson of the Muses was learned by the rude shepherd of Bœotia⁷, and in its connection with religion became precursor of the more abstruse harmonies of philosophy⁸. The

¹ Hes. Theog. 62. Strabo, x. 471.

² Heyne, De Religione Musarum, Gottingen. Trans. Tom. viii. an. 1786. Comp. Eurip. Bacchæ, 569—"εν τοις πολυδενδροισιν Ολυμπου θαλαμοις ενθα ποτ' Ορφευς κιθαριζων συναγεν δινδρεα Μουσαις, συναγεν θηρας αγρωτας."

³ Language itself being an artificial memory. Archbp. Whately, in the Athenæum for 1842, p. 1040. Max. Tyr. Diss. xvi. 307.

⁴ Hes. Theog. 53.

⁵ "Θρεπτειραι ψυχης." Orph. Hymn, 75.

⁶ Sophocl. Antig. 965. Iliad, vi. 130. Diod. S. iii. 55. 64; i. 16. 18; iv. 4. Zoega, Abhand. p. 13.

⁷ Hes. Th. 26.

⁸ "Ως φιλοσοφιας ουσης μεγιστης μουσικης." Plato, Phædo, p. 60^c. Strabo, x. p. 468.

first hieratic poetry was an unpremeditated inspiration, including, under the disguise of a narrative of human action, the imaginary deeds of gods mixed up with the history of the universe. It received its first outlines from those ancient theological professors who, with justice, were styled the "Sophists of antiquity,"⁹ since, whether their dogmas were clothed in the forms of poetry or in mystic solemnities and oracles, whether speaking as seers of Nature or as inspired prophets of the Muse, they rather aimed at that which should possess plausibility among their immediate cotemporaries, than for the attainment of such a standard of truth as should bear the test of experience¹⁰. The first philosophers were theologers, and the first theology was poetry. To the hierophants of Dodona or Samothrace, the bards of Apollo, or of Bacchus¹¹, must be ascribed the first attempts to give an authoritative standard of expression

⁹ Plato, Protag. 316^d. Herod. ii. 49.

¹⁰ Aristot. Metaph. ii. 4. 12. Plato, Sophist. 242. (182. Bek.)

¹¹ Such as Linus, Pamphus, Olen, bards and probably personations of Apollo; and Thamyris, Tiresias, Melampus, Bacchic priests, or sophists; names, of course, apocryphal as individuals (Cic. N. D. i. 38. Herod. ii. 53; iv. 35), with no more pretension to authenticity than those of Hermes, Zoroaster, or Brahma, yet really representing various Orphic or sacerdotal schools. Orpheus is the most general and important of these personifications of theological tradition, including apparently both the Bacchic and Apollinic. The common story of Orpheus is only a form of that of Dionysus Zagreus, descending to the shades to recover Eurydice or Persephone (Eurip. Rhesus. 969), bitten in the heel by the autumnal serpent. Like the vocal Memnon, the son of Calliope died, or, as shown in the orgies, was torn in pieces, and his tomb was to be seen at Libethra, at Dium, and within the precincts of Delphi. A recent work (Smith's Dictionary of Mythology, art. Orpheus) treats as contradictory the testimonies of Plato and Aristotle, one admitting the *existence* of Orpheus, the other denying his *personal existence*, both of which may easily be received and reconciled. Of course it is not the "so-called" Orphic poetry (τα καλουμενα Ορφικα Aristot.), the spurious product of Pythagorean syncretism, already denounced by Herodotus (ii. 53. 81), or the still later forgeries comprised in that now extant, but only the name and general character of the dogmas which can pretend to high antiquity. (Joh. Philoponus in Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 348.) The name of Orpheus, like that of the Hebrew sages, Enoch or Daniel, and perhaps also the Greek Pythagoras, must have possessed an established reputation which it was worth while for later pretenders to assume. Had Orphism been a mere recent institution, why should Euripides have attached the idea of learned antiquity (Hippolytus, 958) to what arose almost within his own memory? The name of Orpheus differs from that of Eumolpus,

to the innumerable symbols and legends whose early existence is sufficiently attested by the influence they exerted throughout the whole career of poetry and even of philosophy. Homer himself, from the many theological allusions discoverable in his poems, was called an Orphic follower¹², and Hesiod is properly classed among "theologers" by Aristotle¹³. Little can be inferred from the Homeric silence as to myths which might have been unknown in the district where the poet lived, or, if known, were uncongenial to the spirit of his song¹⁴. For the Epic style is in direct contrast to the hieratic, out of which, in a certain sense, it grew; and the mystic stories of Dionysus and Demeter¹⁵ were unsuited to the joyous vein of the artist whose legendary materials were always in subservience to the aim of poetical effect. The stories of the olden time became divested of their import as religious mysteries when they were told for the object of amusement¹⁶, and formed into pictures to fill up a blank in the recollections of the past. But between the age of pure unconscious allegory to that of pure epic, between the first figurative hymns to the elements, such as the specimen attributed to Pamphus in Pausanias, to that of the Homeric stories and personifications, an interval of perhaps many centuries was filled up by a series of poems¹⁷ of an intermediate character¹⁸, which were probably more figurative and significant in proportion to their antiquity¹⁹. The singing of

Musæus, &c., only in being more frequently referred to as a theological authority (Paus. ii. 30; iii. 14. Eurip. Rhesus. 941. Strabo, x. 471); it was the ritual and dogma attached to this time-consecrated name which Onomacritus undertook to amplify and interpolate, and with which the dispersed Pythagoreans amalgamated.

¹² Diod. S. i. 96.

¹³ Metaph. ii. 4. 12. Conf. xiii. 4. Hellanicus, Sturz. p. 107. Virg. Eclog. vi. 71.

¹⁴ Conf. Müller, Mythol. p. 68. transl. Kleine, Schrift, 66. 90.

¹⁵ Müller, Kl. Schrift, p. 91.

¹⁶ Hes. Theog. 55.

¹⁷ Herod. ii. 23. 40. Aristot. Poet. i. 4.

¹⁸ More so, probably, than even the Homeric hymns. Paus. ix. 30, ad fin. Hermann and Creuzer, Briefe, pp. 15, 16.

¹⁹ Creuz. Symb. i. 25. 74.

the Muses at the Olympian banquets, with Apollo for their choragus, may be supposed in part to reflect the practice of the heroic age when the bard was summoned to do honour to the feasting of chiefs while the chorus danced²⁰; but it was also an expression of the music of Nature, whose movements are separate and subordinate to the author of its harmonies. In course of time the deeds of men were intermingled with those of gods, and the stream of legend, enriched by incidents borrowed from familiar ceremonies and events, assumed a more imposing and connected form as Gigantomachies, Titantomachies, or Heracleas, or in the eventful stories of Argos, Thebes, and Troy²¹. Yet even in these the religious element continued greatly to prevail over the historical; and, though it may be difficult to determine whether Homer or Hesiod themselves understood the meaning of many of the stories they reported²², it is unquestionable that the actual structure of the Greek Epic, combining ingenious enigmas with brilliant pictures, is explicable only on the supposition of a physico-religious groundwork gradually transformed into the state in which we find them through long-continued efforts of intermediary and forgotten bards. The clearest indications of the character of the "pre-Homeric" poetry are to be found in Homer himself, in the fragments evidently of cosmogonical import which have been stereotyped in the mature Epic, such as the weaving of Penelope and the Nereids, the punishment of Juno hung among the clouds, or of the Titans confined in Tartarus, the cestus of Aphrodite binding heaven and earth, the visit of Minos to Zeus, or of Zeus to the Æthiopians, or the golden chain suspended by the father of gods and men from the sky²³. If we ask why Dionysus is driven into the

²⁰ Hes. Theog. 40. Iliad, i. 604. Müller's Greek Literature, p. 22.

²¹ A Titantomachy is ascribed to Musæus (Schol. Apollon. Rh. iii. 1178), and the pre-existence of such poems is assumed when Homer supposes the battles of the ancient gods, as well as the adventures of Hercules, &c., to be already known.

²² Yet it is still more difficult to believe that Homer or his hearers were entirely unable to feel the allusions which so greatly enhance the grandeur and beauty of his subjects.

²³ Iliad, xv. 18. Compare the idea of the stone suspended from Olympus, Schol.

sea by Lycurgus, or why Bellerophon becomes unexpectedly hated by the gods and condemned to wander on the Aleian plain, an answer is not to be directly obtained from Homer, but from the analogous import of the stories which drove other gods into exile or captivity, which made Cadmus a slave to Mars, or Mars to the Aloidæ, which forced Hercules to abandon human society, Zeus to have recourse to the hundred-armed Ægæon, or caused the wanderings of Io, the Argonauts, or Ulysses²⁴. We may often see how the laborious exploits and perambulations of the sun-god, undertaken on behalf of the human race, and in consideration of which he is pitied by the effeminate Ionian Mimnermus²⁵, have in course of time been shaped into a divine legend, and eventually lowered to the level of humanity as an heroic tale²⁶; how his diversified appearances in time and space have been separately personified as an array of attendant genii, or have placed him in seeming contradiction and hostility with himself. Among these transformations the element of historical truth has been hopelessly obscured or lost, and so all-absorbing has been the mythical pro-

Eurip. Orest. 983, and the effigy of Artemis, "*απαγχομενη*." Paus. viii. 23. 5. Comp. iii. 16. 2. The heavenly bodies being sometimes supposed to be attached to the sphere of heaven, sometimes hung from it; the latter symbol was easily changed into a punishment when its original meaning was no longer understood.

²⁴ Odyss. xviii. 18;—on the Aleian plain, Uschold, Vorhalle, i. 251. Völcker, Japetus. 173^{sq}. Comp. the Corybas "*ερημοπλανας*," Orph. H. xxxviii. 4.

²⁵ Frag. 8. Gaisf.

²⁶ Vorstellungen-die, wie die ganze Theogonie, in epischen Gewande gleichsam historisirt auftreten. Die Thaten und Wanderungen des Sonnengottes zum Heile des menschengeschlechtes unternommen verarbeiten sich in Folge der Zeit zu einer gotterlegende, oder auch, wenn sie auf menschliche heroen sich übertragen, zu einer Heldensage. V. Bohlen, Indien. i. 139.

Man lachle nicht über das ewige Erscheinen der Sonne und des Mondes in allen mythologischen deutungen. Nicht die Einseitigkeit der Erklärer, sondern die ruhig geführte Betrachtung der meisten Namen Mythen und Attribute Vornehmer Nationalgötter führen unwillkürlich auf jene beiden Himmelskörper, die sich als die Urgötter des einfachen menschen darbieten. Die grosse hälfte der Vielgötterei entwickelt sich von selbst aus den attributen dieser zwei.—Buttmann, Mythol. ii. 70.

cess that even the main incidents of the story cannot be depended on as authentic, even alliances and military expeditions being found, on examination, to refer to physical phenomena²⁷. Among the many symbols, whether objects or actions, which served the ancient bard as illustrations of the course of nature, we find the permanence of the world, or its vicissitudes, described as a succession of births or of murders, a weaving or a journey, a hunting match or a voyage. Thus the ship *Argo*, built by "Argos," the details of whose adventures may have had their basis of fact in the obscure migrations and navigation of the Minyæ of Iolcos, as afterwards they were undoubtedly modified and enlarged in proportion to the extension of geographical knowledge, is originally the "world renowned,"²⁸ vessel of Osiris or Nature, in which the sun performs his diurnal or annual course;²⁹ its commander, the husband of Medea-Here³⁰, must be an equivalent of Zeus³¹, who wooed her at Corinth³², attended by the twelve deities who, in other legends, travelled or fled with him to Egypt or Ethiopia³³; and the cosmical navigation with twelve or fifty rowers, corresponding with the number of the weeks or months, like that of the daughters of Danaus or of Actæon's hounds³⁴, is the annual expedition of the deity to bring back the golden fruits of Aries or of time. An often-recurring story told how earth withheld her increase, and

²⁷ Müller Gr. Literature, p. 13.

²⁸ "Πασιμελουσα," i. e. in song. Nitzsch to Odyss. xii. 70; vol. iii. vi. 376. Uschold, Vorhalle i. 334.

²⁹ Diod. S. iv. 53. Plutarch, Isis, ch. 22.

³⁰ Comp. Odyss. xii. 70. Schol. Eurip. Med. 1376. Diod. S. iv. 55. Ælian, V. H. v. 21. Paus. ii. 3. 6.

³¹ Jason or Jasius. Comp. Ritter's Vorhalle, p. 395, the Zeus Actæus worshipped on Mount Pelion where Jason was brought up (Müller, Orchomenus, 243, 244. 260. Eustathius to Odyss. xviii. 246), related to Mars, and to Hermes.

³² Schol. Pind. Olymp. xiii. 74.

³³ Comp. Plato, Phædrus, 247.

³⁴ Compare the number of the bulls of the Sun (Odyss. xii. 130), the Phæacian rowers, the servants of Arete and Penelope, in the Odyss. vii. 103. The Argonauts, like Jason himself, were personifications of the Sun-God.

how a victim was required to satisfy the gods³⁵. The penalty demanded by Nature appears to be either the death of a man, an exile to a distant shore, or the golden or purple ram born of Poseidon and Theophane³⁶, who either voluntarily offered himself, or was brought by Hermes or Zeus as a ransom or pledge of security³⁷ for Phrixus. The bull was the appropriate victim to Poseidon or Pluto, the ram to Aries or Zeus Laphystius. Each year requires its own ceremony of atonement, and the same divine necessity doubly personified in Ino or Juno-Nephele³⁸, who of old deceived Ixion, and who drove the Athamantides from their home, again in her milder aspect led the Cretheids of Iolcos in their search after the lost treasure of wealth and life, yet once more at the close of the expedition changed into the avenging Erinnys³⁹ who murdered her children, and instituted the sanguinary rites of the Corinthian Acræa⁴⁰.

But a still more common symbol of cosmical vicissitude was that which, long before it was adopted as a problem by Heraclitus, had been a chief ingredient in the Persian and other Asiatic mythologies⁴¹—war. War was called “the Father of the Universe,”⁴² and the changes of sympathetic nature, supposed to be reflected in the affairs of men, had been unconsciously blended with them in the legendary quarrels of Ilus and Tantalus⁴³, of Hercules and Laomedon, of Ninus and Zoroaster. The precedent of Nature’s eternal conflict was imitated in the ritual of religions. We may refer to the elemental battle of

³⁵ Müller, Orchom. 160. 167.

³⁶ Hyg. fab. 3 and 188.

³⁷ Paus. ix. 22. 1.

³⁸ Here, Themisto, Demodice, Athene-Asia, Medea wooed by Zeus. Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 74. Apollon. Rh. i. 14. Apollod. i. 9. 8. 3, &c. Paus. iii. 24. 5.

³⁹ i. e. Medea herself, the Cthonian aspect of the Deity, discoverer of poisons, like other Cthonian personifications, such as Ilus Mermerides, in Thesprotia. Comp. Schol. in Apollon. iii. 200.

⁴⁰ Müller, Orchom. 264. Diod. S. iv. 54. Schol. Eurip. Med. 10. 1376. Paus. ii. 3. 6. Philostrat. p. 740.

⁴¹ Ritter, Vorhalle, p. 444. Plato, Laws, iii. 685^c. Arnob. in Gent. i. 5.

⁴² “Πόλεμος πάντων πατήρ.”

⁴³ Tzetzes to Lycophr. 355.

the Titans, or of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, to the title of Osiris as “Στρατηγος,”⁴⁴ to the mimic dances of the Sali, the Amazons, or the Libyan maidens of the lake Tritonis, the combat by which Mars was inducted to his temple at Papremis, the symbolical war of Eleusis⁴⁵, and many other instances. If it be too much to say that the tale of Troy is a mere elemental war or calendar of the seasons, since it is impossible to disprove the intermixture of reminiscences of actual events⁴⁶, many of its incidents and characters are clearly symbolical; and the entire story can now be treated only as a sacred legend, a drama of religious strife reflecting the supposed operations of Nature⁴⁷, held in honour of Minerva, Aphrodite Aineias (Anaitis?), or Ehippia, or Diana Orthia⁴⁸, virtually one with Artemis-Helena, the epic “cause” or heroine of the matured story. The greatness of Troy was a creation of poetry; it was a divine city (Ιλῖος ἱερή), its capture a divine event⁴⁹. It was probably connected with that ancient Pelasgian mystery of the elements in which Poseidon, the ancestral god of the Achæan colonists of Asiatic Æolis, offered violence, under the horse form, to Demeter, seeking her lost daughter⁵⁰, Persephone-Luna⁵¹, upon which the irritated deity became changed into an Erinny, as Helena, too, seduced by Hermes-Cthonius as Paris⁵², when the Neptunian horse had been placed upon the Trojan acropolis⁵³, appeared as an avenging fury in Vesta’s temple⁵⁴, the “bane of Europe and of Asia,”⁵⁵ yet still capable of assuming the form of “the alma

⁴⁴ Plutarch, Isis, ch. 22.

⁴⁵ Hom. H. Ceres, 267.

⁴⁶ Heyne, de fide ætatis Mythicæ. Göttingen Transactions, 14. 119. Yet the office of Mythus is not to relate facts, but to give to opinions the form of facts.

⁴⁷ “Belli Simulachra.” Virg. Æn. v. 585. 596. 674. Servius to v. 602.

⁴⁸ Plutarch, Theseus, 15. Creuz. Symb. iii. 829.

⁴⁹ Eurip. Cyclops. 285. Eustath. to Iliad iv. 46, p. 444.

⁵⁰ Paus. viii. 25.

⁵¹ Identical with Helena, Eurip. Helen. 1658. Orest. 1652. Isocrat. Helen. Enc. 27.

⁵² Paus. iv. 30. 2.

⁵³ Hom. Odyss. viii. 511.

⁵⁴ Æschyl. Agam. 726. Virg. Æn. ii. 573. 610. In the Iliac table she flies to the temple of Aphrodite. Museo Capitolino, vol. 4. pl. 68. p. 352.

⁵⁵ Paus. x. 12. 1.

parens" of Æneas⁵⁶. The city built by the elements⁵⁷ whose existence is mysteriously dependent on the bones of Neptune's favourite, Pelops, at once the palladium of its safety and token of its ruin⁵⁸, fell through the instrumentality of the emblem which made Pelops victorious⁵⁹, the horse, now typical of the watery close of the seasons⁶⁰, and the years of the duration of the strife in allusion to the ancient division of months equalled those of the conflict of gods and Titans⁶¹, and the number of the heroes instrumental in the catastrophe⁶². The events of the Odyssey, another tale of solar circumnavigation which, both in its entirety and in its details, was already allegorised among the ancients⁶³, might have found their parallel among many analogous memorials of Greek tradition if the latter could have found their poet⁶⁴. It abounds with physical and cosmogonical allusions current in the poet's time, though not perhaps understood by the generality of his hearers. Much of its machinery was doubtless taken from earlier Argonautics and Nostoi, the latter being chiefly founded on speculative ideas respecting the disappearance and backward course of the sun. To understand it we should bear in mind the theory according to which the earth is an island or disc, like that of Achilles' shield, surrounded by the water of Oceanus⁶⁵; and that the disappearance of the sun

⁵⁶ Virg. *Æn.* ii. 591. 602.

⁵⁷ By Apollo and Neptune, i. e. fire and water; to whom Pindar adds a third architect, Æacus, probably meaning Earth. *Ol.* vii. 39.

⁵⁸ Volcker, *Japetus*, p. 362.

⁵⁹ According to Æschylus, at the setting of the Pleiades. *Agam.* 732, Bothe.

⁶⁰ The sea, the "unfruitful," the end of the sun's diurnal and annual career. Hence the death of Hercules in the centaur's coat, of Ædipus at Colonos "Hippios," Theseus, Myrtilus, Buto, &c., drowned in the sea. *Comp. Odys.* viii. 511, and the stories of Hippotes, Melanippos, &c. *Müller, Kleine, Schrift.* ii. p. 39.

⁶¹ *Apollod.* i. 2. 1. *Hes. Th.* 636. *Diod. S.* iv. 54.

⁶² *Iliad.* xii. 15. *Hermann, Briefe*, p. 20.

⁶³ *Creuzer, Briefe*, pp. 121. 123. 125, &c.

⁶⁴ *Comp. Creuzer, Symb.* iii. 383, speaking of the Bœotian legend of the destruction of the suitors of Calirrhœe.

⁶⁵ *Uckert, Georg.* i. 2, p. 7, sq.

on one side, followed by his reappearance on the other, necessarily presumes some unseen path of communication from west to east; for example, the nether, or "backward flowing" ocean⁶⁶. At midsummer, when the nights are shortest, the sun's movement in azimuth makes his path bend northwards, and, the sphere of night being thus contracted, it might be conceived that, from an elevation, such as the lofty fortress of the Læstrygones⁶⁷, it might almost be possible for the eye to discern that point to the north-west or east where day and night salute each other⁶⁸, and where the Horæ preside over the gates of heaven⁶⁹. In consequence of this notion, the land of Circe, daughter of Helios, reached by Ulysses after a long navigation westward, is identical with the dwelling of her brother Æetes in the east, the scene of the "choruses of Eos and of the sun's rising."⁷⁰ In this way arose the double tradition as to the Argonautic navigation to the Libyan seas and to the Euxine⁷¹; the existence of an isle of Erithya⁷², of Cimmerians and "jostling rocks" both in the east and west; the sailing of Hercules in the golden cup of Helios from Mauritania to Perke, Perge, or Thrace⁷³; the supposed crescent-form of the land of the Hyperboreans⁷⁴, and the corresponding apportionment of Æthiopia⁷⁵. One of the most striking incidents in the adventures of Ulysses, as in

⁶⁶ "Αψόρροος." Odyss. xx. 64, or the cave of Cacus, or of the Carian Zeus, through which the bull was drawn backward; or the subterranean pass through which Proteus returned "like a mole," from Thrace to Egypt:

"Νερθεν θαλασσης ατραπους διηνυσας

Κευθμωνος εν σαραγγι τετρηνας μυχους."

(Lycophr. Cass. 122.)

the house of Proteus being the house of Hades. Eurip. Helen. 62. 69.

⁶⁷ Odyss. x. 86.

⁶⁸ Hes. Th. 748.

⁶⁹ Iliad, v. 749. Od. xxiv. 12.

⁷⁰ Odyss. xii. 4. Müller, Orchom. 270. sq. Æetes, husband of Hecate (Schol. Apollon. iii. 200), is king of the underworld, where the confines of night and day are confounded. Comp. Mimnermus in Strabo, i. 47.

⁷¹ Herod. iv. 179.

⁷² Orph. Argon. 1051.

⁷³ Steph. Byz.

⁷⁴ Uckert, ii. 2. p. 5.

⁷⁵ Odyss. i. 23.

those of several other heroes, is his descent to Hades. Many of the legendary elements in the account are supposed to have been derived from the scenery and local ceremonies of Thesprotia⁷⁶. But the original blending of the realm of the sun with that of the shades, upon which the ceremonies as well as the poem were founded, must have been mythical or ideal. When Ulysses sets sail from the isle of Circe, the latter probably a personification of the boundary of the horizon of the upper world, he is on his way to the objects she had pointed out, the "house of Hades and of dread Persephone," in order to consult the blind prophet Tiresias⁷⁷. With tears he launches his dark vessel on the sea, "εἰς ἄλα διαν,"⁷⁸ and after sailing all day with a favourable wind, he arrives at sunset, "when the world is wrapt in gloom," at the boundaries of the "deep flowing Oceanus,"⁷⁹ and the city of the Cimmerians, whose darkness is never dispelled by the sun throughout his diurnal course from rising to setting. He there evokes the dead; then sails from outer ocean back into the sea, "θαλασσα," and when he returns to the Circean isle, whose site had been so clearly fixed in the west⁸⁰, he finds there the gates of morning and of Aurora⁸¹. It may thus be inferred that the voyage of Ulysses is a picture of the navigation of the sun through the under world, the path afterwards followed by the spirits of the suitors. His crew are addressed as "twice dying" (δισθανεες);⁸² and perhaps the number of repetitions of the mysterious visit to the "meadow of Asphodel" may be raised at least to three; the first being the detention of the hero with Calypso, "Concealment," i. q. Leto, daughter of Oceanus, or of Atlas whose post was on the extreme verge of day and night⁸³; and a third instance his abode with the Phæacians, from whom he returns to consummate his vengeance by the destruction of the suitors on the

⁷⁶ Müller, Mythol. 362. sq. Transl. 297. Paus. i. 17. 5.

⁷⁷ Od. x. 491.

⁷⁸ xi. 2.

⁷⁹ xi. 13.

⁸⁰ Müller, Orchom. 272.

⁸¹ xii. 4.

⁸² xii. 22.

⁸³ Theog. 748

great anniversary festival of Apollo. The land of the heaven-born⁸⁴ Phæacians, remote and unassailable by man⁸⁵, called Scheria⁸⁶, where, as in Elysium⁸⁷, reigned an eternal harvest and an eternal spring⁸⁸, and where Halios and Laodamas (man-queller), i. e. Helios and Pluto, hurl to and fro, "among the clouds," the ball of Polybus⁸⁹, a ball doubtless identical in meaning with the vast discus used by Ulysses—

“στιβαρωτερον ουκ ολιγον περ
 Η δ' οὖν Φαιηκες ἐδισκεον αλληλοισι,”

is a representation of the starry heavens, the area of the alternate revolution of the solar disc, or rather the under hemisphere beyond the bounds of ocean⁹⁰, through which, in a dark vessel, Ulysses in deathlike sleep, like Helios in Mimnermus⁹¹, is conveyed at nightfall to awake at day-break in Ithaca⁹². The palace of Alcinous, "radiant as sun and moon,"⁹³ is said to be close to the dwelling of Minerva's father⁹⁴; its brazen walls (χαλκεος, or πολυχάλκος ουρανος), covered with an azure entablature, are guarded by the immortal dogs of Hephæstus⁹⁵; within, golden figures (κουροι⁹⁶) bear the torches of night⁹⁷, and the Phæacian princes enjoy a perpetual feast⁹⁸.

⁸⁴ "Αγχιθεοι." Comp. Odyss. xix. 279. Schol. Apollon. Rh. iv. 992. Sturz. Frag. Acusilai.

⁸⁵ "Very distant," it is particularly mentioned "from Eubœa" (vii. 321); probably because Eubœa passed for the extreme east, as Scheria for the commencement of the lower world in the west.

⁸⁶ Odyss. vi. 8. 202. 204. They had been removed from "Hypereia" by the divine, but since deceased, "Nausithous," vi. 4.

⁸⁷ Ib. iv. 567.

⁸⁸ vii. 118, 119.

⁸⁹ viii. 370. Polybus, a title of Hermes—*χθονιος*.

⁹⁰ Hes. Th. 749.

⁹¹ Frag. viii. Gaisf.

⁹² Odyss. xiii. 30. 35. 74. 119, &c.

⁹³ vii. 84.

⁹⁴ vii. 29. Comp. 205, i. e. the brazen heavens. Iliad, i. 426; viii. 375. 393.

⁹⁵ Ib. 91.

⁹⁶ The Titans, too, are "*κουροι ουρανιωνες*." Orph. Frag. viii. 40.

⁹⁷ Ib. 100.

⁹⁸ Ib. 99. Comp. Plutarch. de Plac. ii. 17. Diog. Laert. vii. 145. Anacreon, xix. 3. i. e. the feast of terrestrial exhalation. Porphy. de Antro. 11. The bathing, dancing, and singing of the Phæacians, coupled with their alleged inferiority in wrestling and pugilism (viii. 246), seem to intimate the stars rather than the genii of the sun

The general result of the poetic development in Greece was to reduce to some degree of uniformity a vast variety of scattered mythi⁹⁹. Political confederation had helped to bring the worships of the various gods into closer contact. "Amphictyonic sacra and national sanctuaries were formed; and the ancient bardic schools cooperated with these external influences by establishing a confederation of the gods, in which indeed many an earlier worship was cast into the shade, and many a time-honoured deity brought down to a lower rank."¹⁰⁰ The evolutions of the dynasties of gods, like those of the physical universe, were represented in epic style as a series of battles, ending in the victory of established personifications. Yet these conquerors were metaphysically the kindred and children of those whom they displaced, and in many cases seem to have differed from them only as more distinctly personal and dramatic. The foundation of the theology of the Epic, as of all religious expression, was the Pantheistic feeling, a modification of it however which contemplated nature as full of gods rather than of God¹⁰¹, and which, without denying its unity, delighted more in contemplating its infinite varieties. This religion of the fancy may be presumed to be meant by the "nameless

as interpreted by Uschold. (Vorhalle, ii. 261, sq.) The Phæacians had been exposed, when in "Hypereia," to the annoyances and violences of the Cyclopes, who were stronger than themselves, and, on this account, they had been removed to "Scheria," by the now deceased Nausithous, son of Poseidon, who, as emblem of the waters, is general author of repose and restoration to the heavenly powers (Comp. Iliad, i. 403; viii. 440. 485, &c.) The feet of the Phæacian youth move with admirable rapidity and precision to the divine music of Demodocus, and their unexampled skill in navigation, which they place at the service of all who apply to them for assistance, belongs in great measure to their charmed vessels, those "animated beings" (*ζωα νοερα*), which know their destined port, steering of themselves without rudder or pilot (viii. 555), acquainted well with every coast and people in their way, though wrapt in gloom and vapours, and crossing the abyss swiftly and silently between evening and sunrise.

⁹⁹ Müller, Mythol. 212 (trans. 152).

¹⁰⁰ Ib. 305 (or 372).

¹⁰¹ "Παντα πληρη Θεων." Nitzsch (to Odyss. vol. i. pp. 15, 16), says "Der Pantheismus in der Griechenwelt setzt nicht einen Weltgeist, sondern er setzt die Welt voll Geister."

gods" attributed by Herodotus¹⁰² to the Pelasgi, an expression seeming to imply that the feeling had been to a certain extent analysed, but that the analysis had not been finally or deliberately completed; it had not been reduced to distinct conceptions or to the regular forms of art. The epic treatment of theology, consisting in a reduction of diversified materials to system, presumed a previous process of disintegration and the local elaboration of traditions. As the language of Greece was split into many dialects¹⁰³, so its religion had assumed a variety of local forms; these, gradually intermingling with each other through increased intercourse, were still more brought into connection by a race of poets whose utterance was comparatively free from religious restraints, and who afterwards adopted more or less unreservedly the office of professed theorists or expositors, until mythology became a complicated web whose source it was difficult to unravel in proportion to the success of these artificial combinations. It was said to have been Deucalion, the great ancestor or god of the Æolian tribes, the presumed father of Amphictyon, or the Amphictyonic league¹⁰⁴, whose renown, spread over all the countries from Epirus to Athens, accompanied the migrations of the tribes who worshipped him¹⁰⁵, who first established the worship of the twelve great gods, the same as those afterwards canonised by the Dorians, or by Hercules¹⁰⁶, recognised, that is, by general consent of the later Greeks, by the confederates at Olympia¹⁰⁷, or by the twelve Attic curiæ. A Scandinavian legend describes poetry as a liquor composed by mixing honey with the blood of a giant who had been suffocated by his own wisdom, and proceeds to tell how the mead so made, with the inconsiderable exception of a dribblet caught up by ignoble poetasters, was

¹⁰² Bk. ii. ch. 52.

¹⁰³ Iliad, ii. 884; iv. 437.

¹⁰⁴ Paus. x. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Comp. Hellanici Frag. Sturz. pp. 71, 72. Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 534; iii. 1085—6. Herod. i. 56. Strabo, ix. 432. Ritter, Vorhalle, 395. 397.

¹⁰⁶ Apollod. ii. 7. 2. Schol. Pind. Ol. v. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Pind. Ol. x. 59.

appropriated by the gods. Deucalion is probably himself a symbol of the chief god whose worship he founded, his sons being sons of Zeus¹⁰⁸; but, since all deities in human minds and mouths are but imperfect and fugitive conceptions, it is more correct to say that the institution ascribed to the god was in reality the work of the intelligence inspired by him, that the poet created the conception, rather than that the conception created itself. It was probably through the popularity of the bards of Pieria, where Orpheus sang and was buried¹⁰⁹, and where the Aloidæ first sacrificed to the Muses¹¹⁰, that the results of poetical arrangement were placed by general consent on Thes-salian Olympus. Homer, who, as well as Hesiod, was reputed a descendant from Orpheus, that is, a scion of the old stock of Thracian inspiration, naturally referred his pantheon to the original mountain of the Muses; but, in the course of the devotion of song from Pieria to the coasts of Ionia, its forms of expression had changed. The minstrel had become separated from the priest¹¹¹, and the songs composed to amuse the chiefs at their banquets were very different from those which had of old proceeded from the groves of Dodona or the valleys of Olympus. Poetry, no longer a mere instrument of religious expression, had become a cultivated art. The opulence of the Asiatic cities supplied that present ease which could repose quietly yet enthusiastically among the contemplations of the past, and the encouragement given to poetical genius by princes descended from the renowned heroes of the mythic age induced the bard to select a theme¹¹² most flattering to his patrons among ancestral traditions and recollections. In recitals of chivalrous deeds suited to this purpose, the gods

¹⁰⁸ Eurip. Ion, 63. Apollod. i. 7. 2. 7.

¹⁰⁹ Paus. ix. 29, 30. Apollod. i. iii. 2.

¹¹⁰ Apollod. i. 7. 4. Heyne, de Rel. Musar. Comment. Gotting. vol. viii. Hes. Theog. 53. 62.

¹¹¹ Although priests were still looked up to with deference in the Homeric age (Comp. H. v. 78. Odyss. xvii. 384), it has been supposed that the treatment of Calchas and Liodes indicate a breach between priests and poets.

¹¹² Comp. Aristoph. Frogs, 1035.

were made to take their share in the general excitement of human enterprise, and eventually became a mere machinery to support or account for heroic action, being themselves represented as heroes of a higher class. As in the artificial development of the epic style single adventures, such as the stories of the wooden horse, or of the strife of Ulysses and Achilles¹¹³, were formed into groups and rounded into a whole to satisfy curiosity, so the names, habitations, and functions of the gods began to take the form of an organised doctrine or system reflecting the ideas and habits of the heroic age, connecting each romance by familiar imagery, but at the same time becoming more and more estranged from the theosophy or mysticism of its origin. The genial spirit of Homer is as averse to the mystical as to the melancholy, and, looking to the finished Epic independently of its preparatory stages, it would seem as if in its earliest developments poetry had receded most widely from its original form and objects. In the so-called Homeric hymns, particularly in some of the shorter ones¹¹⁴, we may indeed still partially see the process through which religious poetry, the hymnology descended from Thamyras and Pamphus, had quitted its primary aim, and how the invocation to the muse or god had become a mere adjunct or introduction to the tale of human action¹¹⁵. The gods were thus humanised as their gift of song was secularised, and the traces to be found in Homer of the old hieratic forms are but incidental results of the scrupulously reverential treatment of traditions. Through the principle of association, many divinities who, unknown to the first worshippers of the nymphs of Libethra had taken their places in the train of Zeus, were limited in their prerogatives and dwellings; the superior gods being generally confined to the upper world, while Hades was restricted to his

¹¹³ Odyss. viii. 73.

¹¹⁴ Evidently incomplete in themselves, as, for instance, Hymn, xxxi. 18; xxxii. 18, where the hymn closes with, "Beginning with thee, I now proceed to sing of the heroes about whom poets are wont to sing," &c.

¹¹⁵ Comp. Odyss. viii. 499. Hes. Theog. 48.

proper dominion¹¹⁶, and others whose functions stood more aloof from military or political action were either passed over in comparative silence, or transformed, like Hermes and the Cyclops, from migratory beings into the ministers of a stationary one. Every story became a centre round which kindred mythi were arranged, and in which local personifications were absorbed or subordinated¹¹⁷; and the humanizing and externalizing process of the Epic art somewhat resembled that in which a conquering nation takes the venerated idols of another in order to enrich its museums or to ornament the squares of its capitals. So that, closing a long succession of poetical effort by which mythology was remodelled, Homer might be said to have contributed to "create Greek theology," as the code of Justinian created the civil law, by forming a convenient and popular summary of its contents, which continued for ever after the standard of authority and reference. In the genuine Epic the conceptions of the gods are as far removed from the hieratic form as the busy life of the heroes from theological speculation. But between the life-like Epic and the sombre Orphic style, between the picturesque and eventful romance in which the gods are the mere machinery of a human drama, and the mystical symbols of theological metaphysics, there must have been many varieties in the treatment of religious legend tending to reduce its fragmentary materials to the consistent and positive forms in which they were found by Homer. The Epic had been already cultivated to a considerable extent in Greece proper before the establishment of the colonies which brought it to maturity, and the rude Orphic or priestly strains out of which all Greek poetry was a development, must be supposed to have continued their wild laments or stately pæans in the original country of the Muses, especially in Bœotia, so rich in ancient temples, traditions, and

¹¹⁶ Hom. H. Ceres, 87.

¹¹⁷ As, for instance, when Hercules, the Dioscuri, &c., take part in the Argonautic expedition under the command of Jason.

ceremonies¹¹⁸. Very different from the joyous and sensuous tone of the Homeric Epic was the feeling of the Bœotian or Hesiodic songs. Instead of a confident self-abandonment to impressions of the beautiful, a serene contemplation of the chivalrous actions of the past, the Bœotian bard seems oppressed with a painful sense of the difficulties and privations of the present. Poetry with him is indeed an art, yet not so much an ornamental as a useful one; its chief object is to disseminate the religious feeling which may teach men to bear the ills of life, or the maxims of civil and domestic wisdom which alleviate them. Beyond this it might prove a solace to the careworn¹¹⁹, and the bard, though often suffering the iron tyranny described in the fable of the nightingale¹²⁰, might yet hope to exercise a wholesome influence over the will of his arbitrary masters¹²¹. He describes his "call" or appointment to the office of minstrel by the Muses during one of their excursions from Pieria to the Bœotian Mount Helicon, where it was their custom to go forth through the country by night singing, as in the house of their Olympian father, the deeds and generations of men and gods, both the actual gods of Olympus, and the primitive Powers of Nature. It was on one of these occasions that they accosted the shepherd Hesiod, accompanying the investiture of the laurel bough, the insignia of his poetic office, with an address¹²² seemingly implying the unstudied and original nature of the inspiration which they gave, and also the serious character of this peculiar school as opposed to others admitting a freer play of fancy¹²³. The claim of originality, however, must be limited to the distinctive character of the school or the personal endowment of the indi-

¹¹⁸ Müller, Greek Litt. 80, 81.

¹¹⁹ Theog. v. 55.

¹²⁰ Works, 202. Comp. 176.

¹²¹ "Βασίλεις." Theog. 80. 90. sq.

¹²² Theog. v. 26.

¹²³ "Ye country shepherds, sunk in sloth and sensuality, it is true we often tell falsehoods resembling truths, yet we know too how to utter truths when it pleases us."

vidual poet. The general form of the "didactic Epic" is a continuation of that ancient sacerdotal poetry which legend describes as originally imported by the Muses from the Thracian north; its materials are no inventions of the Æolian Bœotians, but either derived from the prolific stores of the ancient inhabitants of the land, the Thracians, Minyans, and Cadmeans, or filled up out of the more distinct and matured ideas which were the general result of the continuous developments of the Epic. The Muses who originally settled in Bœotia were declared by the poet Mimnermus to have been not the nine daughters of Zeus, but the three children of Uranus¹²⁴. It was these elder deities who sang the marriage song of Harmonia¹²⁵ and received the homage of the Pierian Aloidæ, who, in a remote age long anterior to the time of the commencement of Asiatic colonization, might be said to have begun the religious strain which Hesiod, not probably uninformed of the later cotemporary triumphs of the Asiatic Epos, more artificially and successfully continued. The attribute of Orphic descent applies more specifically to Hesiod than to Homer. The former represents Orphic thought in a more transparent dress; his poetry is but the vehicle of his religion; he addresses not the easy life of the Ionians, but a social condition of hardship, and probably of oppression, in which the only resource of the weak beyond patient endurance was in appealing to the broad principles of justice, and in upholding the terrors of religion. Hence the sacerdotal and oracular style of Hesiod, his profession of the hymn¹²⁶ while using the language of the Epic, his treatment of the labours of the year as depending on the ordinances of heaven, his directions for the superstitious observance of omens and seasons, and particularly his intimation of the vigilance of the inspecting demons, and of the inevitable retribution¹²⁷ of the gods¹²⁸. It was in the same feeling that

¹²⁴ Paus. ix. 29. 2.

¹²⁵ Paus. ix. 12. 3.

¹²⁶ Comp. Theog. 37, &c. Works, 655.

¹²⁷ "Οπ15." Works, 187. 251. 706.

¹²⁸ Ulrici, Geschichte der Hellen. Dichtkunst. vol. i.

the poet reverted to the old themes of Bœotian song as enumerated in the prefatory address of the Theogony, that of divination¹²⁹, and the task of ascertaining the divine names, offices, and successions. The spirit of an older theology in which the world was represented as regenerating itself, in the confusion of objects with ideas made the birth of a new conception appear as the birth of a new god. In order to connect and reconcile the bewildering variety of traditions, a relation of sonship was assumed between the older and younger beings, and, as the world's youth overcomes its age, the latter were inferred to have conquered and banished their parents. In this way arose the "Purana," or heroic Theogony, relating the divine histories and generations, either incidentally among details of human prowess as in Homer, or as in Hesiod addressed to a peaceful and superstitious audience, to whom the most important object of information was the nature and peculiarities of the gods¹³⁰. Many poets had already tried their skill upon the same materials before the Bœotian school of bards, who had transplanted the soul as well as the bones of Orpheus from Pieria to homonymous sites upon Helicon and Parnassus, succeeded in giving to mythology, considered as a mere religious theory, the permanent forms of art¹³¹. The attempt at system still remains incomplete and disjointed in proportion to the distinctness with which we can yet see the hieratic character of the materials; the unity consisting only in an external adoption of the Epic style, and in ascribing the evolution of the religion of the day to a continuous series of genealogies and battles.

§ 12.

PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE GREEK GODS.

No writer on mythology is sceptical enough to assert its memorials to be without meaning, nor, on the other hand, so

¹²⁹ v. 38.

¹³⁰ Comp. Theog. 429, 430, sq.

¹³¹ Müller, Mythol. 305 (372). Heyne, on Hesiod, in the Göttingen Transactions, vol. xi. 1779.

credulous as to claim to possess an infallible key for the solution of its puzzles. Mythology is poetry; and it is impossible to deny the truth of the remark that a familiarity with antiquity and a feeling cultivated by endeavouring to place ourselves in the situation of the children of the world, and by abandoning the mind to the natural impulses they tried to express¹, may suggest analogies really connecting the various forms of thought, and reliable illustrations of the earliest history of the mental world. There are, however, some general inferences which may be considered as independent of imagination, and among the best authenticated is a general presumption as to the presence of a substratum of physical meaning, it being certain that the action of external nature on the mind was religion's first prompter, expositor, and corrupter². The genealogies of the gods are allowed to be a physical account of nature³; the natural philosophy or rather belief of a rude age preserved in the form of narrative; a theory succinctly expressed in the inscription of the mythical repository of Apollodorus, affirming it to contain

“ Πανθ' ὅσα κοσμος εχει.”

In regard to Greek mythology this physical character is emphatically attested by its best writers. Plato makes Socrates say⁴ that “the early Greeks esteemed those only as gods who are still worshipped by most of the barbarians, the sun, the moon, the earth, the stars and the heaven;” an opinion confirmed by the impressive formularies of adjuration preserved in ancient poetry⁵; for the antique, as Aristotle observes⁶, is ever

¹ “Eine gewisse Begeisterung auch dem Mythologen kaum fehlen darf.” Müller, in Review of Creuzer. Gotting. Gel. Anz. 1825. Creuzer, Briefe, p. 89. sq. This is admitted to be true, even by Lobeck (Aglaoph. p. 179), who, however, declares that he was “never guilty of taking a nap on Parnassus.”

² Diod. S. i. 11. Philo de Confus. Ling. 394. Clem. Alex. Protr. 22. Wisd. ch. 13.

³ “Φυσικη διηγησις των οντων.” Schol. Hes. Th. Pr.

⁴ Cratylus, 397^d. Comp. Creuz. Symb. iv. 481.

⁵ Hom. Iliad, iii. 276. Æschyl. Prom. 88. Soph. Æd. Tyr. 661. Payne Knight, Anct. Art, sec. 217.

⁶ Metaph. i. 3. 6.

the most venerated, and an oath, as the most solemn of all acts, naturally adopted the most venerated sanctions. Aristotle himself, in a remarkable passage, bears similar testimony to the first nature worship of his country⁷, adding, that the earliest conceptions of the divinity of Nature were pantheistic. When, therefore, the Pelasgi are said to have made their vows to "Gods" in general, without assigning particular names to them⁸, the meaning is that they invoked the elements or other natural objects without marking the attributes of the Being or Beings addressed as strictly individual; they worshipped them as powers, not as persons; the humanizing process had not as yet been completed; and the apportionment of appropriate offices and departments to each of the tenants of Olympus, nominally made by Zeus⁹, but in reality by the poets, had not yet been thought of. The Deity was felt, as in the Vedas¹⁰, to

⁷ "Our ancestors and men of the most remote antiquity have handed down to posterity a tradition involved in mythological form, that *the heavenly bodies are gods, and that the divinity comprehends and surrounds the whole of nature*. The rest, indeed, is fabulously introduced for the purpose of persuading the multitude, enforcing the laws, and benefiting human life; for they pretend that these beings are in human form, and resemble other animals, and they assert other things consequent upon and similar to these. But if, among these assertions, any one separating the rest retains only the first, viz., that they esteemed the first existencies (*ουσιαις*) to be gods, he will think it to have been divinely said; and that, as it is probable that every art and philosophy has often been invented, and, after attaining the utmost limit of possible perfection, has again perished and been lost, he might infer that these opinions are precious relics fortunately preserved out of the fragments of antiquity up to the present time. Of the opinions of our fathers and of the earliest of mankind, thus much only is known to us." *Metaph.* xi. 8. s. 19. p. 236. *Bek. Comp.* Ravaisson, vol. i. pp. 103. 197. The only difficulty in the passage is to determine the relation of the word "*οὗτοι*," which Götting (Preface to Hesiod, p. 48) would wrest from its plain meaning. The subjects referred to are the heavenly bodies and the spheres or epicycles supposed by astronomers to be the causes of their movements. The *οὗτοι* would thus be in the first place the bodies themselves; secondarily, the principles or causes acting on them, called "*φοραι*," "*ακίνηται αιτιαι*," and "*πρωται ουσιαι*."

⁸ Herod. ii. 52.

⁹ Hesiod, Th. 74. 112. 885. Æschyl. Prom. 237.

¹⁰ The best commentary on the much canvassed passage in Herodotus is the Veda.

be one, though multiform; His unity was not as yet so broken, nor the varieties of his manifestations so definitively fixed as to be subjected to that process by which the mind devises an individual name for every thing which it has once clearly perceived and acknowledged to be distinct. The Pelasgian Zeus, as collective divinity of natural religion, may have been in part analogous to the being whom the Persians adored as the "vault or circle of heaven,"¹¹ an idea which philosophy afterwards endeavoured to restore¹² in order to counteract the fantastical creed invented by the poets. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some such reminiscence survived in the theogonic series under the name of Uranus, in Hesiod still a part of Nature, who, like Brahma, had no known temples or altars¹³, and whose worship, like that addressed in China to the corresponding name of "God of Heaven,"¹⁴ was yet unmixed with the gross symbols of superstition. For though predicates may often be seen theoretically severed from the personifications to which they belong, and cannot, in their isolation, be presumed to have been objects of worship, yet they indicate real conditions or modifications of the ideas connected with the personifications, and cannot be considered as arbitrary inventions of the poet consistently with the confidence ever reposed in his authority¹⁵.

The Theogony seems to blend three distinct cosmogonic

¹¹ Herod. i. 131. Comp. Ezra i. 2.

¹² Aristot. Metaph. i. 5. 2. Euripid. Frag. Incert. i. 2.

¹³ Uranus, placed by Apollodorus i. 1, at the head of a dynasty, and reckoned a mortal king by the Euhemerist Diodorus (iii. 56), did not escape entirely the personifying tendency of the poets, as may be seen in the word "εταυροσθη," expressing his connection with Gæa (Theog. 177); he has been compared to the Indian Varouna (Lassen, Ind. A. i. 758), and to "Hiranya," a predicate of Brahma, who in Hindoo legend is mutilated by Siva, as Uranus by Cronus. Guigniaut, R. i. 243ⁿ. 244. 645. Sometimes the name is derived from αἰψω, "the lofty;" Hermann translates it "Superus;" another etymology is that from אֵל, the source of "light."

¹⁴ Tien. Deus or Zeus is the Sanscrit Djaus, heaven; whence Dianus or Janus, Diomedes, &c. Jupiter or Diespiter is reproduced in Divaspati, a name of Indra. Lassen's Ind. Antiq. i. 755.

¹⁵ Götting observes, truly, that if Pherecydes, Acusilaus, and Eumelus had thought the theogony the mere invention of a poet, they would not have taken so much pains to interpret it (Pref. p. xlv.); it seems inconsistent, when he afterwards

principles, each attended with its corresponding train of generated beings; first, the births from Gæa, Erebus, and Night, or upper and under darkness, followed by those of Styx, Leto, &c., according to the notion of Cthonian religion that darkness preceded day, and that all things arose out of the depths of earth, “*γαιης κευθμων;*” secondly, the generations from water, virtually the progeny of Poseidon “*γενεθλιος,*” agreeing with the “Oceanic” theory mentioned in Homer, and of which the first and most striking example is the birth of Aphrodite out of the sea, virtually including in her own person all Melian nymphs¹⁶; and, thirdly, the system more familiarly known which eventually overshadowed what had preceded it, attributing universal parentage to Zeus, who thus supersedes all other ancestors, and becomes, even in Homer, superior to Oceanus himself¹⁷. Urania¹⁸, Nike¹⁹, Helios, are reproduced among his descendants as Tritogeneia, Aphrodite, daughter of Dione, Apollo, Perseus, &c.; he “binds” the older gods, or rather absorbs their attributes, especially their generating power, and the Homeric Zeus and Hera sleep under the influence of the same Cestus which had of old cemented the union of Oceanus and Tethys. Other beings had existed and given birth to successive generations; but Zeus was the first who exercised a moral power, or, as Aristotle says²⁰, “reigned.” These varying cosmologies, however, are not so inconsistent as they at first appear. If we consider the close connection in Grecian idea between the depths of earth and of sea, the intimate relation of Poseidon to Pluto²¹, Poseidon

describes (p. xlv.) the whole plan of the poem as a political manœuvre, and makes the “Titan” gods a device of the “ancient inventors of mythology,” in order, by relating their conquest by Zeus, to give greater respect to the authority of kings.

¹⁶ Völcker, Japetus, 321. 324.

¹⁷ Comp. Iliad, xxi. 195.

¹⁸ Th. 350.

¹⁹ 384.

²⁰ Metaph. xiii. 4.

²¹ Powers often personified as one; for instance, in Dionysus, Neleus, Eumolpus, &c., and whose attributes are locally confounded, as at Onchestus, Colonos, Pylus, &c., the horse and bull being sacred to both. Poseidon is father of Periclymenus i. e. Pluto. Apollod. i 9, 9.

being said to close the brazen doors of Hades²², and Hades to descend and reascend through the waters of Poseidon²³; moreover, that Oceanus as well as Pontus are sons of Gæa, it will not be doing much violence to the feeling of the poet if all the lines of generation be resolved into two, the Uranian or supernal, and the Cthonian. The first "existences," however, are neither Zeus nor Uranus; but Chaos, Gæa, and Tartarus. The earliest creative developments are from below, from the depths of Tartarus, where are the sources and foundations of the world²⁴. Uranus is but a secondary personage; he owes his existence to his wife Gæa, and his generating power is soon extinct. Many of the children of Gæa are independent of a father; those engendered by Uranus are "hated" by him "from the beginning," and immediately hid from his presence, so that even these (the Titans), like the children of Rhea, may be said to owe their birth almost exclusively to their mother²⁵. Gæa, called by Æschylus and Pindar the "All-mother," the "common parent of men and gods," is synonymous with Cthon or Cthonia²⁶, with Rhea²⁷, and with Demeter²⁸; the Titan sons of Gæa are in Æschylus sons of Cthon²⁹; Gæa is first and oldest of Cthonian powers³⁰; the terrene includes the subterrene; Cthonian and Catacthonian are the same, even Tartarus being sometimes a part of Gæa³¹. Gæa is mother of Uranus for the same reason that night brings forth day; and the share taken by Uranus in developing the Titanic beings and meteoric agents described as previously hid within the womb of earth³², seems, when considered in connection with their immediate concealment and unexplained escape, to be only a mode of intimating their alternate nature as belonging in part to the upper world, though originating and generally dwelling in the

²² Theog. 732.

²³ Hymn to Ceres, xxxviii. 381. Orph. Argon. 1192.

²⁴ v. 809.

²⁵ Comp. v. 158, 159. 479. 626. 884.

²⁶ Pherecyd. Sturz. p. 40.

²⁷ Comp. v. 479.

²⁸ Paus. ii. 35. 4; iii. 14. 5.

²⁹ Prom. 205. Eum. 6.

³⁰ Æschyl. Pers. Bothe, 598. 607.

³¹ v. 841. Comp. 119. 721. 736.

³² v. 140. 505.

lower³³. It would thus appear as if the oldest materials employed by the author of the *Theogony* belonged to a worship characteristically Cthonian, and that for the same reason Helios himself became father of a race of infernal beings, his proper dwelling continuing to be in those "sacred depths of dark night" where lived his mother, wife, and children³⁴; the world of shadows, to which, on a memorable occasion³⁵, he threatens to retire. There arises afterwards, however, another generating element, which, if secondary in succession or position³⁶, eventually becomes of first-rate importance. All the ornaments and institutions of civilization, the Muses and *Horæ*, Arts and Graces, begin with the reign of Zeus. The Muses are his daughters; his praises are the theme which they especially love to sing upon Olympus³⁷. He is appointed to his office by the advice and authority of *Gæa*³⁸, and may be said to have been virtually her son³⁹, though his Titanic nature⁴⁰ is but feebly perceptible among the multitude of his loftier moral attributes. For he is a universal and eternal being as well as a specific or generated one; he brings into light ("εξ φαιος αυτης") the world which lay hid within the body of Cronus⁴¹, and it is observable that his inviolable decrees anticipated his birth⁴². The youngest birth of Time⁴³ is thus resolved into a superior and elder Zeus, the Homeric father of all gods⁴⁴; his being sums up that of his brothers⁴⁵, and it would

³³ Hence too the Titans are called "Cthonii" (*Hes. Theog.* 697), though this, in *Hesiod*, was not their sole character.

³⁴ *Stesichori Frag.* 3. *Mimnermus* in *Strabo*, i. 47. *H. Hymn to Hermes*, 68.

³⁵ *Odyss.* xii. 383.

³⁶ v. 47.

³⁷ v. 11. 36. 47.

³⁸ 626. 884.

³⁹ v. 479. *Comp.* on the identity of *Rhæa* and *Gæa*, *Schwenk's Audentungen*, p. 92. sq.

⁴⁰ As when in the *Iliad* the other gods threatened to bind him, in the story of his being put to flight or concealed, and the reports as to the possible termination of his empire.

⁴¹ v. 495. 626.

⁴² v. 465.

⁴³ 478. *Comp.* 137.

⁴⁴ *Iliad* i. 534; xiii. 355.

⁴⁵ v. 455. And, according to the reasoning of *Apollo* in the "Furies" of *Æschylus*, his sisters also (*Eum.* 594. *Bothe*); and in truth *Athena* is another *Here* or *Demeter*, as *Demeter* is only a form of *Gæa*.

seem as if Uranus, the ancient "parent," the real father of the Muses⁴⁶, had vanished only to reappear more potently and impressively under the name of him to whom he relinquishes his throne⁴⁷.

§ 13.

THE GIANTS AND TITANS.

The Giants and Titans belong to the same order of physical beings, but they represent them differently¹; they are the powers of nature, separated and individualized, which in Zeus or Uranus are united. They return to that earth out of which they were produced, yet often break loose from their prison, and threaten to make good their claim to the supernal dominion of their father. The Homeric giants underwent the same humanizing transformation as did the Homeric gods; they were no longer recognisable as genii, but a race of men²; snake-formed, as being autochthonous, the mighty men of the olden time³; the barbarian predecessors of the Hellenes, regarded by a more civilized age with mingled fear and wonder, and who, though in a sense intimately connected with the immortal gods⁴, owed no obligation or allegiance to the modern rulers of Olympus⁵. Yet they were more than ordinary mortals; they were "*θεοις εναλιγκιοι*,"⁶ intermediate between the human and divine natures⁷, like the Persian Gins, or the Iotuns (elemental genii) of the North, and they at last became identified with their brother Titans, who battled against the Gods

⁴⁶ v. 617. Comp. 207.

⁴⁷ v. 689. Comp. Works, viii. 87. 243. 472. The conflict of Zeus with the Titans is said to be as the conflict of "Heaven with Earth." v. 702.

¹ Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 25. Strabo, x. 474.

² Nitzsch to Odyss. vii. 56 and 201. Eurip. Phœnissæ, 127. Paus. viii. 29. Hes. Th. 50.

³ Tzetzes to Hes. Works, 142. Numb. xiii. 33. Genes. vi. 4.

⁴ Odyss. ix. 107.

⁵ Odyss. ix. 275. Hymn Apollo, 279.

⁶ Hes. Theog. 142.

⁷ Comp. Genes. vi. 4. LXX.

in the fields of Phlegra or Thessaly⁸. The Titans, said to have been among the first subjects of Pierian song⁹, are more easily seen to denote physical beings or deities; though, for that very reason, they are but little noticed in the Homeric epic, and are there treated as exclusively Hypotartarean, or Cthonian. On the other hand, cosmogonical theory appears to have held the word Titanic as applicable to any physical or moral power conceived to have been efficacious in producing the actual order of the world. Æther, therefore, was considered to be a Titan¹⁰, and so were the sun and stars¹¹. The Titanic list of Hesiod comprises many members entirely irreconcilable with the Homeric Titans, such as Hyperion, "walker on high," a name of the sun in Homer; Oceanus, the encompassing waters¹²; Phœbe, the moon, a common predicate of the sister of Phœbus; then there are the "bright" and the "burning,"¹³ the "king"¹⁴, the ancient Delphian Themis, or Gæa¹⁵, and the poetical Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses. "This list, formed of six male and six female Titans," says Müller¹⁶, "was probably the invention of some Pierian son of the Muse, who wished to represent the general

⁸ "Τους Γίγαντας Τίτάνας ἀνομαζόν οὐς Ῥαφαεὶμ Εβραῖοι φασιν." Procop. Gazæus. in Lennep's Theog. v. 185. Comp. v. 207. Heyne, Apollod. ch. 2. Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 6.

⁹ Hes. Theog. 45.

¹⁰ Karsten's Empedocles, v. 185.

¹¹ Virg. Æneid. iv. 119; vi. 725.

¹² Iliad, xxi. 195. Hes. Th. 337.

¹³ Cæus, perhaps that son of Apollo who gave his name to the isle of Ceos. Etym. M. p. 460. Creuz. Symb. i. 32ⁿ. Steph. Byz. ad. v. Eurip. Helena, 389. Lennep's Hesiod, Th. 274. Schöman de Titanibus.

¹⁴ Crion or Crius, probably identical with the mythical "kings" of Corinth and Thebes (Steph. Byz. Ephyra), or the Baal or Moloch of antiquity (Comp. Pind. Nem. iii. 17. Pott, Etym. Forschung, ii. 272). Cronus, says Plass (Urgeschichte, i. 118), in opposition to Buttmann ("Mythologus," ii. 31 note. Comp. Pherecyd. Sturz. p. 42ⁿ), is certainly not "Chronus," Time; but the two words were soon confounded, and, if the Greek Cronus be the Asiatic Moloch (Movers, Phœnizier, 262, 263. Böttiger, Ideen. i. 219. 225. sq.), time was certainly an element in the conception of his character as "Ancient of Days," and in the form of an old man under which he was represented (Buttman, ib. 33ⁿ).

¹⁵ Æschyl. Prom. 207. Eumenid. 2. Bothe.

¹⁶ Mythol. 307. (375).

economy of nature as emanating from the cooperation of heaven and earth, in the sacred number of twelve persons."¹⁷

The real meaning of the word Titan had been already lost in the time of Hesiod, and therefore can now only be a topic of fruitless dispute, some believing its signification to be "dominion,"¹⁸ others "divinity,"¹⁹ or heaven²⁰, while others make it a designation of subterrene powers, from Titaia, an old word for earth²². This last etymology, though well suited to the Homeric Titans, as Cthonian gods²², would ill agree with the character of several members of the Hesiodic list, who are all children of heaven as well as earth; and the name seems to have been received by theorists as representing generally the elemental emanations of the divinity of Nature²³, whom, as if in dissatisfaction, he appeared to absorb back again into himself²⁴, thus putting forth a half-formed world, fluctuating between the real and the changeful, (Rhea,) until

¹⁷ As in the twelve months, the Herculean labours, &c. Comp. Wytttenbach to Plato's *Phædo*, pp. 85. 304.

¹⁸ Hesych. voc. *Τίταξ*. Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* ii. 272. "Titanes" in Thessalian is said by Böttiger to be the equivalent of "Anakes" in Phœnician. Comp. *Ideen.* i. xxxix.—217, and vol. ii. p. 47.

¹⁹ Comp. "Tina," a name of God, or of Jupiter, in Etruscan, whence Neptina, Fortuna, &c., and perhaps "Denas," supposed to be the Trojan word for God (*Dion. Hal.* i. 68). Comp. Tithonus, Tennes, Tennenus, &c. *Paus.* ix. 26. Kanne, "Alteste Urkunde," p. 161. Gerhard, "Gottheiten der Etrusker," p. 27. n. 39. Pott, *Etym. F.* 98. Müller, *Etrusk.* ii. 43. Grimm's *Myth.* i. 175.

²⁰ Teine, Irish, and a similar word in Chinese. Taan, Welsh for fire. Comp. *Schol. Iliad* ii. 735.

²¹ *Diod. S.* iii. 57; v. 66. Müller, *Mythol.* 374. Völcker's *Japetus*, 285.

²² Called "*Θεοί ενερπτεροι*," and "*ὑποταταρχεις*," "*χθονιοι*," in Hes. *Theog.* 697, (Comp. 767. Snidas. ad v.) *i. e.* dæmons of the waters and of the earth. *Iliad*, xiv. 272.

²³ *i. e.* Gæa, Cronus, Thyestes, Zeus, &c. *Com. Theog.* 157. 459. 479. 890.

²⁴ *Theog.* 157. "He hid them as they were born, nor suffered them to come forth into the light." Müller (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. p. 18), approves "eine Ansicht nach der die Herrschaft der Titanen eine Zeit bezeichnet, in welche strenge Naturnothwendigkeit in friedlicher Vereinigung und ruhigem Gleichgewicht aller einzelnen Mächte waltete, aber alle Freiheit und Willkühr, alle individuelle Persönlichkeit handelnder Wesen entfernt war."

the latter became bound to the principle of "accomplishment" and stability, (supposed by Hermann to be indicated by Cronus, *i.g.* "Perficus,") from whose advent the forms of Being and of Thought seemed to have obtained their average permanence. It has been remarked above²⁵, that the history of the gods is the history, real or imaginary, of the world, and that Hesiod's theogony might equally well be called cosmogony. The Titanic cosmogony of the Greeks may represent, by a sort of personification, the successive emanations of oriental metaphysics, in which the forms of life at first lay, as it were, asleep, within the bosom of the Eternal, until the apparition of Bhagavan, with a thousand heads, gave him power severally to incorporate and to develop them²⁶. It seems to denote a time in the world's history, or rather in that of mind, when the world was only beginning to be separated from Deity, and when, as in the Veda gods, the aggregate forces of cosmical necessity were but hesitatingly distributed into distinct departments. Thus may have been formed, not deliberately but unconsciously, these first Greek gods, who, from powers or conceptions, were, by poetry and poetical feeling, gradually transformed into persons, and who, from being the aggregate of the universe itself, became afterwards the personified ancestors of its population and phenomena²⁷. They were, no doubt, at first viewed as benevolent, or "givers of good," similar, in this respect, to the giants, though, like the latter, susceptible

²⁵ p. 68.

²⁶ The Sohar attempts to illustrate the mystery of antetypal creation by referring to Genes. xxxvi. 31, stating it thus; *Antequàm Senior Seniorum, occultus occultorum* (the hidden God), *efformaret figuras regis* (that is, of the Macrocosmic Adam Kadmon, through whom the world acquired stability), *principium et finis non fuit. Sculpsit ergo, et proportiones instituit et expandit ante se velum quoddam, et in eo sculpsit et certâ proportionem distribuit reges et formas eorum, sed non substituerunt. Id ipsum est quod scriptum extat, Genes. xxxvi. 31, "Isti sunt reges qui regnarunt in terrâ Edom, antequàm regnaret rex super filios Israel."* Omnia ista, quæ sculpta sunt, nec substituerunt, nominibus suis vocata erant, nec tamen substituerunt. Quare deseruit eos, et occultavit se præ illis, &c. Gfrörer. Urchrist, ii. 4.

²⁷ Hymn, Apollo, Pyth. 158.

of a moral transformation²⁸, helpful deities, generally speaking, who heard and granted men's prayers²⁹. They had, no doubt, an historical element, though it would be difficult to define its nature, or to reduce it, even hypothetically, to a simple or single cause. None of these beings, nor, indeed, any legendary personage, can be said, strictly speaking, to have been the mere creation of a poet. The poet only adopted, connected, amplified, and to the senses explained, what already had a real existence in common acceptation. Hesiod, and his Pierian predecessors, inserted into their theogonic list ideas already familiar, and gave them, as theoretical antecedents, a place akin to that which they already occupied in popular feeling. The inference, that the Titans were never worshipped, must be subject to this limitation. The title of "Προτεροὶ θεοί," "prior gods," can hardly have belonged to them by the mere arbitrary assignment of the poet³⁰; and when the gods of the Iliad ratify their oaths³¹ by adjuring these "heavenly powers," or "sons of heaven," they must be presumed, according to a well-known principle³², to have thereby acknowledged their greater relative eminence and antiquity.

There lived a Titan, a reputed brother of the Sun, a sort of Æsculapius, in the neighbourhood of Sicyon³³; another, Anytus, had been foster-father of Hera in Arcadia³⁴; the "good Titan" of Marathon, and the Titan Prometheus³⁵, were worshipped in the Titanian land³⁶ of Attica. These testimonies, and the title of θεοί, seem to discountenance the general denial of any trace of Titan worship³⁷. There were altars of Pro-

²⁸ The earthborn "giant" of Eubæa, Tityus, is said to have been of their kindred. Schol. Odys. viii. 321. Schol. Apollon. Rh. i. 1126.

²⁹ Istri, Frag. 1 and 2.

³⁰ Comp. Müller, Mythol. 374 (376). Æschyl. Eumen. 657.

³¹ Iliad, v. 898; xiv. 273. 278. Comp. Genes. xxii. 16.

³² Aristot. Metaph. i. 3. 6—"τιμιωτάτον γὰρ το πρεσβυτάτον, ὁρκος δὲ το τιμιωτάτον ἐστίν."

³³ Paus. ii. 11. 5.

³⁴ Paus. viii. 37.

³⁵ Eustat. ad Iliad, xiv. 296. p. 987.

³⁶ Snidas ad voc. Istri, Frag. 2.

³⁷ Müller, Mythol. p. 373.

metheus in Attica and Argolis; Themis, and her Titanic successor, Phœbe, had been worshipped at Delphi³⁸; the citadel of Cronus, a notion either founded, or at least curiously paralleled, in the mystical physiology of the East³⁹, was still, in an external sense, unassailed in Hesperia and Libya, and throughout all the colonies of Phœnicians as yet beyond the reach of Hellenic enterprise⁴⁰. The Eleans sacrificed to Cronus on a mountain at the vernal equinox⁴¹, observing the periodical atonement supposed to have been sanctioned by the ritual of Nature in the golden age, when the Curetes officiated as his ministers⁴². His name, like that of his brother Titans, continued to be attached to mountains and rivers where his worship had been forgotten; for the attributes and offices of the Titans were replaced and absorbed by a different class of deities, and the very reason for classing an anomalous power among the exiled race, was because his ritual had become generally obsolete⁴³. Yet even Earth had her temples at Athens, Ægæ, and Sparta⁴⁴, and a mysterious solemnity was still attached to the name of Uranus⁴⁵. It was, indeed, impossible that the worship of Titans, of beings supposed to have either represented the whole of Nature, or its forces or parts, could have generally coexisted with that of particular personifications. Yet the two systems, though contemporaneously incompatible, may have prevailed in a certain sense successively. The semi-personification of a Titan may have formed a real transition to the personal agents of epic poetry, from the mystical or Orphic

³⁸ Æschyl. Eum. 6.

³⁹ "Κρονου τυρσις"—see particularly the 14th chapter of the book of Enoch. L. Lydus. iv. 38. Movers, Phœnizier, 258, 259. 312. Daumer, Feuer u. Moloch Dienst. p. 20. Of this all Titan architecture was an imitation, for Cronus, like the Phœnician Sidyk, or Egyptian Pthah, was the Demiurgus or consummate artificer of the heavens. Eurip. Frag. Sysiphus, i. 34. Plutarch, de Plac. i. 6.

⁴⁰ Cic. N. D. iii. 17. Creuz. p. 562.

⁴¹ Paus. vi. 20. 1.

⁴² Paus. v. 7. 4; viii. 2. 1.

⁴³ "Ὡν αμαυροτέραί γεγονασιν αἱ τιμαί, ἢ καὶ πανταπάσιν ἐκλειποῦσιν, μεταστάντων εἰς ἕτερον κόσμον." Plutarch, de defect. Orac. 21.

⁴⁴ Paus. i. 22; iii. 11. Soph. Antig. 338.

⁴⁵ Lennep's Hesiod, Th. 102.

view of higher antiquity, and the position occupied by the Titans in Hesiod may be a correct representation of their metaphysical and historical character, as connecting the present, or heroic age, with the elemental and "nameless" worship of the past. Their personality belongs rather to the more modern religion of Greece, their existence to its earliest feelings and thoughts. They had not, indeed, as a class, been objects of general worship prior to the Olympian powers; many of them, however, had been worshipped severally and locally, and, in the aggregate, they were a miscellaneous tribe suited to include a variety of anomalous beings, either the superseded local deities of ancient Greek or Phœnician nature worship, moral and metaphysical conceptions, or occasionally certain foreign deities seeming to be analogous to them in nature⁴⁶, and separated by a scarcely definable interval from heroes or demons⁴⁷. All these were "Titans," as being divine persons, yet differing both in nature and position from the poetical gods, and representing the efforts of a series of poets, both before and after Hesiod, to give a plausible commencement to the modern god world, and to include in a single theory all the ramifications of popular belief. The gods of a suppressed tribe or earlier date were remembered either as heroes or Titans, and the distinction is often rather accidental than real. There were two possible reasons for banishing Cronus to the west; one, because, by the dynasty of Zeus, in other words, by Hellenic power, the worship of the Phœnician Moloch, the nearest modern representation of Cronus, was really confined to the Western Mediterranean; and secondly and chiefly, because in theological physics a banished god followed the course of the declining sun to that extreme bourne, "*Πειρατα γαίης*," where the western region was ideally confounded with the under world. When those traditionary Titans had lost their supernal dominion, and, from whatever cause, either their original Cthonian

⁴⁶ Steph. Byz. voc. Adana.

⁴⁷ Even the fig tree, personified as "Syceas," is called a "Titan" son of Earth. Athenæus, iii. 78^a. Steph. Byz. Sycæ.

character, the astronomical vicissitudes of their career as Nature Gods, or the external circumstances which in part obliterated their worship, had been obliged to find an asylum in the world of shades⁴⁸, they gradually assumed more or less of a sinister aspect as adversaries of the more explicit and popular gods who had virtually banished them. Transcendent power or skill, whether exhibited in human ingenuity, or on the grander scale of nature, seems in an early stage of mythical development to be generally invested with an ambiguity of aspect which may be easily misinterpreted; so that the Telchines were sometimes benevolent mechanics, sometimes mischievous magicians⁴⁹; killing Apis, and revolting against Bacchus they united the demoniacal with the divine⁵⁰. Circumstances in the case of the Titans gave greater prominence to the evil aspect; and, in order to preserve consistency, it now became usual, in speaking of a Titan whose traditional character was unquestionably good, to say he was an exception to the general rebellion of those beings⁵¹, whose mythical malignity was in exact analogy with that of the giants, the one having warred on Cronus, as the other, in later times, on Zeus⁵². Like many of our own elves and evil spirits, which are only the discarded gods of our Pagan ancestors, these originally cosmical agents were thus, with some seeming exceptions⁵³, degraded into powers exclusively fiendish or "Hypotartarean"; and in the spirit by which the impostures of the Buddhists were translated by Marco Polo into diabolical miracles, and the gods of the heathen became the demons of the Jews⁵⁴, the name of Titan was applied, first, it is said⁵⁵, by Onomacritus, to those emissaries of Typhon who tore in pieces the body of Osiris or Dionysus Orpheus, when Pallas rescued the bleeding heart,

⁴⁸ Iliad, xiv. 279. Æschyl. Prom. 218. Bothe. Theog. 697.

⁴⁹ Creuz. S. iii. 15. Strabo, xiv. 654.

⁵⁰ Guignaut, R. ii. 277. 280.

⁵¹ Serv. ad Æn. iv. 119.

⁵² Serv. ib. vi. 580.

⁵³ Such as the Orphic Hecate. Hes. Th. 424.

⁵⁴ "Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμονία;" says the Psalm xcvi. 5. The name Baalzebub is, perhaps, an instance of the same tendency. Movers, Phœnizier, 260.

⁵⁵ Müller, Mythol. 394, trans. 319. Diod. S. iv. 6. Paus. viii. 37. 3.

and Apollo buried the collected fragments on Parnassus. It should however be observed that the innovation applies to the use of the name only, not to the idea, which, as in the mutilation of Uranus, was already familiar among the symbols of Nature-worship; that Cronus ruled peacefully in the far West over the heroes who had revered him on earth⁵⁶, and that his compeers, themselves originally the physical dispersion they were afterwards made to cause, had become permanent tenants of the shades through the establishment of the reign of Zeus.

§ 14.

WAR OF THE TITANS.

The Centimanes, Cyclops, and Titans are, theologically speaking, only varied forms of each other as children of the elements, hidden, bound, or absorbed by their mysterious parent, and capriciously restored to the upper world to suit the change of conception or purpose of the poet. The parent, who virtually unites the characters of Uranus, Cronus, and Zeus under the general name “*πατήρ*,”¹ allies himself with the one in order to go through the drama of a war in order to establish his kingdom by conquering the other. In the pragmatistical sense of the genealogist, Zeus is youngest of divine persons²; yet really he is older than his brothers³, older than Cronus, and the world⁴. He is represented as an eternal being who ruled even before his birth; for the oracles of heaven and earth given to Cronus respecting his children, are the “behests of Zeus.”⁵ He was once threatened with the imprisonment of his predecessors⁶; but the same physical confederates who assisted

⁵⁶ On a supposition hereafter to be alluded to, that the Cronian, golden, and heroic ages are virtually the same, the latter, with its stories of the familiar intercourse of gods and men, being the Epic version of the theological idea, Götting's Hesiod, Th. 851. Works, 111, 169. Iliad, xiv. 279. Buttman, Mythol. ii. 38. 63.

¹ Theog. v. 502. 617.

² Theog. 137. 457.

³ Iliad, xiii. 355; xv. 204.

⁴ Orph. Frag. vi.

⁵ Theog. 465.

⁶ Iliad, i. 399.

him against the Titans enabled him to defeat the malice of his new adversaries, and to retain his poetical supremacy. He was made by the Orphici to perform the same mysterious process of self-development ascribed by older bards to Cronus, the "all-swallowing and all-restoring,"⁷ and to contain heaven, earth, and sea within himself. It was necessary that the poet should be able, in a plausible way, to show by what means the victorious god was enabled to supersede his predecessors, the "companions" or diversified manifestations of Cronus⁸. If Cronus reigned of old, the analogy of human affairs of course implied a dethronement; and, as gods could not die, a banishment or imprisonment. In carrying out too the dramatic scheme, it was inevitable that the idea respecting the nature of Titans should undergo a change assimilating them more closely to the Homeric; hence, in the later part of the poem, they are called "Cthonii;"⁹ and it is impossible to conceive that such beings as Hyperion and Oceanus, Themis and Mnemosyne, constituting essential parts of the physical and moral world, and so nearly allied to the Olympian Gods, should have deliberately been allowed to remain among the enemies who attacked them. The great instruments of cosmogonical development were strife and love. These, represented by the familiar symbols of Mars and Venus, had been the two immemorial factors of creation, the twin daughters of Night. The birth of Eros¹⁰ was the condition precedent to the commencement of generation, and the mutilation of Uranus, in which the symbols of hostility and sterility were united, was followed by the birth of the Furies, and was the earliest precedent of feud personified in "Eris" with her numerous and disastrous offspring¹¹. The poet of the great cosmological strife of Troy, that memorable example of the close connection between human loves and human misfortunes¹², if he does not enter into the details of preceding

⁷ Orph. Hymn, 12. Comp. Theog. 890.

⁸ "Κρονον αμφις εοντες." Theog. 851.

⁹ v. 697.

¹⁰ v. 120.

¹¹ Theog. 225.

¹² "Παντολμους ερωτας αταισι συννομους βροτων." Æschyl. Choeph. 557, Bothe.

quarrels, betrays by several allusions an acquaintance with their existence. He speaks of the Titans as placed by Zeus in a brazen dungeon, as deep below earth as earth is below heaven; and the threat denounced to Mars¹³ corroborates the seeming intimation of some ancient feud among the gods as the cause of the imprisonment. War, the most energetic scene of human action, was the favourite subject of the epic. Several wars are described by the theogonist as having been waged by Zeus before the final establishment of his kingdom; and the attempt to wind up antique cosmogonical materials into an epic catastrophe is everywhere conspicuous, even in the etymological significance given by Hesiod to the name Titan¹⁴, the making the Titan war a retaliation for the cruelty of Cronus¹⁵, and still more in later compilers, who, less regardful of theological profundity than of æsthetical propriety, endeavoured to supply from arbitrary invention what they thought defective in the story as a consecutive series of events and persons. Hence, in Apollodorus, Uranus is no longer, as in Hesiod, a part of nature, but the original personified occupant of the seat afterwards assumed by Zeus; the Centimanes and Cyclops alone are concealed or bound by him, else it would have seemed impossible for their Titan brothers to have taken part in his mutilation and dethronement. The completion of this act, accompanied by the descent of fertilizing dew from heaven, and the ensuing birth of Aphrodite with her girdle, emblematic of the continuing harmony of which Eros was the germ, is in the older Theogony the signal for the commencement of a new series of Titanic developments or generations; which, so far from being impeded by the "hypotartarean" imprisonment of the parents, are but a continuation of the births of prolific Night¹⁶. Out of the Titans issues universal being; first, the family born of Pontus, Oceanus, and Tethys; next, the heavenly bodies, the progeny of Theia and Hyperion, of Krios, Koios, and Phœbe, personifications of sun, moon, and stars; gods descend from Cronus and Rhea, men from the loins of

¹³ Iliad, v. 897.

¹⁵ 472. 490.

¹⁴ From *Τίτιν*.

¹⁶ v. 211.

Japetus; and from Themis and Mnemosyne are born in due time, though not until after the establishment of the reign of Zeus, the Horæ and Muses, *i. e.*, the institutions and adornments of social and spiritual life. As Aphrodite the type of woman, or theogonic antecedent of Pandora, the celestial emblem of love, seemed often to change into an Eris or Erinnys¹⁷, so war changes into her sister¹⁸ peace, and becomes the prelude to fertility and harmony. Chaos reigns only while war continues. The generations of Zeus, amounting to the development of a new world both physical and moral, proceed only when after a long series of conflicts the peaceful order of his reign has begun¹⁹; and when Here, borrowing the cestus of harmony, visits the mystic grottoes of Lemnos in order to make a confederacy with the children of Night for renewing the long-interrupted intercourse of the ancient parents of Nature in the arms of her consort on Gargarus²⁰.

§ 15.

JAPETUS AND PROMETHEUS.

Man being, according to the prevailing idea, autochthonous, born out of the elements, it followed that the parentage of men as well as gods should be ascribed to the Titan sons of heaven and earth¹, and that Japetus, the Greek patriarch after the common genealogy², should rank with Cronus and Rhea. The fathers of the world were of course fathers of mankind, and in mythical language the first of men is often identical with the first of Gods; thus Agamemnon was understood to be a personification, either Carian or Amyclæan, of Zeus³, and Hermes-Cadmus, to be the builder not only of Thebes but of the Universe. In the same way Japetus, the husband of Asia, in other words

¹⁷ Klausen, *Æneas*, 1, 41.

¹⁸ *Theog.* 224, 225.

¹⁹ *Theog.* 881.

²⁰ *Iliad*, xiv. 206. 351.

¹ ἡμετέρων πατέρων προγονοί. *Orph. H.* xxxvi. 1. *Comp. Hymn Pyth. Apollo.* 159.

² *Hes. Frag. Gottl.* 29, 31. *Pind. Ol.* ix. 80.

³ *Clem. Alex. Protr.* xi. p. 32. *Pott. Uschold, Vorhalle*, i. p. 156. *Müller, Orchom.* 313.

a name supposed to be Asiatic⁴, and which became proverbial in Greece as expressing the highest antiquity⁵, has been conjectured to be the god, the "father Jah," of the Caucasian tribes⁶, the same supreme power who occasionally assumes the allied names of Jasion, Jasus, Jason⁷, and who was naturally confounded with his presumed equivalent, Zeus⁸. Japetus has also been compared to the Indian Brahmâ, at once man and God, under his title Prajapiti, "Lord of Creatures," a title belonging either to God or to the first and most intelligent of the beings made by him, resembling the Creator himself in form, and like him exercising extensive dominion⁹. A nearer parallel may perhaps be found in the Arcadian "Æpytus"¹⁰ a surname of the deity at Tegea¹¹, and ancestor of the Messenian kings¹². As husband of Themis, (the earth, or its dark recesses,) ¹³ Japetus is God of heaven, or Uranus¹⁴, and there is no good reason for doubting him to be the same who appears as patriarch of the North in Hebrew tradition¹⁵; for the Hebrews habitually appropriated the conceptions of the nations

⁴ Ritter, Vorhalle, p. 457. Herod. iv. 45. ⁵ Aristoph. Clouds, 985.

⁶ Japetus for Japitor, *i. e.* Deus-pater, or Diespiter. Buttman's Mythol. i. 224. Ewald, Geschichte, Israel, i. 330. Comp. Weiske, Prometheus, p. 299.

⁷ Σιος, Doricè for Θεος. Comp. Diod. S. v. 48.

⁸ Jasus, *e. g.* is Zeus, as father of Amphion. Pherecyd. Frag. xxvi. p. 219. Sturz. Sept^e. Hom. Odyss. xi. 282. Or Jason, as husband of Medea-Here. Comp. Müller, Orchom. 260. 276. Justin, xlii. 3; or Medea-Artemis, Diod. iv. 51, 52.

⁹ Genes. i. 26. Psalm viii. 6. 2 Esdras vi. 4.

¹⁰ "Father of earth?"

¹¹ Paus. viii. 47. 3.

¹² Called "Æpytidæ." Paus. iv. 3. 5.

¹³ "Tamas," sanct. The "Dark;" the oracle-giving goddess from below. Orph. H. 78. Diod. S. v. 67—hence represented with her eyes bound, or sleeping. Winckelman, Denkmale, i. 2. 5. p. 405, 12mo. ed.—wife of Athamas, or "Thammas," as Themisto. Müller, Orchom. 164. sq. Comp. Creuz. Hom. Briefe, 34.

¹⁴ Schol. Arat. Phœn. 254. A name perhaps formed like Janus, Juno, Diana, &c. Pott. Etym. Forsch. ii. 208; and if so, the short mention of the Titans in Homer, "Japetus and Cronus," would correctly indicate the received order of beings who preceded Zeus.

¹⁵ He precedes, instead of following, Deucalion, the Greek Noah; therefore, says Weiske (Prometheus, p. 301), Japetus is no more Japhet than Madai is Medea, Joshua Jason, or Moses Musæus. Comp. Welsford on the English language, p. 137.

with whom they came successively in contact¹⁶, and many parts of the Pentateuch are now well understood to be of much later date than is usually supposed¹⁷. "Genealogy," says Völcker¹⁸, "is the only clue through the labyrinth of mythological inquiry; and if every mythus once had a meaning, so, too, had every genealogy, however in itself contradictory or improbable. The genealogy of Prometheus supposes him either to be first parent, or at least, the earliest birth of nature. He is son of Japetus and Clymene, or of Eurymedon and Here, nephew of the all-father Oceanus¹⁹, and, if Japetus be Uranus, is himself a Uranid like his reputed brother Atlas²⁰. His mother's name changes from Clymene to Themis, or earth, two expressions, says Æschylus, for the same idea²¹; or again to Asia, or Here, previous to her marriage with Zeus²²; his wife Pandora, another name of earth²³, or of Nature's mother, is said to have been ancestress of the Greeks by Zeus²⁴, whose intimate connection with Prometheus is hinted in their mysterious dependence on each other in Æschylus²⁵; she is daughter and also mother of Deucalion, and being wife both of Prometheus and of Zeus, it would seem as if all three personages were considered as substantially identical²⁶. Again, Pro-

¹⁶ See instances of approximation of the O. T. accounts to Greek traditions in Völcker, Japetus, 347ⁿ.

¹⁷ For example, the name Javan could not have reached the Hebrews until the Ionian colonies had attained celebrity. K. O. Müller, Orchom. p. 95.

¹⁸ Japetus, 129.

¹⁹ Apollod. i. 1. 3. Hom. Il. ̑. 201. 246. 302.

²⁰ Diod. S. iii. 60. Hyg. f. Præf.

²¹ Prom. Bothe, 208. Demeter had the name of Themis in Arcadia. Paus. viii. 25. 4, and at Delphi, Themis was successor of Gæa. Æschyl. Eum. 2. Welcker, Tril. 41. In the hymn to the Delian Apollo (124), Themis undertakes the office of nurse to the son of Latona.

²² Schol. Iliad, xiv. 295.

²³ Schol. Aristoph. Aves, 971. Homer, Epigr. 7. Hesych. ad. v.

²⁴ Hesiod (Lydus de Mens. 4) treats Pandora as Rhea, making her husband parallel with Cronus or Uranus.

²⁵ Æschyl. Prom. Bothe. 748. Comp. 497.

²⁶ Schol. Apollon. iii. 1086. Hes. Frag. Göttl. 30, 31. Hence Hellen is son of Zeus. Eurip. Melanippe, Frag. 2.

metheus is father of Isis-Io²⁷, and even of Zeus himself²⁸; so that his character as a personification of the Supreme Being is fully borne out in genealogies, which, if to be relied on for nothing else, are at least authentic records of the opinions of their authors. The starting point of human genealogies was commonly occupied by a god. The paternal relation of Prometheus to Deucalion is recorded for the first time in the Hesiodic "*Hoiai*,"²⁹ the oldest Greek Heroogony known to us, and was probably mentioned in the songs on which was founded the Deucalionia of Hellanicus; but nothing is more gratuitous than to limit the age of a story to that of the writer who happens to be the earliest reporter of it. It could not have been a merely arbitrary choice which placed Prometheus at the head of Hellenic genealogy in Pthiotis, Thebes, and Athens; and the only reason why the legend of the Japhetidæ can be supposed to occupy its present place in the Theogony, a poem confined to the recital of gods and demigods³⁰, is the poetical necessity that the divine powers descended from Uranus should be finally disposed of before the empire of Zeus could be permanently established. Æschylus, therefore, committed no innovation when he designated Prometheus as "a god;" and Lactantius mistakes the conception of his character both as a god and as a man, when he urges an objection equally applicable to Nimrod and other Scripture personages, that the creation and the penal cataclysm were improbably compressed within the limits of two lives³¹. It is more easy, however, to assert the general divinity of Prometheus than to particularize it. Had he been mentioned by name in the Homeric Epic, he would probably have been placed among the "Hypotartarean" powers in association with Japetus and Cronus. He was accordingly described in poetry as a Titan³², the nearest approach which the heroic muse could with propriety make towards the

²⁷ Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 322^c. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 3. Istri. Frag.

²⁸ Lydus de Mens. Rother, p. 223.

²⁹ Schol. Apollon. iii. 1086.

³⁰ Götting, Præf. xxv. and xxxvi.

³¹ De Orig. Error. ii. 10. p. 197.

³² Sophocles, Ædip. Colon. 56. Eurip. Phœniss. 1129. Ion. 455.

specification of a nature-god. "Titan" became afterwards a title proper to the sun³³, that luminary being first and most conspicuous among the symbols of nature worship. Apollo and Hercules are both in this sense "Titans";³⁴ and there is no reason to think that the Orphic hymn infringes the technical precision of the old theology when it addresses the Titan Cronus, the "all-cunning," the "all-generating," as "σεμνε Προμηθευ."³⁵ Prometheus, as parent or child of universal nature, is more particularly called the "Fire-Bearer,"³⁶ the giver of light and heat, and even of life and intellectual attainments to mankind³⁷. In the Veda³⁸ there are three great gods, the Fire, the Air, and the Sun, inhabiting respectively the earth, the middle region, and the heavens. Prometheus brought down to earth the fire of heaven, and in the earliest poetical philosophy of Greece of which its mythology was in some respects an anticipation, a similar notion was expressed dogmatically in the belief that the "πηγαί πυρός," or springs of subterranean fire, are nourished by meteoric agents and by solar heat³⁹. It is most natural to suppose that the invention or "stealing" of fire by the Titan god Prometheus primarily indicates the communication of heat and warmth from heaven to earth by the sun, that immemorial object of Greek worship⁴⁰, that type of divine munificence which for ever bestows

³³ Orph. Argon. 514. Hymn, vii. 2. Virg. Æn. iv. 119.

³⁴ Orph. H. xi. 1, and xxxix. 3.

³⁵ Ib. xii. 7.

³⁶ Soph. Æd. Colon. 55. "Πυρφόρος Θεός."

³⁷ Apollod. i. 7.

³⁸ Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 768. In the Aitareya Brahmana the fire of the earth is Agni; celestial fire, Vishnou.

³⁹ *Εν δὲ τοῖς κολποῖς τῆς γῆς πῦρ ἰδρυταί.* Simpl. de Cælo. F. 158. Orph. Frag. viii. 17. Lucret. ii. 591. Strabo, xiv. 628, speaks of the kindling of the Catakekaumene, or Solfatara from the sky, and the same idea is expressed in the story of Ægina in Pausanias. Hes. Theog. 505.

⁴⁰ Plato, Laws, x. 2. Cratyl. p. 32. Winkelman, Allegorie, ch. ii. s. 135. The traditional bounty of humanized gods, such as Prometheus, Osiris, and Jemsheed, is a commentary on the physical munificence of the Sun. It was, probably, through the same idea that Lycus and Cheimareus (summer and winter) came to be children of Prometheus. (Tzetzes, Lycophr. 135).

its benefits without being itself diminished or impoverished. And as light and heat were supposed to be nourished by moisture, and to produce all things by union with it, his wife is an oceanic nymph, and so also is his mother, as the fire god of Egypt is son of the oceanic Nile⁴¹. The exercises of running, wrestling, dancing, hurling the discus, &c., on solemn occasions, derived their primary and religious import from the revolutions of the heavenly bodies of which they were symbols⁴²; the earthly forms of the gods were made to resemble as nearly as possible those ascribed to them in the sky, and therefore Demeter, Artemis, and Dionysus, as well as Hephæstus and Prometheus at Colonos⁴³ were figured as torch-bearers, the celebrated Attic torch race held in honour of some of these deities being presumably meant to represent the sun's light borne unextinguished and uncontaminated from east to west. The invention of fire, attributed in Egypt to Pthah, was by the Argives ascribed to Phoroneus⁴⁴; and it naturally followed that Phoroneus and Prometheus should be identified in the parentage of Io⁴⁵. The Titanic divinities of nature were all benefactors of mankind⁴⁶; the correlated gods Prometheus, Hephæstus, and Athene, were accounted to have supplied them with arms and arts; and as Silenus, the father of the firmament⁴⁷, describes to his audience the origin of the universe⁴⁸, or as Uranus, first king of men, is also their earliest instructor⁴⁹, so Prometheus is father of arts and civilization, and fulfils in a higher sense his mythical office of bringing forth Athene out of the head of Zeus⁵⁰. This higher meaning

⁴¹ Cic. N. D. iii. 22. Diod. S. i. 12. Suidas v. Helios. Schol. Ambros. ad Odyss. K. 2. Ovid, Met. i. 756.

⁴² Uschold, Vorhalle, ii. pp. 70, 71. Crishna in the Bagvat-Geeta, is called "discobolus," p. 11.

⁴³ The *πυρφορος Θεος* of Sophocles and Euripides. Phœnis. 1122. Weiske, Prom. p. 525. Philostr. Vit. Soph. p. 602, Ol.

⁴⁴ Pausan. ii. 19.

⁴⁵ Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 322. Istri. Frag. 40.

⁴⁶ Diod. S. v. 66.

⁴⁷ *i. q.* Astræus, Creuzer, S. i. 12.

⁴⁸ Ælian, V. H. iii. 18. Virg. Ecl. vi. 31.

⁴⁹ Diod. S. iii. 56.

⁵⁰ Eurip. Ion. 467. Apollod. i. 3. 6.

however, as well as the many traditions of the astrological knowledge of the sun-god, however obvious⁵¹, were only secondary applications of a legend originally physical. Prometheus is master of wisdom, in the same sense as Hermes or Atlas⁵², that is, as the all-pervading spirit of nature⁵³. But the physical conception appears under two aspects, the complicated symbolism of the original, and its poetical adaptations or metamorphoses.

Prometheus is not an Homeric deity, his attributes nearly coinciding and being absorbed in those of Hermes and Hephæstus⁵⁴, as, for instance, in opening the head of Zeus⁵⁵, arranging the offices of the gods, performing their commands, and distributing their gifts to mankind⁵⁶. Hephæstus, as well as Prometheus, was patron of the Athenian guild of potters; both were fire gods associated in the rites and temples of the Ceramicus as in general tradition⁵⁷; and the story of Prometheus, the man-maker, may have been founded in a real mythical connection between the son of Clymene and the

⁵¹ Cicero, Tuscul. v. 3. Serv. to Virg. Ecl. vi. 42.

⁵² Æneid, i. 741.

⁵³ Πάντα ἐγνώσους. Comp. Anax. Fragm. 8. Iliad, ii. 485.

⁵⁴ Thus Hermes advises Deucalion to throw the stones which became men; Prometheus to build the ark. Apollod. i. 7. 2. Hermes is protector and benefactor, "δωτὴρ ἱερῶν," "εἰσιπυρῖος" (Hymn, Herm.), as well as Prometheus, and also "δολίος" (Paus. vii. 27. 1), a robber, "ληιστὴρ"—"ἡγήτωρ βοῶν"—like Hercules, the devourer or robber of bulls, Prometheus is "sacrificer of the bull"). Comp. the Arcadian personification, "Bouphagos" (Paus. viii. 27. 11.), a son of Japetus killed for offering violence to Artemis. Prometheus and Hermes have exclusively the epithet "ἀκακητα," whence the Acakesian hill derived its name, and it may be asked whether the eponymus "Acacus" is not etymologically one with Cacus, who, like Hermes (Hom. H. H.), drew the bulls backward to his cavern; (Comp. Buttman's Lexilogus, Tr. pp. 73, 74.) a name probably connected with "Cæcus," and denoting the Cthonian character of the power. Prometheus, supposed to have been originally a predicate of the Pelasgian Hermes, is at once admitted to all the wide relations of the latter.

⁵⁵ Schol. Pind. Ol. vii. 66.

⁵⁶ Prom. 38. Plato, Protag. 321^d. 322^c.

⁵⁷ Paus. i. 14. 6. Harpocrat. voc. Κολωνίται. Æschyl. Prom. 39. Weiske, p. 532.

demiurgic. Hermes or Hephæstus⁵⁸. The most remarkable example of this demiurgic character is the antique monumental altar of the academy near Athens, in which Prometheus appeared associated in a triad with Hephæstus and Athene⁵⁹, Prometheus being represented as the older and superior power, Hephæstus as secondary. Now, since Athene was said to have intermarried with celestial fire, and to have thus become mother of Apollo⁶⁰; it was probably the superior Prometheus of Apollodorus, corresponding with the first Vulcan of Cicero, son of Uranus, who, as celestial fire, was deemed worthy to be partner of the goddess who, according to the common story, rejected the advances of Hephæstus. In the Erechtheum, the consort of Athene, here answering to the Proserpina of Cicero, was Hermes; and, in Bœotian legend, Prometheus was connected with Demeter, and called "one of the Cabiri."⁶¹ The Cabiri were usually reputed to be "sons of Hephæstus"⁶²; they were objects of secret or Cthonian worship, being two, three, four, or a larger number, whose correlatives among the better known deities were commonly assumed to be Pluto, Demeter, and Cora, Hermes Casmilus⁶³ being associated with them as a fourth. They were givers of good things, of the

⁵⁸ Comp. argument to Ovid, *Metam.* 1. vol. ii. p. 15. Burm. Creuz. Briefe, p. 194. Eurip. *Frag.* Barnes, 14. Völcker, *Japetus*, p. 316. The problem is not only how Prometheus came to be man-maker, but how he became patron of potters; he might have become man-maker as patron of the Ceramicus; but it is at least equally possible that he became patron of the Ceramicus as man-maker, *i. e.* as demiurgic God.

⁵⁹ Apollodorus, in *Schol. Ædip. Colon.* 55. Paus. i. 30. Polemo in Harpocrat, *voc. lampas.*

⁶⁰ Cic. *N. D.* iii. 22, 23. Livy, xxii. 10. She was mother of the Corybantes by Helios, of Erichthonius, by Hephæstus or Hermes. Again, she was daughter of Prometheus-Zeus, and sister of Hephæstus. Plato, *Critias*, 109.

⁶¹ Paus. ix. 25. 5.

⁶² *Ἡφαίστοις ἢ Τιτανεῖς.* Photius. *Pherecyd.* Sturz. p. 141. Herod. iii. 37. Lobeck, 1211. 1221.

⁶³ *Cadmilos, ὁ Ἑρμῆς Βοιωτικῶς.* Tzetzes, *Lycophr.* 162. Plass, *Urgeschichte*, i. p. 127.

fruits of the earth⁶⁴, the three principal divine hypostases co-operating to produce fertility and harmony. Demeter was at Samothrace as at Thebes their mother or chief, and Cicero may have been as well justified in giving the name of son of Cabirus to Dionysus⁶⁵ as to Hermes⁶⁶. The Ithyphallic Hermes of Attica is said to have been derived from the same source as the Pelasgian mysteries of Samothrace and Lemnos; Lemnos, the volcanic Aithale⁶⁷, where the sacred flame stolen by Prometheus called not only art but nature into being, where Hephæstus, like Prometheus, a son of Here, was on his descent from the sky entertained by Thetis, and at the close of his celestial career (*ἀμα δ' ἡελίῳ καταδυντὶ*) commenced a fresh course of labours in the oceanic caverns⁶⁸. There dwelt the Sintians, a wild and problematical race, forging arms under the direction of the god of fire⁶⁹, and there probably were united the attributes of Ares, Hephæstus, and Hermes as demiurgic powers, a combination seemingly alluded to in the mystery sung by Demodocus⁷⁰, for the God of nature is a Proteus assuming every elemental form, and every variety of character. Much of the imagery of the lost drama of the Prometheus, "*πυρφορος*" is known to have been taken from Lemnos⁷¹. Immediately beneath the volcano Moschylos stood the town of Hephæstias and the temple of the fire-god⁷²; while the flame issuing from earth, air, and sea, at once revealed to the eye the many meanings attached to the mother of Hephæstus⁷³, and the various names of the wife of Pro-

⁶⁴ Hence "*αγλαα δωρα Καβειρων.*" Orph. Argon. 24. Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 74. Myrsilus in Dion. Hal. i. 23. Lobeck, 1209.

⁶⁵ De N. D. iii. 23. L. Lydus, 82. ⁶⁶ Pherecyd. Frag., 31. p. 141, Sturz.

⁶⁷ Tzetzes, Lycophr. 227, 460. Nitzsch to Odys. viii. 283.

⁶⁸ Iliad, i. 593; xviii. 399. sq. Comp. Creuzer, Briefe, p. 196. Making the darts of Eros (Anacr. Od. 45), as well as the arms of Achilles.

⁶⁹ Odys. viii. 273. Hellanici Frag. 56. p. 92, Sturz.

⁷⁰ Odys. viii. 342. ⁷¹ Müller, Kl. Schrift. ii. 43.

⁷² Accius in Varro, L. L. vi. 82.

⁷³ Here, the air or the earth, living in a secret chamber, inaccessible to all other gods. Iliad, xiv. 168.

metheus⁷⁴. Hephæstus was married to Cabira, a daughter of the sea-god Proteus, or to the ocean-born Aphrodite, and it would seem as if in the association of the fire spirit with the sea nymph it was intended to intimate the genial alliance and cooperation of fire and water in nature, as in the similar story of the escape of Dionysus, “*πυριγενής*,” into the arms of Thetis or Eurynome⁷⁵. “The brilliancy of fire,” says the Genius in the Zendavesta⁷⁶, “proceeds from the brightness of God.” The stirring the forges of the Cyclops preceded in imagination the return of spring⁷⁷, when fertilizing warmth seems to rise out of the bosom of moisture, and when the fiery Dionysus is yearly born of the thunderbolt descending on Semele or Gæa⁷⁸. In symbolical observance, the sacred fires of the altars of Delphi, Athens, and Rome, were rekindled not from another fire⁷⁹, but from the sun’s beams concentrated in a brazen reflector⁸⁰. The opinion intimated by the rite that earthly fire is originally kindled from the sky⁸¹, recurs in the legend of the precipitation of Hephæstus from the verge of heaven⁸², so that the prize which Prometheus stole from Hephæstus came originally from Zeus⁸³. It was the practice of many nations, particularly the Phœnicians and Egyptians, to celebrate the renewal of the year and of the sun by a jubilee of illumination⁸⁴. An annual ceremony of this kind took place at

⁷⁴ Clymene, Pandora, &c.

⁷⁵ *Iliad*, vi. 136. Creuz. S. iv. 10. Soph. *Antig.* 964. Welcker, *Trilogie*, 10. Comp. Porphy. de *Antr.* 11, and note, p. 99. Heraclitus in Diog. L. ix. 9. Isis and Osiris, ch. 34, 35.

⁷⁶ Ardibehescht, *Zend.* pt. 2, pp. 142. 146. 190, 191; pt. iii. 19.

⁷⁷ Horace, *Od.* i. 4.

⁷⁸ Apollod. *Fragm.* 29. Didot. Comp. Strabo, xiii. 628.

⁷⁹ “Strange” fire. *Levit.* x. 1.

⁸⁰ Plutarch, *Numa*. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 663. This practice still continues at Rome, where the holy fire is relit at St. Peter’s from the sun on the morning before Easter Sunday.

⁸¹ Accius, *Frag.* Philoct. *Æschyl.* Didot. p. 199.

⁸² *Iliad*, i. 591.

⁸³ Hesiod, *Works*, 51, but compare *Theog.* 505.

⁸⁴ *Λυχνόχαση*. Herod. ii. 62. Creuz. *Symb.* iv. 765. Paus. ii. 22. 4; vii. 27. 1. Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 7. Ewald, *Anhang to Geschichte*, 121.

Lemnos; during nine days all fire throughout the island was extinguished, and in the mean time a sacred vessel had been dispatched to bring new fire from the altar at Delos, which after the close of a general lustration of the island was distributed among the inhabitants, and called the "commencement of a new life."⁸⁵ The preparatory ceremony of purification and atonement addressed, it is said, to Cthonian powers, gave rise to a number of legends to explain it. It was supposed to be founded on the dreadful tragedy of the murder by women for which Lemnos was notorious⁸⁶, and which made the "Lemnian woes" a byword for deeds of horror. The Lemnian women, jealous, it was said, of the violated honour of Hephæstus, had neglected the altars of Aphrodite, and the goddess in revenge made them odious to their husbands. The men took Thracian concubines, and were then murdered by their wives, with the exception of king Thoas, father of Hypsipyle, who either hid her father, or placed him in a ship or ark (*λαρναξ*), in which he was conveyed safely to Tauris or to Œnoe⁸⁷. The avenging Aphrodite in this account is probably one with Hypsipyle, afterwards married to Jason, and with Medea, whose magic art is occasionally substituted for the power of the angry goddess in producing the catastrophe. The Lemnians worshipped a goddess called Lemnos, Chryse, Myrina, or Athene Jasonia⁸⁸, who served with human victims infected with serpents' poison the foot of Philoctetes, and since the notion entertained of the Deity is to many purposes the Deity itself, might by residents in a pestilential climate⁸⁹ be called the true source of the hereditary curse or calamity of their island⁹⁰. The same jealous power who now befriended Jason

⁸⁵ Philostrate. Heroic. xix. 14. p. 741.

⁸⁶ Ib. 740. Æschyl. Chæph. 621.

⁸⁷ Hyg. Fab. xv. p. 50. Apollon. Rh. i. 622. Schol. Eurip. Hecuba, 875.

⁸⁸ Comp. Müller, Kleine Schrift. ii. 178. 206. Dor. i. 386. Orchom. 296, 297. Schol. Apollon. i. 773. Paus. viii. 33. 2.

⁸⁹ Thucyd. ii. 47.

⁹⁰ Τα "Λημνια κακα;" *αγος, μηνιμα εκ Θεων.* "Η δεινα τις Ερις Θεος!" Eurip. Phœniss. 811. There was a similar proverb as to the "wars" of Troy, "αι Ιλιω κακα." Eustat. Il. iv. 48.

had of old caused the misfortunes of the house of Athamas, and afterwards presided over the fall of Troy, when the emblem of Poseidon had reached its citadel, and when his serpents had destroyed Laocoon⁹¹. She murdered her children at Corinth, yet afterwards made them immortal, and averted a pestilence by an expiatory sacrifice to Demeter and the Lemnian nymphs⁹². Demeter herself, who at Thebes gave the mysterious deposit to Prometheus the Cabirus, (*παρὰκαταθηνη*), was angered by Poseidon, and concealing herself in a cavern destroyed by her absence the fruits of the earth⁹³; but Pan discovered her Arcadian retreat, and Zeus at length prevailed on her to return through the intercession of the Parcæ. Cicero says justly that the mysteries were rather a revelation of the processes of physical nature than of the nature of the gods⁹⁴. Nature is for ever concealing or destroying her children⁹⁵, and murdering her successive husbands⁹⁶. The revolution of nature may be called the abduction of her health or beauty, and the cause of the calamity may be supposed to be either the transgression of the captor⁹⁷, the severity of the Deity, or the fatal gift of beauty itself. Woman, therefore⁹⁸, or women in general⁹⁹, are a common mythical source of human woe¹⁰⁰; hence the massacre of the sons of Ægyptus was by Euripides compared with the tragedy of Lemnos¹⁰¹, as with that of the Thracian Tyrant blinded through his avidity to seize the hidden treasures of Polydorus. The fabulous Amazons are said to have imposed on men the tasks of women, to have maimed and made slaves of them¹⁰². The sun itself was maimed, enslaved, or killed, in the stories of his

⁹¹ Hom. Odyss. viii. 511. Virg. Æn. ii. 612.

⁹² Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 74. Müller, Orchom. 267. Welcker, Trilogie, 220.

⁹³ Paus. viii. 42. 2.

⁹⁴ De N. D. i. 42.

⁹⁵ Comp. Paus. ii. 3. 8. Althea, Scylla, &c.

⁹⁶ Comp. Ælian. V. H. vii. 1.

⁹⁷ Zeus, Thyestes, Paris, Agamemnon, Hermes-Cthonius, &c.

⁹⁸ Helena, Pandora, Ærope, Clytæmnestra, &c.

⁹⁹ Danaïdes, Mænades, Troades, led by Hecate-Hecabe, &c.

¹⁰⁰ Odyss. xi. 427.

¹⁰¹ Hecub. 874.

¹⁰² Diod. S. ii. 45.

mythical representatives, whether a single hero, under the name of Memnon, Tenages, Hercules, &c., or separate personifications of weeks or months, as the suitors of Hippodamia or of Penelope, the children of Ægyptus, Lycaon, or Niobe¹⁰³.

But, in order to account for nature's perpetuation, one of the intended victims was usually permitted to escape. Lemnos had two characters; it was the friendly asylum of the Argonauts, rich in wines sent to the Achæans before Troy, as well as a land of pestilence, the inhospitable and dangerous coast shunned by prudent navigators¹⁰⁴. It had the double character of its Deity, Aphrodite-Myrrhina or Artemis, whose aspect in ritual was often in direct contrast with the delineations of the Epic. Lemnos was a city of the Amazons, that is, it was not only a place where females were treated deferentially¹⁰⁵, but was one of the many seats of the worship of Ares and of Hecate or Artemis Tauropolos¹⁰⁶; a worship in which a chorus of women representing the daughters of Mars¹⁰⁷, or champions of the moon, presided over the symbolical death of the year-god, as when the daughters of Pelias killed their aged father at the moment when Medea (Artemis-Luna), on pretence of addressing a prayer to the moon, raised from the palace roof the torch signal to the invading Argonauts¹⁰⁸. Legend seeks the foundation of a known

¹⁰³ The moon at its rising may be said to be the death of the sun, as the sun of the moon during the day. The numerous names given to the sun and moon would, of course, multiply the number of these allegorical murders. Uschold. Vorh. ii. 310.

¹⁰⁴ Iliad, xxiv. 753. Soph. Philoctet. 301.

¹⁰⁵ Apollod. i. 9. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Myrrhina. Welcker, Tril. 590. Called "*πολυσκαρθμος*," "the much bounding," Iliad, ii. 814;—hence wife of Ares-Thoas. Uschold gives a different reason for there being a city of the Amazons in Lemnos (Vorhalle, ii. 299. 305); and difficulties have arisen owing to the local worship of the moon and the ideal sites of its rising and setting being confounded in legends. According to Sprengel the moon is called "Maza" in the language of the Tcherkesses. Comp. Dubois, Voyage en Caucase, i. p. 150.

¹⁰⁷ Diod. ii. 45, 46.

¹⁰⁸ Diod. iv. 52. The same proceeding is in Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 512. sq.) attributed to Helena, who betrayed her husband, Deiphobus, to the Greeks, and who was sometimes confounded with Medea, as wife of Achilles. Schol. Lycophr. 174. Paus. iii. 19. 11.

custom in some imaginary history ; and, the less obvious the real meaning of the rite, the more striking the contrast it makes with the attempted explanation. The mystery of the "Lemnian woe" was accounted for by a massacre of men committed by women¹⁰⁹, as elsewhere by a single woman¹¹⁰; the sacrifice of Calydon was a consequence of the original offence of Æneus, the yearly lament of Corinth¹¹¹ a continuing expiation for the murder of the children of Medea. In each case the real cause of sorrow was the death of nature, (Thoas, Archemorus, Dionysus¹¹²), the intermission of her fertility, the extinction of her torch, for the gods fled from Lemnos in consequence of the massacre¹¹³, and the extinction of the Bacchic torch by Lycurgus¹¹⁴ is only another way of telling the old tale of the death of one Cabirus at the hands of his brothers¹¹⁵. The torch expires with the god, whose altars are rekindled on his re-appearance, and the alternation of the Bacchic drama is kept up in the subsequent history of Hypsipyle in Lemnos and Arcadia¹¹⁶, as well as in the double character of Thoas, now victim of the Lemnian Mænades, and again, as tyrant of Thrace, offering human victims to Diana Taurica until his career is ended by Apollo's son, and presumed brother of Orestes¹¹⁷. Lemnos, the "rugged seat of Hephæstus,"¹¹⁸ was also the "rock of Hermes."¹¹⁹ The latter god, called Saos or Samos at Samothrace, and who also gave his name to Imbros¹²⁰, was the great deity of Thrace, the reputed ancestor of its kings¹²¹; and, after the usual practice of Greek and Roman writers in the interpretation of foreign mytho-

¹⁰⁹ "Οιορπατα," translated "ανδροκτοναι," by Herodotus, iv. 110, answers to "αντιανειραι," the attribute of the Amazons in the Iliad, vi. 186. Comp. Deianeira, Enarete, Metaneira, Clytæmnestra, Eriphyle, &c.

¹¹⁰ Odyss. ii. 384.

¹¹¹ Eurip. Medea, 1382.

¹¹² Paus. vii. 18. 6. Apollod. iii. 6. 4.

¹¹³ Welcker, Tril. 248.

¹¹⁴ Antig. 964.

¹¹⁵ Welcker, 251, 252. Comp. the two bullocks slain by Hermes. H. H. 117.

¹¹⁶ Paus. iii. 6. 4.

¹¹⁷ Chryses. Hyg. Fab. 121. Schol. Apollon. i. 604.

¹¹⁸ Dion. P. 522.

¹¹⁹ "Ερμαιοιν λεπας." Æsch. Agam. 284.

¹²⁰ As Himeros? Steph. Byz. ad. v.

¹²¹ Herod. v. 7. Baehr's note.

logy¹²², was compared to the "Wodan" of the Celts and Teutons. In Celtic and Teutonic Thrace¹²³, a name which, before it was limited by Herodotus to the boundary of the Ister, seems to have been a general designation of countries to the north, Hermes appeared in many respects the nearest parallel to the local god; and may afterwards, by the subdivision of his person, have been the fittest agent to represent the Supreme Being in the Promethean drama of Æschylus. The theatre of this drama is as widely extended as the divine character whom it represents; for Prometheus is king in Egypt¹²⁴, and in Scythia¹²⁵; his habitation is in Peloponnesus, or Locris, on the Paropamisus or Caucasus. On Caucasus he may only have been restored to his true home¹²⁶; for it is observable that the name of Zeus, and also that of Minerva, were unknown to the Caucasians¹²⁷, possibly because their places were filled by personifications whose attributes were inconsistent with those of their supposed Grecian equivalents. From Caucasus and the Tauric Chersonese, a land, like Lemnos, inhabited by Sindians or Sintians, where the Titan god passed the sea upon a bull¹²⁸, as Phrixus on the ram, an eminent writer¹²⁹ has endeavoured to trace the progress of a beneficent Deity whose symbol was the sun, and who seems to have united the attributes of Hermes and Zeus, of Prometheus and Hercules. Whether as Coros¹³⁰

¹²² They explained a foreign god by referring to the corresponding personification in their own Pantheon, mentioning the foreign name only where they could find no native analogy. They admitted themselves to be puzzled only when, as in the case of the Dis Æsculapius of Sinope in Tacitus, the facets of the divine aspect seemed to have no one predominating side.

¹²³ Strabo, p. 304.

¹²⁴ Diod. S. i. 19.

¹²⁵ Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 1252.

¹²⁶ It is well known how often the place of the exile of a god, as, for example, of the Titans, Hephæstus, &c., is in reality his native home. Comp. Lennep. to Hes. Theog. p. 301. A similar exile would apply to Hermes-Cthonius, allied, like Jasus, to a telluric Demeter or Hecate, in Greece called Persephone. Comp. Cic. N. D. iii. 22. p. 607, Creuz. Herod. v. 7. Propert. ii. 2. 11. Tacit. Hist. iv. 83.

¹²⁷ Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 1249.

¹²⁸ Orph. Argon. 1060.

¹²⁹ Ritter, Vorhalle Eur. Gesch. pp. 376. 381, &c.

¹³⁰ Ritter, ib. p. 89.

or Aristæus, Wodan or Buddha, Prometheus or Poseidon, he taught the arts of peace as well as of war, and paved the path of commerce along the sun's course from the Tanais and Borys-thenes to the coasts of Iberia¹³¹. But under all its varieties of name and personification the divinity of nature sinks from the zenith of its glory into a state of humiliation or dissolution, and the vicissitudes of Prometheus were a stumbling-block to Lactantius, who with unaccountable inconsistency could not believe that a being undergoing a cruel punishment could by any possibility have been a god¹³². Yet it is in this very circumstance that his character is most distinctly marked as a nature-god; he is subject to the same accidents of temporary banishment and eclipse as the solar light which is his prototype¹³³; he is chained in Hades or on Caucasus, and even his grave was shown at Argos, or the Locrian Opus¹³⁴. He underwent the fate of many other Deities whose characters, morally as well as physically, were analysed or changed according to the fancy of their worshippers, and who like the Hindoo Nardman or Nareda¹³⁵, fluctuating between the celestial and the Titanic, needed only to be subdivided in order to seem transformed. When Æthalides, the son of Hermes, who filled in relation to the Argonauts the same office as Hermes to the gods, is described as having received from his father the privilege of being alternately in Hades and with men, in the upper and the lower world, he is merely made to perform the alternate office of his prototype or parent as originally suggested by the revolution of nature; and a similar change is recorded in the story of Prometheus, the probable equivalent of the same Deity, when represented as either bound like Cronus, tortured like Phineus, or associated with the watery Poseidon in the sacred precinct of Colonus¹³⁶, where Œdipus, blinded rather by the gods

¹³¹ Diod. S. iv. 19.

¹³² De Orig. Erroris, ii. 10.

¹³³ Comp. Lucian's Prom. ch. 18.

¹³⁴ Paus. ii. 19.

¹³⁵ Creuz. Symb. i. 406.

¹³⁶ Named from the "god" Colonus Hippotes "*αρχηγος*." Soph. Œd. Colon. 60. 65. Comp. Ritter Vorhalle, pp. 51. 338, &c.

than by himself¹³⁷, descended to the shades¹³⁸. However defective or obscure the attempted explanations of his story from the legends of the Brahmins and Buddhists¹³⁹, it is at least clear that the notion of a suffering deity, of one who, tortured, blinded, or imprisoned, might represent the physical speculations of his worshippers, and as a penitent their ascetic practices, was widely spread from India westwards, in the stories of Jemsheed, Henoch, or Cronus¹⁴⁰, and the chorus in Æschylus describes the wide area through which diversified nations, Scythians, Asians, and Arabians, bewailed the dying or declining Titan¹⁴¹. Chained to his pillar, Prometheus appears as a hieroglyphic of the union of astral and earthly fetichism, a Hermes Lithinos, and his crucifixion¹⁴², a form of punishment in which the intention of sacrifice mingled with that of an execution¹⁴³, may remind us of the self-inflicted penance of Simeon Stylites standing with arms outstretched¹⁴⁴ in the form of a cross, and ultimately leaving his bones to become the palladium of Antioch. The real character of Prometheus was forgotten, his symbols were made the instruments of his imaginary punishment, and his pride and downfall turned into a moral. In the temporary reverses of his physical career he was supposed to be suffering

¹³⁷ Eurip. Phœn. 871.

¹³⁸ Iliad, viii. 15. Hes. Theog. 808. Soph. Œd. Colon. 58 and 1590, and Scholia. Pausan. i. 30. 2.

¹³⁹ Ritter, Vorhalle, 452, &c. The many names of persons and places evidently sanscrit, *e. g.* "Spargapithes,"—Swargapitor—king of the Agathyrsi, &c. Herod. iv. 76. 78, comp. i. 211, afford curious evidence of early community of language and ideas between Asia and Europe. Hence attempts have been made to explain Prometheus from the Puranas, as "Paramesht'hin," the Supreme, a title of Indra or Brahmâ. Lassen, Ind. A. i. 771. "Pramat-hêsa," a name of Sevi. Ritter, *ib.*

¹⁴⁰ Ps. Plut. de Fluv. Hudson Geogr. Minor, ii. p. 11. Steph. Byz. v. Iconion.

¹⁴¹ Prom. 404. Bothe.

¹⁴² "Transverberatus;" in Cicero. "*Σταυρωθεῖς*," Lucian, Prometh. vol. i. p. 185, &c.

¹⁴³ The cross being an ancient emblem of the sun, and crucifixion a form of sun-sacrifice. Payne, Knight, Anct. Art. pp. 46. 96. 98. 161. 198, &c. Ghillany, Menschenopfer, 527. 530.

¹⁴⁴ In sacrifice, the victim becomes identified with the Deity, and the gods were said (Roth's Preface to the Nirukta) to have attained heaven by sacrificing.

the vengeance of heaven for presumption, in company with his fellow Titans, like Brahma, the world-sunk emblem of intelligence, or the Scandinavian fire-spirit Loka. He was hung in chains like Nimrod¹⁴⁵, or like Bali, the rebellious giant of the Puranas¹⁴⁶ consigned by Vishnou to the infernal Patala.

§ 16.

EACH HOMERIC DEITY CONSIDERED AS A LOCAL GOD.

Mythi are but extreme instances of that inverted vision which sees the objective in the subjective, and which, more or less, infects all human notions. They express the general aspect of the external world through the internal thought, and doubtless reflect man's life and actions as well as physical phenomena. But mythology is not history, nor can it by any modern process be transformed into history. Fact has been too closely involved with opinion, the impressions of successive ages too thickly crowded into one story, to admit of being now restored with exactness to their proper respective forms. But these impressions and opinions are grouped round a central meaning, which, by comparison with other analogous stories, may, in its generality, be recovered, thus reconverting gods into Titans, Titans into powers, or into parts of that notional imagery which was the "wisdom" of antiquity. It is only when viewed rather as a record of opinion¹ than of events, that the study of mythology becomes a really important part of that of history, making up for vagueness by the comprehensiveness of range which displays the conceptions of centuries at a glance, and exhibiting in the clearest light those causes which from the

¹⁴⁵ Job xxxviii. 31. Comp. Gesen. Thes. voc. Chesil.

¹⁴⁶ His ultimate punishment is described as a cleaving of the rock, which enclasp him within its rift (991, Bothe), as in modern Arabian romance the giant Balishboul, incautiously reading aloud the inscription upon the pillar on Mount Caucasus, pronounces his own sentence of eternal chains.

¹ "Hier," says Müller, speaking of the story of the Argonauts (Orchom. 260), "wie überall, verkennen wir nicht das der tiefste grund des Mythos nicht ein historisches factum sey, sondern ein Ideales."

earliest times to the present have most seriously impeded the free development of mind, and the intellectual struggle, of which the very anomalies which perplex the pragmatical antiquary are often the most interesting and instructive examples. The popular forms of polytheism were a lowering of the mysterious feeling of multiplicity in unity calculated to fit it for general reception; these forms, however, did not arise out of any such a systematic subdivision of the attributes and offices of the Divinity as an artificial theogony would suggest², for the operation is never premeditated, but from the various ways in which the same circle of ideas has been treated in the traditions of different localities and tribes. The diversified materials thus prepared were gradually wrought into a system through the political connection of the Grecian states, aided by long-continued efforts of poetry, which brought a number of local gods into one federative assembly similar to the improved forms of human association. Each tribal or local worship had a character of generality, and exhibited more or less prominently every known attribute of the Supreme Being. But the peculiarities of national temperament or occupation had lent to particular legends a special direction, and the syncretism of a later period assigned a limited individual character to each of the members of its Pantheon, in accordance with the peculiar local colouring in which they were found. The war or death-god Ares seems to represent the fierce characteristics of the Thracian or Scythian symbol of the seymetar, who built up a temple out of the skulls of his murdered victims³, and the personal effeminacy of Aphrodite, as well as her emblems of the dove and fish, are reflected from Syria, Cyprus, and Cythera. The legend sung by Demodocus accompanied by the starry dances mimicked by the twinkling feet⁴ of the Phæacians is the divine amour⁵ of the Samo-

² Æschyl. Prom. 237. Hes. Theog. 885.

³ Stesichorus in Schol. Pind. Ol. xi. 19. Meursius to Lycophr. 937. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 391.

⁴ “*Μαρμαρυγὰι ποδῶν.*”

⁵ Schol. Ambros. to Odyss. viii. 266. Lobeck, Aglaoph. i. 132.

thracian mystery, involving the same idea of universal generation, from the alliance of harmony and discord, which afterwards received a philosophical or dogmatic form in the systems of Heraclitus and Empedocles. The Here or Despæna of Samos or Argos retaining only in feature some of the characteristics of her supposed rival, the ox-eyed Io⁶, in her Homeric form is chiefly remarkable for the vindictive jealousy ascribed to her in preceding Heracleas, and betrays only incidentally her wider significance in the story of the anvils, the wearing of the all-binding cestus, the confederacy with sleep, in that of her being received and nurtured by the powers of the sea, as Zeus had been by those of earth⁷. The Hermes, “*ἐριουνιος*,”⁸ of Homer faintly preserves the characteristics of the nomian or ithyphallic god of the Samothracian or Arcadian Pelasgians, elsewhere described as son of heaven and earth, creator and lord of life⁹, whose touch converted into gold the fleece of the ram of Phryxus¹⁰, and who, himself taking the ram form¹¹, became the vernal lover of Persephone-Penelope¹², and the Cthonian Hermes, Erichthonius, or Plutus, at Athens¹³. In the character of this latter personage, the reputed founder of the Athenian *φρατρίαι*¹⁴, he seems to approach that union of intellectual with physical power, of the Arcadian Pan¹⁵ with Cadmus, which

⁶ Eustath. to Dion. Perieg. 92. 140.

⁷ Iliad, xiv. 202. Comp. Hes. Theog. 479.

⁸ The “bounteous.”

⁹ Paus. vi. 26. Cicero, N. D. iii. 22. Isis and Osiris, 12 and 41. Herod. ii. 51. Conf. Odyss. viii. 342. Creuz. S. 3. 335.

¹⁰ Apollon. Rh. ii. 1147.

¹¹ Hermes, “Criophoros,” represented probably by Ulysses issuing out of the Cyclop’s cave, borne upon a ram. Odyss. 432. 550.

¹² Paus. i. 38.

¹³ The second Hermes of Cicero, called “*κερδωος*,” identical with Jasion, and father of Plutus, by Demeter or Ceres; as Mercury, or Hermes by Daira, or Persephone, was father of Eleusis, or Proventus. (Comp. Guigniaut, Rel. ii. 674. Demeter and Persephone were often identified. Herod. ii. 156. Paus. viii. 37. 3.)

¹⁴ Guigniaut, Rel. ii. 717.

¹⁵ Plato, Cratyl. 408^d. Creuzer, Symb. iii. p. 286. Wooer of Penelope under the form of a goat, *i. e.* Ulysses. Comp. Lucian, Deor. Dial. vol. i. p. 269. 22.

caused him to be compared with the Egyptian Thoth¹⁶. For the author of laws and letters, who flies into Egypt on account of the murder of his correlative, Argus-Panoptes¹⁷, is the theoretical comparison of a god originally Pelasgian with the Egyptian hieroglyph of the united force and wisdom of Nature presiding over the vicissitudes of day and night. The commencements of the process of incorporation by which the separate conceptions of different tribes, as the Sun-God of the north of Thessaly, the Io-Hera of Argos, or the Poseidon of the Ægean, were brought to meet upon the Homeric Olympus, consisted probably in minor and limited confederacies, when, from motives of mingled policy and superstition, individual cities or states gathered into a cycle the gods of its subject tribes, in order to cement their union by community of worship¹⁸; and hence the establishment of political communities was attributed to mythical persons whose names are emblems of deities¹⁹. But it was the poets, beginning with the bards of Pieria, who laid the foundations of a religion more widely national in the conception of Olympus; and of a system, in which the character of each divinity was made to bend to the requirements of the whole, while it preserved in a great measure its local propriety²⁰. Yet, throughout the whole course of mythical and poetical development, an element of monotheism continued to be preserved; and it is chiefly from the general and paramount character of each local god, however afterwards individualised, that so much confusion and complexity seem to prevail through the crossing and intermingling of mythical titles, offices, and attributes; for the dramatic separation, itself necessarily imperfect, still remained problematical in the general mass of traditions, and the remnants of universal nature-worship survived in each legendary specification. Thus, Hera

¹⁶ Cic. N. D. iii. 22.

¹⁷ Schol. Eurip. Phœniss. 1131. Macrob. Zeun. p. 317.

¹⁸ Müller, Myth. p. 180. Comp. Orchom. 210.

¹⁹ Cecrops, Theseus, Hercules, &c. Thirlwall's Hist. vol. ii. p. 9.

²⁰ Müller, Myth. 181 (or 241).

is confounded with Artemis and Aphrodite as Lucina²¹; as Dione, or as daughter of Demeter²², she resembles both Aphrodite and Persephone²³, the Demeter Hercyna of Lebadea²⁴, or the Argive Prosymna, who declared death preferable to life²⁵; and she bears the same character when wounded by Hercules²⁶, or wedded to Jove in the caverns of Cithæron. Like Minerva at Athens, or Apollo at Corinth²⁷, she contends for empire with Neptune at Argos²⁸; and her statue by Polycletus held the mysterious pomegranate tasted also by Cora in Hades²⁹. Her presence is felt among the Athamantides as an avenging power when Nephele retires, and as alternately protector and persecutor of Jason she merges into the general circle of Cthonian worship, blending with the Demeter wedded to Poseidon in Arcadia³⁰, to Jason at Samothrace³¹, or with the Argive or Corinthian Acræa worshipped with yearly ceremonies of mourning and expiation³². Under the general name of Artemis was included a wide circle of Deities, from the magna mater of Upper Asia, and the many-breasted symbol of Ephesus, extending to the Thracian or Scythian Bendis, the astronomical hieroglyph of the sun and moon, called Tauropolos, the Amazon of the Thermodon, and the Cretan Britomartis. The Greeks decomposed the exuberance of the Asiatic Panthea until the symbolical Eurynome, consort of the primæval serpent³³ who ruled before Cronus, was restricted to certain peculiarities of her worship, and as the Ætolian Laphria³⁴ or the Arcadian Callisto or Atalanta, the Hecate to whom for symbolical reasons the dog was consecrated, became the huntress of the hills accompanied by

²¹ Ov. Fast. ii. 449; iii. 255.

²² Paus. viii. 42.

²³ Guigniaut, Rel. ii. 608. Comp. Herod. ii. 156. Paus. viii. 37. 3.

²⁴ Müller, Orchom. 149.

²⁵ Herod. i. 31.

²⁶ Iliad, v. 392.

²⁷ Paus. ii. 1.

²⁸ Paus. ii. 15. Guigniaut, R. ii. 613.

²⁹ Paus. ii. 17.

³⁰ H. Hippias. Paus. v. 15. 4.

³¹ Müller, Orchom. 262.

³² Eurip. Medea, 1379. "Θρηνηος τελεστικος τε και ενθεος." Philostr. Her. xix. p. 740.

³³ Apollon. Rh. i. 503. Comp. Paus. viii. 41. 4. ³⁴ Paus. iv. 31. 6, 7. 18. 6.

dogs³⁵, and the Delian sister of Apollo sung by Olen. The Homeric gods are phantasms which change or vanish when they pass beyond the magic circle of the art which created them; and though the veil of personification never entirely eclipses the background of significancy in which all divine beings approximate and melt into one another, to a superficial eye, and for the mere purpose of dramatic illusion, the disguise is impenetrable and complete. They alone, who, by confronting the original mystery became versed in Pantheistic speculation, were able to make the rigid and as it were opaque forms of polytheism transparent, to connect its antitheses, to pursue them beyond the limits of the technical forms whose exact history it was difficult or impossible to recover, and thus to resolve Ceres, Venus, and Persephone into the generality of idea which embraced them all³⁶.

§ 17.

ATHENE.

Generally speaking, the class of deities of which the Athenian Pallas¹ was the type, are only variations of Here, Artemis, or Demeter; nature Goddesses, altering with the course of events, and, in Athena, elevated proportionably to the conceptions of a philosophic people. When the idea of Zeus was subdivided into a variety of persons, it was natural that the sacred marriage of the Divine Father² should be as often repeated, and that in each personification he should find a suitable ally in a corresponding modification of his original consort, Urania, or Gæa³, who, in the Lacedæmonian Here,

³⁵ Comp. Paus. v. 19. 1. Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. xiv. Creuz. S. ii. 526.

³⁶ Apuleii, Metam. 11. ch. ii. and v. pp. 754 and 763, Oud. 984 and 998, Hildebrand.

¹ Pallas *Ἀθηναιῶν*. Müller, Kleine Schriften, ii. 136.

² Paus. x. 12. 5. Herod. iv. 59.

³ Cthonia. Pherec. Sturz. 40. sq., clasped in the embrace of Æther, or Zeus. Eurip. Frag. inc. 1 and 178. Vacknaer, Diatr. vi. p. 50. Plato, Phædo, Wyt.

like the Phrygian Cybele, was crowned with towers⁴, and whose worship was alternate, *i.e.*, equivalent or identical with that of Eleusinian Ceres⁵. Hence would arise many different aspects or hypostases of female Nature, or of Gæa, among whom intellectual Athens would naturally claim the loftiest for its patroness. But as Zeus was not at first the philosophical god of the Platonists and Stoics⁶, so Athena was not originally Thenœ⁷, the personification of wisdom, but rather the conservative power of physical Nature⁸, the protectress of Ulysses and Hercules cosmically understood, the rescuer, like Isis, of the *disjecta membra* of the universe, or of the remains of Dionysus⁹. Attended by the Agraulian nymphs, the daughters of Cecrops, she was a rural goddess, perhaps once their mother; and, it may be added, that common mother of gods and men still familiar at Elis¹⁰, nor even at Athens or Sparta forgotten¹¹, whom Sophocles felt authorised, conformably to the received Theogony¹², to call "most supreme of deities, and mother of Zeus himself."¹³ The "purely ethical character" which a recent work¹⁴ pronounces to be the primary idea of Athena, can become so only by a gratuitous inference from the popular presentments of her character under the peculiar limitations of the Olympian or poetical Pantheon; it being

p. 84. Creuz. S. i. 49, 50. 136. Æschyl. Suppl. 897. Müller, Myth. Tr. 182. Ge-Kourotrophos, to whom Erichthonius first sacrificed. Suidas, s. v. Paus. i. 22, 23; iii. 11. 8. Gæa-Eurysternos at Ægæ. Paus. vii. 25. 8.

⁴ Guigniaut, R. ii. 595. 601.

⁵ Serv. ad Virg. Æn. iv. 58.

⁶ Plato, Phileb. 16. Proclus in Cratyl. &c. Plutarch de Stoic. Repug. 38, 39.

"Νοῦς βασιλικός."

⁷ Pluto, Cratyl. i. 407.

⁸ Proclus in Cratyl. Boiss. 117.

⁹ Müller, Mythol. 319.

¹⁰ Pind. Nem. 6. Frag. Incert. Boekh. 37. Comp. the Acidalian mother of the Charites, Müller, Orchom. 173. Paus. v. 3, 3; vi. 26. 2.

¹¹ Müller, ib. 153. Paus. i. 22. 3; iii. 11. 8; x. 12. 5.

¹² Paus. i. 31. 2.

¹³ Soph. Antig. 338. Philoctet. 392. Æschyl. Choeph. 121, Bloom. Eurip. Frag. Chrys. vii. 1. Frag. Incert. 174. 1. Hippolyt. 601. Diog. L. iii. 75, Menagius.

¹⁴ Smith's Class. Dictionary—"Athene."

now generally admitted by mythologists, that religion was anterior or paramount to artificial poetry, and that its legends, as physical symbols, preceded the spiritual or moral applications of them¹⁵. The "daughter of Zeus," it is true, was not "mother" of Erectheus, but only "nurse of the child brought forth by Earth,"¹⁶ that polyonymous mother, whom Euripides calls Hestia¹⁷, and who was the great deity of the northern tribes, both Scythian and Phrygian¹⁸. But in the very different representations of Athena in local ritual, which could not have arisen after her conventional character had been fixed in the epic, she appears as a genius presiding over birth and marriage¹⁹; and her alliance with Hermes, Hephæstus, or Prometheus, each of whom may in this relation be regarded as the supreme Deity, is the great mystery concealed behind her exoteric form²⁰. The Minerva of the Acropolis of Troy²¹, who there acts the part of an angry demon, or Até, threatening the

¹⁵ "Es kann keinem zweifel unterliegen dass in Durchschnitt genommen die in cultur ausgedruckten Vorstellungen die ältern sein müssen."—"Festgebrauche und localmythen in ihrem zusammenhange mit der natur der einzigen Landschaften und den Jahreszeiten ruhen offenbar auf einer vorherrschend physischen Grundlage, während die später herrschend gewordene Vorstellung ausschlieslich geistig ist," &c. Müller, *ib.* pp. 222, 223. *Mythol.* 213. 352. *Transl.* 289. "Es ist eine ausgemachte Sache, dass die anschauungen der ältesten Völker welche uns besonders in Sprache und Religion überliefert sind, je höheres alter sie haben, desto mehr auf das Sinnliche basiert und damit verwachsen sind, je weiter aber die Cultur fortschreitet, um so mehr sich von den sinnlichen elementen emancipiren und zu rein geistigen Vorstellungen gestalten."—H. D. Müller, *Beitrag über Ares*, 1848.

¹⁶ 'Ον ποτ' Ἀθηνῆ-θεῖψι, Διὸς, θυγατὴρ, τεκεῖ δὲ Ζεῖδαρος ἀρουρα. *Iliad*, ii. 547.

¹⁷ *Frag. Inc.* 178.

¹⁸ Strabo, x. 469. Herod. iv. 59. The Mitra, or Persian Artemis, Herod. i. 131; Creuz, *Symb.* i. 229, paralleled with Minerva by Plutarch, *vit. Artaxerx.* Apaturia, or Astara, in Syria, and on the Lake Mæotis. Ritter *Vorhalle*, 74. 216. The Athene to whom Xerxes sacrificed in the Troad, Herod. vii. 43; Plut. *vit. Lucull.*; Diod. S. v. 77; and to whom human victims were sacrificed, Pind. *Ol.* cviii. 3.

¹⁹ As "γενετίας." Müller, *Kl. Schrift.* *ib.* 153. Eurip. *Ion*, 469. *Phœniss.* 1060.

²⁰ *e. g.* The Hersé wooed by Hermes is Athene, Apollod. iii. 14. 3; so of Eupolemia, Penelope, &c. As Agraulos she was wedded to Mars, as Helena, or Æthra, to Theseus, or Poseidon, &c.

²¹ *Iliad*, vi. 88. 237; Virg. *Æn.* ii. 165; Müller, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 205.

ruin of her worshippers²², to be averted only by human victims²³, was probably related or equivalent to the Berecynthian mother²⁴, or to the "Idæa" mater married to Teucer, the Palladium of her sanctuary being afterwards claimed for the temple of Hestia, or Vesta, at Rome²⁵.

This goddess, who though not the only one who had a temple at Troy²⁶, seems to have been its chief deity²⁷, was a sitting figure, upon whose knees Hecuba and her attendants laid the shining peplus²⁸, similar, probably, in form and character to the Rhea or Hera of the Phasis described by Arrian²⁹, and compared by him to the statue erected by Phidias in the Metröon at Athens. Her Palladium, a wooden block or figure³⁰, probably phallic³¹, and whose ubiquity indicates as many sites of kindred Pelasgian worship³², was sometimes supposed to have dropped from heaven, like the image of the Ephesian goddess, at others to have been conveyed by Dardanus from Samothrace³³, where Pelasgian or Thracian fetichism seems to have borrowed the aid of Phœnician art, and where the female member of a Cosmical Triad was acknowledged under various names, as Harmonia or Axiocersa³⁴.

²² The horse was framed by the art of Pallas, "divinâ Palladis arte;" (Virg. *Æn.* 2; *Iliad*, xv. 71; *Odyss.* viii. 492; Müller, *Kleine Schrift.* ii. 206;) and the serpents who destroyed Laocoon take refuge in her temple.

²³ Müller, *Orchom.* 162.

²⁴ Strabo, x. 469. 473. Virg. *Æn.* ii. 296; ix. 258. In *Æneid*, ii. 567. 591, Helena, Aphrodite, and Vesta blend as an Erinnys changing to Venus Urania.

²⁵ Dion. Hal. i. 68. Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 421. 431. Heyne, *Excurs.* ix. to *Æn.* ii. 346. 349. Sturz, *Pherecydes*, 195. Welcker, *Trilogie*, 224.

²⁶ *Iliad*, v. 448.

²⁷ Ritter, *Vorhalle*, 202.

²⁸ *Iliad*, vi. 92. 273. 379. 603. Creuz, *Briefe*, 32. 34.

²⁹ *Periplus*, Pont. Euxin. ed. Hudson, p. 9.

³⁰ "Ἀχειροποίητον μορφωµα—τοῖς ποσὶ συμβεβηκός." Tzetzes, *Lycophr.* 355.

³¹ Creuzer, *S.* iii. 333.

³² Müller, "Pallas-Athene," s. 10 and 52.

³³ Dion. Hal. i. 68, 69.

³⁴ Diod. *S.* v. 48. Comp. Gerhard's tabular view of Pelasgian theology in Creuzer, *S.* iii. 154; and the intimate connection of the cruel rites of Chryse, the grand-daughter of Lycaon, as performed at Lemnos and the neighbouring islands, with those of the Athene of the Troad. Dion. Hal. i. 33. Müller, *ub.* s. p. 178. 206. Kersa, i. q. Cora, Müller, *Orchom.* p. 449, note. Comp. p. 432; Welcker, *Tril.* 167.

It was under an analogous form, as Mother of the Universe, that Athene was associated with the Pelasgian Hermes of the Erectheum, or temple of Minerva Polias at Athens³⁵, though the ithyphallic symbol was there decently concealed by myrtle boughs, in deference to the more refined idea of the modern goddess. For the warlike character which she possessed, long before she became a lover of wisdom³⁶, it is scarcely necessary to have recourse to the peculiar dances of the moon in Libya³⁷, since even Aphrodite was sometimes armed³⁸; and a nearer and more general parallel may be found among the Amazonian worshippers of Artemis, or Ilithya³⁹, the reputed founders of several Ionian cities⁴⁰, whose queen was given in marriage to Theseus, and who once fought and fell on Attic ground⁴¹.

The physical strife of light and warmth against the powers of winter, night, and inundation, was one of the most prolific sources of religious legend, and was often celebrated in emblematic contests and dances, in those of the Fabii and Quinctilii at Rome, as in the virgin combats of the lake Tritonis, menacing gestures and wild outcries⁴² being employed to assist the efforts of the labouring deity to overcome his opponent. The idea of Amazons is supposed to have originated from the unusual deference paid to women among several tribes ac-

³⁵ On the connection of Hermes with Brimo-Persephone, comp. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. xii. De facie in orbe Lunæ, 27, 28. Paus. viii. 31. 1. Cic. N. D. iii. 22. Paus. i. 27. Herod. ii. 51; v. 82. Hom. Iliad, ii. 549.

³⁶ Plato, Timæus, 24^b. Virg. Æn. ii. 175. Plato, Critias, 110. p. 152. Bek. Menexenus, 238.

³⁷ Herod. ii. 170; iv. 180. 188. Müller, Mythol. 69. 115.

³⁸ Paus. iii. 23. 1.

³⁹ Creuz. iii. 2. 573, sq. Uschold, Vorh. i. 61. Herod. iv. 116; i. 19. Thucyd. i. 6. Artemis of the Golden Sword, Herod. viii. 77. Pallas of the Golden Spear, Eurip. Ion, 9.

⁴⁰ Callim. Dian. 237. Paus. iv. 31. Strabo, xi. 505; xiv. 533.

⁴¹ Herod. ix. 27. Æschyl. Eum. 625. Plutarch, Thes. 26; Heyne to Apollod. ii. 5. 9. The belt of Hippolyte is as the cestus of Aphrodite, the great bond of cosmical harmony.

⁴² "Ολοθυγη," Iliad, vi. 301. Herod. i. 172; iv. 94. 189. Pind. Frag. Iric. 118.

counted barbarous⁴³, every thing contrary to established custom seeming as a kind of prodigy⁴⁴. The Greeks discovered Amazons wherever they saw men governed by a female, or women doing the usual work of men⁴⁵. But there was another element in the conception⁴⁶. Worship takes its form from ordinary habits. The worship of the patron deity of the Amazons, Artemis⁴⁷, was celebrated by a war-dance performed by females. War was the principle of Nature, and it was fit that the personification of Nature, as well as the ministers of her religion, should have a warlike dress⁴⁸. The name of a god or of his worshippers was easily metamorphosed or multiplied into that of a patriarch or nation, when the religious rites enacted in mimicry of the contests of the elements were viewed by mythology as records of events. The deity of the Amazons was the Armenian and Cappadocian Artemis, Anaitis, or Athene-Asia⁴⁹, called Enyo by Strabo⁵⁰, to whom warlike dances were performed by the Hierodouloi of Comana, as on the banks of the Cayster, or Thermodon, and on the Trojan Acropolis; her name⁵¹ often recurring along the coasts of Thrace, is probably only a different form of the mountain Adrastea of the Idæi Dactyli⁵², and of the Chryse-Pallas, or Aphrodite-Myrina of the Lemnian Archipelago⁵³.

⁴³ Welcker, Trilogie, 586, sq.

⁴⁴ Jerem. xxxi. 22.

⁴⁵ "Primi Mæotidæ γυναικοκρατούμενοι, regna Amazonum." P. Mela, i. 19, 19. Diod. S. i. 27; ii. 45, 46; iii. 53, 55. Soph. Œd. Colon. 339. Herod. iv. 110. 118. Hercules is said to have destroyed the practice and the race. Diod. S. iii. 55, p. 223, line 53. But the basis of fact on which the idea was raised may be possibly still subsisting. Dubois, Voyage autour du Caucase, vol. i, p. 150.

⁴⁶ Creuz. Symb. ii. p. 574ⁿ, 672.

⁴⁷ Diod. ii. 46.

⁴⁸ Here and Aphrodite were sometimes armed, as well as Athene. Paus. iii. 24. 8.

⁴⁹ Paus. iii. 16. 6; 24. 5.

⁵⁰ xii. 535; Comp. Movers, die Phenizier, 624.

⁵¹ Differently written, Aneitis, Anaia, Arne, Creuz. S. ii. 351. Eustathius to Iliad, iii. 189, p. 402. Plutarch, in the account of Sylla's dream, compares her to the Moon, to Minerva, and to Bellona (Enyo), with whom Minerva is associated in the Iliad, v. 333, as in the festival of the Omolöia at Thebes and Orchomenos.

⁵² Schol. Apollon. i. 1129.

⁵³ Müller, Dor. i. p. 386. Kleine Schrift. ii. 178. 206. "Athene Lemnia," Paus. i. 28. 2.

All the reputed abodes of Amazons, in Libya and Argolis, in Bœotia and Attica, in the mountains of Pontus, or the Scythian altars of Tauropolos, were under the patronage of an Athene or Artemis-Enyo⁵⁴, or some similar being, whose chief antitype in nature was the moon, and whose rites were celebrated by women acting the part of men, as those of the sun by men clothed in the garb of women⁵⁵. It was probably a continuation of the same idea which married Helena, the "many-mated,"⁵⁶ as well as Hippolyte to Theseus, as also to Paris at the Isle of Cranæe, which connected "Tritæa" with Ares⁵⁷, and placed the Trojan horse and the Brauronian Artemis on the Athenian Acropolis⁵⁸. Attic legend, like that of many other Greek states⁵⁹, opens with the strife of Athene with Poseidon, or with the waters, for empire over the soil. Like Artemis-Hecabe, or Hecate, she has the two aspects of the Nature God, alternately benignant and malign, the conservative power of the Pelasgian Demeter, whose relation to Artemis was known to Æschylus⁶⁰, occasionally changing to an Erinnys or Gorgon, the distaff commuted into the Ægis⁶¹, the golden staff of youth⁶² for the threatening spear⁶³. She assisted the Greeks during the strife against Troy, but frowned on them when successful⁶⁴; and the sun is said to have stood still in the midst of heaven at her birth, until she laid aside her arms⁶⁵. The two aspects, united in her-

⁵⁴ Iliad, v. 333.

⁵⁵ "Semiviri Galli," Sil. Ital. xvii. 20. Creuz. S. ii. 572.

⁵⁶ "Πενταλεκτρον," Lycophr. 143.

⁵⁷ Müller, Kl. Schrift. 190.

⁵⁸ Paus. i. 23. 9.

⁵⁹ Paus. ii. 15. 5; ii. 22. 5; ii. 30. 5. Comp. Welcker, Tril. 268. Müller, Orchom. p. 122.

⁶⁰ Herod. ii. 156. Paus. ii. 22. 2.

⁶¹ Apollod. iii. 12. 3. 5. 8. Diod. Frag. Wess. 640. Eustath. to Iliad, vi. 91, p. 627; and Iliad, viii. 387.

⁶² Odyss. xvi. 172.

⁶³ "Parmamque ferens hastamque trementem." Comp. Iliad, v. 734; comp. Athene-Laphria, Schol. Lycophr. 356.

⁶⁴ Odyss. iii. 135, acting as the Erinnys consequent on the amour of Ajax.

⁶⁵ Hom. Hymn. xxviii. 13.

self, are parted in her attributes or attendants⁶⁶; Pandrosos⁶⁷, the "all-bedewing," the faithful guardian of the infant Erechtheus, the type of all succeeding priestesses who fed the emblematic serpent in the crypts of the Erechtheum, and Aglauros, the "sharp-eyed," the "bright,"⁶⁸ the terrific wife of Ares, regaled with human victims⁶⁹. United, the two comprise in Athena that nature which presents to the soul the alternative offered to Gyges by the wife of Candaules⁷⁰, whose unveiled beauty causes alarm or madness, and cost Tiresias his sight⁷¹, but gave supernatural acuteness to the eyes of Diomed⁷²; in arms she represents its terror and its strife⁷³; her spinning⁷⁴ is the peaceful texture or succession of physical events⁷⁵, and her wound, like that of Adonis, is the emblem of Nature's temporary decay⁷⁶. It was in this, her cosmical or universal character, that she piped to the Pyrrhic dance of the Dioscuri⁷⁷, and by the sun became mother of the Corybantes⁷⁸. In the Homeric scale she is daughter, not wife, of Zeus; but in old Ionian theogony she appears to have been wife of his equal, or superior, the first Pthah, or son of Uranus⁷⁹, thus becoming Mother of the Sun, or of the Ionian Apollo⁸⁰.

⁶⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 439. Paus. i. 27. 3. Müller, Kl. Schrift. ii. 140.

⁶⁷ Married to Hermes, for "Herse" is only a reduplication of Pandrosos; Pollux, Onom. viii. 9. According to Alcman, (Frag. 47,) she was daughter of Zeus and Selene.

⁶⁸ Athene "*ὀξυδερκής*," Paus. ii. 24ⁿ.

⁶⁹ Müller, ib. 140. 147.

⁷⁰ Herod. i. 11.

⁷¹ Callim. Hymn. 546. 589.

⁷² Iliad, v. 127.

⁷³ As "Eris," Odyss. iii. 136.

⁷⁴ As "*οργάνη*," or Ilithya, the Weaver of Destiny.

⁷⁵ Creuz. S. ii. 520, 521. The power who in Nature resembles the domestic plier of the distaff by the hearth, Odyss. vi. 305, but whose distaff is the axis or column of the world; Aratus, 22. Plato, Phædrus, 247. Creuz. S. ii. p. 188; a mythical reproduction of Metis or Themis. Lennep. to Hes. Theog. 928.

⁷⁶ Paus. viii. 28.

⁷⁷ As "Athene-Asia," Paus. iii. 24. 5. Creuz. iii. 312. 362. Schol. Pind. Pyth. ii. 127. Lucian, Hemst. i. p. 226. Procl. in Cratyl. Boiss. 118.

⁷⁸ "Sons of the Sun," Strabo, x. 472; elsewhere sons of Cybele, Diod. S. iii. 55.

⁷⁹ Cicero, N. D. iii. 22. Creuz. p. 599. Symb. iii. 315. Plato, Euthydem. 453, (302,) probably as chief of the Lemnian Cabiri. Herod. i. 57.

⁸⁰ Apollod. iii. 14. 6. Schol. Apollon. ii. 1249. Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 24. Pott.

The idea of her being born from the head of Zeus was probably a relic of pantheism, and of the ancient physical conception⁸¹, so far justly estimated by philosophical interpreters, representing her as that clear and invigorating æther, the true sister of the fire-element⁸², sublimed from terrestrial evaporation⁸³; the subtle material of the luminaries of the sky⁸⁴; the female and superior heaven imagined by the Egyptians⁸⁵, from whence, rather than from her supposed Neptunian origin⁸⁶, she derived those azure eyes of the "Glaukopsis" of the Troad⁸⁷, which "fearfully glared" on her chosen heroes⁸⁸. She was celestial fire as opposed to terrestrial (Hephæstus), personified by the theogonist as the similarly independent birth of Here⁸⁹; she alone knew the keys of the thunderbolt⁹⁰, and might herself be compared to the ægis which she brandished in her flight through space⁹¹, the true ethereal shield which bore the Gorgon's head.

If among her relations was still included that of earth, it was not the cavernous ground beneath the Acropolis, but the

Müller, *Kleine Schrift.* ii. 236, admitting the analogy of Athena to the Egyptian Neith insisted on by Creuzer, particularly in the celebrated inscription at Sais, "The fruit which I bore is the Sun," contends that other points of approximation, such as the Goddess riding on the crocodile at Athens, and the "Athene-Saitis" of Argos, were subsequent to the theory of the Saitic colonization of Athens propounded by Theopompus, or Anaximenes, in the Tricaranos.

⁸¹ Müller, *Kl. Schrift.* p. 224. Welcker, *Tril.* 278. Lyd. *de Mens.* iii. 24, p. 120. Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 4, p. 422.

⁸² Plato, *Critias*, 109. *Protag.* 321.

⁸³ Diog. Laert. vii. 145; ix. 9, 10. Stobæ. *Ecl. Phys.* vol. i. p. 510. 524. Plut. *de placit. Phil.* ii. 17. Lucan. i. 415.

⁸⁴ Karsten's *Xenophanes*, p. 161. 165. Hence Minerva Alea at Tegea? Herod. i. 66. Hesych. S. V. *Odyss.* xvii. 23. Müller, *U. S.* 177. 255.

⁸⁵ Horapollo, i. ch. 12. Creuzer, *S.* ii. 277; iii. 337.

⁸⁶ Paus. i. 14.

⁸⁷ Müller, *ib.* 210. 225.

⁸⁸ *Iliad*, i. 200. The "*ομμα αἰθερος ακαματον μαρμαραις εν αυγαις.*" Aristoph. *Clouds*, 286.—"Æthereum verticem et summitatem ejus."—Arnob. in *Gent.* iii. 31. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* iii. 3, as applied to the moon. Comp. Hemsterhuis to Lucian, vol. i. p. 226. Lydus, *de Mensibus*, p. 66, v. 168. Lyd. *de Mensib.* iii. 30, p. 126. 168.

⁸⁹ *Theog.* 925.

⁹⁰ Æschyl. *Eum.* 753. Serv. to *Æn.* xi. 259.

⁹¹ *Eumen.* 362,—the "*κολπον αιγιδος*"—the "hollow round of Cynthia's seat;" perhaps, the concave hemisphere of Ion's cradle. Eurip. *Ion*, 19.

Olympian Gæa mentioned by Plutarch⁹², whose temple stood by the grave of the Amazon Hippolyte⁹³, "Hestia seated in Æther,"⁹⁴ the pure earth in the pure heaven of Plato⁹⁵; or else she was the moon⁹⁶, "Selene," daughter of Pallas and, according to Alcman, mother of Herse, whom the Thessalian women, adoring a Minerva Budea⁹⁷, attempted by their invocations to unsphere⁹⁸; in this sense preserving her intimate connection with Artemis, and blending with her personified attributes as Aglauros, Æthra, Maira, Auge⁹⁹, &c., signifying the "golden" or the "bright." There was a seeming inconsistency when, in the spirit of the old dogma which ascribed the origin of all things to water¹⁰⁰, the parentage of Athena, like that of Hera¹⁰¹, was referred to Poseidon¹⁰², creator of the horse as of the ship the winged horse of the waters¹⁰³, who once reigned alone over the swamps of Attica, thence called Poseidonia¹⁰⁴, as Bœotia was Ogygia¹⁰⁵; an hypothesis which, rather than the fanciful notion of Plutarch¹⁰⁶, may have been the reason why Phidias placed the dragon symbol at the feet of the statue in the Parthenon¹⁰⁷, just as Venus, Cupid, and Apollo¹⁰⁸, with Arion,

⁹² Vit. Thes. ch. 26. Paus. i. 18. 7.

⁹³ An angry Artemis, or antithetical Here *νυχια*.

⁹⁴ Eurip. Frag. u. s.

⁹⁵ Phædo, Wyt. 84.

⁹⁶ Arnob. in Gent. iii. 31. Hom. H. Merc. 100. Hence said to have been called "Tritogeneia," *ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ σειληνῇ ἢ δὲ σειληνῇ ἀπο συνόδου τριταία φαίνεται*. Tzetzes to Lycophr. 519. Schol. Il. viii. 39; and, perhaps, also "Auge," "Hel-lotis," &c. Comp. on Tritogeneia Müller, *ib.* 188, 189. Porphy. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. iii. 11. Infr. n. 121.

⁹⁷ Steph. Byz. ad voc.

⁹⁸ Plutarch de Defect. Orac. ch. 13.

⁹⁹ Müller, *ib.* 167. 177.

¹⁰⁰ Iliad, xiv. 201.

¹⁰¹ Paus. viii. 37.

¹⁰² The second Minerva of Cicero, "orta Nilo;" N. D. iii. 23. Herod. iv. 180. Paus. i. 14.

¹⁰³ Pind. Ol. ix. 35.

¹⁰⁴ Strabo, ix. 397. Soph. Œd. Colon. 713.

¹⁰⁵ Strabo, ix. 407. (428 Tch.) in Bœotia. Alalcomene was daughter of the water-man Ogyges. Paus. ix. 33, 4. Müller, Orchom. 122. 349.

¹⁰⁶ De Isid. ch. 75.

¹⁰⁷ Paus. i. 24, where a sacred serpent was fed on honey. Aristoph. Lysistr. v. 758. Payne Knight, Anct. Art, 25. Creuz. S. iii. 340. Athena is herself styled "*δρακαινα*." Orph. H. 31.

¹⁰⁸ Hymn Apollo, v. 400. Guigniaut, R. ii. 633.

Palæmon, &c., are sea-born powers with dolphins or dragons among their symbols¹⁰⁹. But the inconsistency is only apparent, for even light and the heavenly bodies may be said, like Venus Urania, to be children of the waters as well as of heaven; and, having drunk nourishment from their all-generating parent, to shed in return their "sweet influence"¹¹⁰ on man and plant, and on all the children of the ground¹¹¹; on the earth-born grasshoppers who live upon the dews of heaven, as well as on the autochthonous Erectheidæ whose ancestor was nursed by Pandrosos. Uranus gave birth to a goddess, who rising out of the sea-foam as Aphrodite, the Acidalian mother of the Charites¹¹², became the universal source of life and generation¹¹³, and might be called either Urania or Eurynome¹¹⁴, Mætis, Clymene, or Idyia, in short all the Oceanides in one. She was wife of Prometheus, the Asian goddess (Athene Asia, or Hesione) brought by the Dioscuri from Colchis to Laconia¹¹⁵; Rodeia, the Minerva of Lindus worshipped by the Danaides¹¹⁶; Perseis or Idyia married to the sun, and as Dione or Mætis to Zeus¹¹⁷. The idea of Nature, or of a personification of Nature, born out of the waters under the form of one of its natural products, as a fish or lotus flower, afterwards gradually assuming more and more of human shape, may be traced from India through Assyria and Syria to Greece, and left remarkable traces of its passage among the Scythian and Amazonian population of the shores of the Euxine and Mæotis¹¹⁸. The first wife of Zeus, called Thetis or Mætis¹¹⁹, "the first great ancestor" of the

¹⁰⁹ Comp. Hymn Apollo. Bothe. v. 123. Athenian cradles were hence ornamented with serpents. Eurip. Ion. 25. Müller, Kl. Schrift. ii. p. 153.

¹¹⁰ "Ουρανία αχνα," Soph. Œd. Colon. 681. Hence the notion of "dew-dropping stars"—"roscida luna," the fountain of Selene, the moon drinking from the sun, &c.

¹¹¹ Hence the young of animals are called "ερσαι" and "δρόσοι." Müller. Kl. Schrift. ii. 228.

¹¹² Müller, Orchom. 175.

¹¹³ "δια χρυσεην Αφροδίτην."

¹¹⁴ Theog. 351. 357. 907.

¹¹⁵ Paus. iii. 16. 6.; xxiv. 5.

¹¹⁶ Herod. ii. 182. Apollod. ii. 1. 4. and 5.

¹¹⁷ Apollod. i. 3. 1.

¹¹⁸ Ritter, Vorhalle, p. 62.

¹¹⁹ "πλειστα θεων ειδυια." Theog. 887.

Orphici¹²⁰, from whom emanated the azure-eyed Tritogeneia of the Theogony¹²¹, was daughter of the Borysthenes; mother of the Scythians and of the Euxine¹²²; she was Apia also and Gæa¹²³, identical with the Attic mother of those children of Boreas who banished the Harpies, and ruled over the waters of the Ægean before the Argonauts¹²⁴. We may notice but cannot pursue the complicated links of connection between the goddess of the Budini and Geloni¹²⁵, the Rhea of the Phasis or the Propontis¹²⁶, and the Thessalian Thetis or Budea, the Venus Erycina who rescued Butes from the sea¹²⁷, the daughter of Pallas¹²⁸, married to Dardanus, the Alalcomenæis descended from the water god Ogyges, whose worship retired to the upper country before the inundations of the Copais¹²⁹, and the better known divinity of the Erectheum, associated with Poseidon and served there by the hereditary descendants of Buto¹³⁰. If Poseidon be understood in the ancient sense as the god of moisture, life, and nourishment, who brings forth the productions of the ground¹³¹, Athena might be either his daughter, his wife¹³², or his parent¹³³, sharing his symbols and his temple; but she repels his advances in proportion as he becomes god of the unfruitful sea, patron of the storm, of inundation, and of winter; she is then the dry land rising victorious from the

¹²⁰ "πρωτος γενετωρ." Frag. vi. 19.

¹²¹ *i. e.* Daughter of the sea-god Triton; "δεινος θεος." Herod. iv. 179. Hes. Theog. 933. The fabulous lake and river Triton, affording to the Argonauts an egress from Oceanus (Uckert, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 322. Apoll. Rh. iv. 1552), is akin probably to Oceanus himself. Paus. ix. 33. 5.

¹²² Herod. iv. 5. 86. Steph. Byz. p. 436, n. 22. Eustath. to Dionys. P. v. 163. Ritter, Vorhalle, 165. 409.

¹²³ Herod. iv. 59. Ritter, *ib.* 174. 177.

¹²⁴ Pherecyd. Frag. xx. p. 114.

¹²⁵ A nation of Hellenic origin, Herod. iv. 108.

¹²⁶ Herod. iv. 76. Orph. Argon. 547.

¹²⁷ Apollon. Rh. iv. 917. Diod. iv. 196.

¹²⁸ "Νίκη;" Theog. 383; or Chryse-Myrrhina.

¹²⁹ Müller, Orchom. 122. 208.

¹³⁰ The Eteobutadæ. Paus. i. 26. 6.

¹³¹ "τροφην παντοιαν εκ της γης αναδιδους;" Plat. Critias, 113.

¹³² *i. e.* as Tritogeneia, mother by Poseidon of Minyas and the Argonauts; Tzetz. Lycophr. 874; or as Venus Erycina, wife of Butes. Diod. iv. 196.

¹³³ *e. g.* of Poseidon-Erechtheus.

waters as Astarte or Venus Urania, the guardian genius of the dangerous promontory¹³⁴, or the sea-bird¹³⁵ seen from the cliffs of Megara to sport on the dry places by the waters, and to fly before the storm. She owns, too, the bird whose eyes pierce the gloom of night¹³⁶, and her symbols of the ram and olive are the bright season succeeding to the dark; the latter especially, which, nursed in warmth and drought, antithetical to the Neptunian horse¹³⁷, corresponds with the Dove emblem of her Asiatic antitypes, and belongs to her as Hygea or Soteira¹³⁸, authoress of hope, of healing, and of peace¹³⁹. Though in this way comprising in herself the two factors of nature, love and strife, her conventional or virgin character drove the former attribute into the shade, or neutralised by blending it with the other. The "*μνις*" following, as with the irritated Ceres, so closely on the amour, seemed to alter its import, and the curious story of the wooing of Hephæstus and the ambiguous maternity, as also that in which the mortal Creusa¹⁴⁰ by Apollo becomes mother of Ion in a cavern beneath the Acropolis, are probably but attempts to reconcile the ancient character of the goddess with the new. Greater prominence was thus given to the martial attribute, and the same partiality may be seen in the usual conception of the palladium, which uniting the spear with the phallus, the emblems of generation and destruction, seemed in its effects to be rather a present of Até commemorating the war of Troy or of the giants, than a pledge of the genial alliances of gods, or the marriage gift of Chryse to Dardanus¹⁴¹.

¹³⁴ As at Cnidus, Kolias, or the Scironian cliffs. Paus. i. 44. 12. Herod. viii. 94.

¹³⁵ M. fulica, or "*αἰθυσία*," the coot or diver. Virg. Georg. i. 363. Odys. i. 320; iii. 372. Paus. i. 5. 3; xli. 6. Steph. Byz. *βουδυσία*. Creuz. S. iii. 316. 339. Artemidori Oneiro, ii. 17. Müller, Kl. Schrift. ii. 183.

¹³⁶ The owl. Creuz. S. iii. 339. Comp. Levit. xi. 17. The bird of darkness, Ascalaphus. Bubo, "nocturnus," "funereus," "profanus."—Ovid.

¹³⁷ Herod. viii. 55.

¹³⁸ Paus. i. 23. 5; viii. 44. Plutarch, Pericl. 13.

¹³⁹ Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1054.

¹⁴⁰ *i. e.* Gæa. Schol. Plut. Euthydem. p. 302. Eurip. Ion, 11.

¹⁴¹ Müller, Kl. Schrift. ii. 208. Dion. Hal. i. 68. Schol. Iliad, vi. 92. Schol. Aristid. Panath. p. 320, Dind.

The moral attributes of Athena were naturally developed out of the physical. She became the "Metis" or *φρονησις* of Zeus¹⁴², the celestial wisdom so often associated with the symbols of light and day, and as demiurgic intelligence was inventress of arts¹⁴³, such as spinning¹⁴⁴, modelling¹⁴⁵, shipbuilding¹⁴⁶, of all arts seeming to claim a celestial origin and to require ingenuity, which distinguished her favourite city; preserving, however, in all the original diversities of her physical character, being now as "Soteira," producer of the olive, associated with fire¹⁴⁷, and now patroness of the horse and of horsemanship¹⁴⁸, connected with Poseidon at Colonos¹⁴⁹. As inventress of the plough, presiding over the agricultural solemnities of Sciron or the Rharian plain¹⁵⁰, her aspect undergoes the analogous change connecting it in so many ways with Demeter; she is then the subterranean power confederate with Hades at Coronea¹⁵¹, with Trophonius¹⁵² at Lebadea, or Hermes-Erichthonius at Athens, who buries for a time the treasures of Ulysses¹⁵³, the dark Ceres of Phigalia¹⁵⁴ with symbols compounded from brightness and gloom¹⁵⁵, requiring the interposition of Zeus to induce her to come forth from her concealment¹⁵⁶ to restore fertility to the earth. Under

¹⁴² Tzetzes, Lyc. 359.

¹⁴³ Minerva "Ergane." Paus. i. 24. 3; ix. 26. Hes. Works, 430. Hesych. ad. v.

¹⁴⁴ *i. e.* as Clotho or Ilithya. Comp. Guignaut, Rel. iii. 306, 307. Paus. vii. 5, 9. Iliad, viii. 386. Odys. xx. 72. Ov. Fasti, iii. 819.

¹⁴⁵ Odys. vi. 233; xxiii. 159; *e. g.* the Trojan horse, Odys. viii. 493, a cosmical emblem.

¹⁴⁶ In particular the Argo or Cosmos. Schol. Arat. Phœn. 348. Iliad, v. 61; xv. 412. Orph. Arg. 67.

¹⁴⁷ Hephestus in the Academy.

¹⁴⁸ Hippias, or Hippeia.

¹⁴⁹ Paus. i. 30. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Plut. Præc. Conjug. p. 425.

¹⁵¹ M. Itonia, or Sitonia. Müller, v. s. 192. Strabo, ix. 411. Creuz. S. iii. 374, 375. Aristid. in Min.

¹⁵² Hermes Cthonius, Cic. N. D. iii. 22.

¹⁵³ Odys. xiii. 366; "Beneath a stone." It seems that the treasures and granaries of the ancients were subterranean vaults, closed by a stone. Müller, Orchom. p. 239.

¹⁵⁴ M. Melaina.

¹⁵⁵ Herod. iv. 180. Paus. viii. 28 and 42.

¹⁵⁶ Enraged at the pursuit of Poseidon, who also seduces Æthra and Medusa (A. Gorgopis) in the temple of Athene. Müller, Kl. Schrift. ii. 172.

this aspect she is allied to Persephone, to Ceres, mother of Erichthonius and wife of Hermes Cthonius, or Hephæstus¹⁵⁷. The fierce Diomed bore Athene in his chariot, and carried off the Palladium, as Hades did the person of Persephone, yet he received from the goddess that immortality of which, in his hands, she herself seemed to be deprived¹⁵⁸, then assuming an aspect akin to that of Gorgo, or of the Pallas or Iodama whom she slew. As her attributes became exalted, and partook more and more of the moral change of which the Olympian powers were more readily susceptible than personifications less disguised, she seemed to become separated from inferior alliances, and as daughter of Zeus or of Æther, to bestow not the mere breath of life¹⁵⁹, but that clear air which, spread through the mild sky of Attica, "trained its sons to wisdom's noblest lore."¹⁶⁰ It was enough that Isis should suckle the children of the king of Byblus, and Demeter could accept no more than the office of nurse in the family of Keleos; so Athene, a wife in the older legend, in the heroic or improved version, is only the vestal nourisher of Erechtheus, or of the child of Hercules, and Gæa, or Atthis, Danaë or Auge, is substituted for her as parent¹⁶¹. The same substitution pervades the whole extent of the Attic genealogies; the birth of the sun is transferred to Creusa, visited by Apollo under the Acropolis¹⁶²; and Pandion, son of the first Erechtheus by "Pasithea,"¹⁶³ becomes father of another Erechtheus by Zeuxippe¹⁶⁴, his mother's sister; and being himself identical with Zeus, as Erechtheus with Erich-

¹⁵⁷ Propert. iv. 4. 45. Ovid, Trist. iii. 1. 29. Lucan. i. 592. Paus. ix. 34. 1.

¹⁵⁸ As Danaë, M. Chalciaeca imprisoned by Acrisius. Perseus is brought up by Polydectes (Hades) at Seriphus, in Minerva's temple. Müller, u. s. 171 n. Comp. 180.

¹⁵⁹ A. Anemotis. Paus. ii. 23. 1. Lucian, Prom. 3.

¹⁶⁰ Eurip. Med. 825. Plat. Timæ. 24 c.

¹⁶¹ Hyg. P. A. ii. 13. Iliad, ii. 547. "The Earth-born," and therefore *διφυής*. Comp. Herod. i. 78; viii. 85. Apollod. iii. 4. 16.

¹⁶² Comp. Athene, "*αντροδισαιτος*." Orph. H. 31.

¹⁶³ Goddess of all, Pandia, Hom. Hymn, 32; the bride of sleep. Iliad, xiv. 276.

¹⁶⁴ Minerva Hippias.

thonius, is both father, son, and husband of Athene, in whose temple he is buried. Yet the exaltation of the character of Athene, through which she eventually became the divine *πρωτοια* or *φρονησις*, however intimately connected with a physical notion, was but a development of the spiritualism which had always been a latent element of her nature, a germ of which has a place in every religion; the wider physical supremacy which she once possessed as a cosmical power being ultimately transferred to Zeus, who though perhaps less ancient and prominent as a personified conception, and strictly speaking not entitled to be called "ancestral" at Athens¹⁶⁵, had nevertheless a mythical as well as metaphysical claim to be esteemed that great parent and sovereign¹⁶⁶ from whom Athene and Hephæstus derived their consanguinity¹⁶⁷.

§ 18.

IDEA OF ZEUS. NOTION OF A SUPREME BEING IN LOCAL GODS.

The relative attributes of the subordinate Olympian powers are thus dramatic reflections of their physical characters morally developed; each was once an independent physical deity, and the universality and omnipotence which the individualising and humanising process caused to be thrown back on a mysterious "*Δαίμων*," or "Destiny," once belonged to themselves, and to each of them as local gods. But when the divine functions, thus dramatically dispersed, came to be comprised in one system, analogy required that the moral principle of government should replace that of monotheism; and that the various personifications should be made subordinate to a chief¹. The

¹⁶⁵ "Patrous." Plato, *Euthydemus*. Hein. 302. Porson, ad Eurip. *Med.* 1314.

¹⁶⁶ Spanheim, ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 1095. *Æschyl.* *Pers.* 505. *Agam.* 327. Guigniaut's *Creuz.* ii. p. 556. 563.

¹⁶⁷ Critias, 109.

¹ Aristot. *Polit.* i. 1, end. The saying, "the government of many is not good," appropriate to the heroic age, continued to be so in the time of Homer. *Iliad*, ii. 204.

name of Zeus, Deus, or God, derived from the Sanscrit word for Day, or Light², was used as an appellative for many of the local gods of Greece, such as the Zeus of Dodona, the Zeus Acrius, and Lycæus of Arcadia, the Laphystian, and also many foreign deities analogically rendered by the same Greek equivalent. The object of Pelasgian worship seems to have been the mysterious and equivocal god of Pantheism, including the contrasts of light and darkness, life and death,

“Δαίμονες ἀθάνατοι, τροφεῖς τε καὶ αὐτ’ ὀλετήρεις,”

all the aspects of external nature more or less united, though always tending towards specialty through the prevalence of a peculiar mode of viewing them. The being so conceived would seem to have been virtually the triune or triophthalmic power of symbolism³, supreme in heaven, earth, and hell, at once Uranus, Poseidon, and Hades⁴. His worship was not that of Æther or Earth exclusively, still less of any of the humanised conceptions of poetry, but of universal nature, comprehending in its sole divinity what Herodotus calls the various “nameless gods,”⁵ or, in plainer language, the as yet unpersonified names of its constituent “*νομαί*,” or parts⁶. The first personification of the Universal Being seems to have been con-

² Diespiter, Lucetius; for Zeus is Dies: “sub Dio” and “sub Jove” are equivalents. Lassen, Ind. Antiq. i. p. 755. “To those who really understand the word Zeus,” says a Scholiast (Tzetzes to Lycophr. 1194), “it will not appear strange that he should have many birthplaces, as Crete, Arcadia, Thebes,” &c.

³ Paus. ii. 2. and 24; viii. 46. 2. Müller, Dor. i. 68. Creuz. S. iii. 195. “Τρικεφαλός δὲ ὁ αὐτός (ὁ Ἑρμῆς), ὡς οὐρανίος, θαλασσίος, ἐπιγίγιος.” Tzetzes to Lycophr. 680.

⁴ Comp. Paus. ii. 24. Æschyl. Supplices, Wellauer, 147. Sophocl. Œdipus Tyr. 903; Colonæ. 1606. Iliad, ix. 457. Zeus Uranus, Zeus Enalius, and Zeus “*ἄλλος*,” “*καταχθονίος*,” or “*πλουσιος*.” Comp. Hes. Works, 416. Procl. in Timæ. ii. p. 95. Creuz. S. i. 44. Paus. iii. 19. 7. Eckerman, Lehrbuch der Rel. i. 41, distinguishes Cronus and Zeus as non-physical powers from Uranus and Gæa; but all that we are justified in assuming is, that the former have a more distinct dramatic personality than the latter.

⁵ ii. 52.

⁶ Comp. Æschyl. 82. 237. Hes. Th. 885. “Isodaites,” Plutarch, De ei. Delph. 9.

current with the assigning to him a distinction of sex, and a parental relation to mankind. The Scythians, according to Herodotus, entertained a dualism or "sacred marriage" of Zeus "*παπαιος*" (father) and Gæa⁷, similar to that reported to have been sung by the Pleiades of Dodona, and the early Hierophants of Greece⁸; Gæa being probably correlative to Mætis, Maia, or Hestia, the Scythian goddess mother already spoken of⁹, the daughter of the Borysthenes and mother of the Pontus¹⁰, who may through this channel have derived her title to be first wife of Zeus in Greek Theogony¹¹. A further subdivision of the general notion was effected by the separation and revolutions of tribes spoken of by Thucydides, through which the many forms of the deity ceased to be "nameless," and began to assume the peculiarities which determined their relative places in mythology¹². The causes of this separation, said by a Scholiast¹³ to have been first made by the priests of Mecone in Peloponnesus, existed wherever the feeling of the multitudinous aspects of the one God tended to give ritualic establishment to as many names of him, or wherever peculiar forms of worship gave him a distinct local individuality. Generally speaking, a race bordering on the sea may be imagined to have worshipped a Poseidon, a Zeus Pelorus, or Sthenius¹⁴, while inland tribes sacrificed to a Faunus¹⁵, Iasus or Piasus¹⁶,

⁷ Herod. iv. 59.

⁸ Paus. x. 12. 5. Pherecyd. Sturz. p. 40. Orph. Frag. 36. Plut. de Placit. i. 6. 11. Creuzer, Sym. iii. 191.

⁹ "*Μα γα.*" Æschyl. Suppl. 897. Steph. Byz. p. 447, Ma being a name of Rhea. "*Γαῖα μητὴρ, ἔστιαν δὲ οἱ σοφοί,*" &c. Eurip. Frag. Inc. 178. Herod. iv. 86; viii. 65. Mahte, mother, a Lettish epithet of the earth. Ritter's Vorhalle, 151. 161. Grimm's Mythol. 20. Eustath. to Dionys. p. 163. Steph. Byz. 436. Hom. Hymn. Merc. v. 57. Creuz. Symb. ii. 466.

¹⁰ Herod. iv. 52, 53. 86.

¹¹ Hes. Th. 358.

¹² Comp. Hermann and Creuzer, Briefe, p. 100, at the end.

¹³ Villos. to Iliad, xv. 18.

¹⁴ Creuz. S. iii. 194, n. Herod. vii. 129. Paus. ii. 32. 7; xxxiv. 5.

¹⁵ Ovid, Fast. v. 99. The Italian tribes were allied in creed as well as language to the Greeks, and the common bases of their divergent ideas may be assumed to have been the original ones. Müller, Kleine Schriften, ii. 50.

¹⁶ Strabo, x. 621.

Erichthonius¹⁷, or Hermes-Pan. Pan, the foster-brother or equivalent¹⁸ of Zeus Lycæus, protected the flocks of the Arcadian mountaineer; and the oak became the oracle of Zeus "Chaonius"¹⁹, owing to its usefulness in supporting the life of the aborigines²⁰. For though it be impossible to suppose that the gods either of Greece or of Egypt were ever completely transformed, in the minds, that is, of their worshippers, into trees or animals, or to assent to the unfair distribution of Bottiger, who makes the oak or olive tree of the ancient Pelasgi a mere brutal fetichism in contrast with the astral symbolism of Asia²¹; yet there was always a fetichistic imagery, in intelligible relation to the local circumstances of the god, which continued to grace his temples and accompany his processions.

Life came from above or from below; it was either in the warmth and rains of heaven, or rose with the tree or fountain out of the ground. There was therefore a supernal and a Cthonian Zeus; the initial conception of the "æthereal," "high-thundering," or "pluvial" power of Homer, the Zeus Ceraunius on Ida²², the fulgural god of Etruria, the Thor or Taranis menaced by the arrows of the Thracians²³; and there was the telluric power worshipped under the oaks of Dodona by the Selli, as in the forests of the Celts²⁴, the giver of wealth and food from below²⁵. The deity worshipped on the shores of the Egean as Ægeon or Poseidon²⁶, seems in the west of Greece, in Thesprotia and Pylus, to be rather a mingled conception of

¹⁷ Iliad, ii. 547.

¹⁸ Comp. Æschyl. Agam. 55.

¹⁹ Euphorion in Stephanus, 715.

²⁰ Virg. Georg. i. 8. Sil. Ital. iii. 69. Plutarch, de Esu. Carn. i. 993. Vit. Coriol. 3. Eustat. to Od. xii. 357. Creuz. iii. 183, 184. Φηγος from φαγω—
"αγαλμα Διος Κελτικου ὑψηλη δρυς." Max. Tyr. viii. 8, p. 142.

²¹ Ideen. ii. 22, &c. Aristoph. Aves, 467. Eratosthenis Catast. xxx. p. 24, Schaub.

²² Iliad, viii. 48. 75. 170; xii. 25; xv. 379; xvii. 595. Æschyl. Frag. Didot. 169.

²³ Herod. iv. 94. Grimm's Myth. 153.

²⁴ Caesar, B. ix. 6. 18. Hes. Fragm. 54, p. 216. Göttl. Iliad, xvi. 233.

²⁵ Dis, i. e. Dives, Plutus, Ops, Midas, or Hermes Κερδωος, Jasion, Zeus πλουσιος. Paus. iii. 19. 7; x. 12. 5. Diod. S. v. 77.

²⁶ Schol. Apollon. i. 831. Eustath. to Iliad, i. 404.

the sea god with Hades or Periclymenus²⁷, the distribution being attributable either to the accidentally sombre character of local superstitions, or to the mythic idea of the west, both in Greece and Italy, being, like the Atlantean realm of Cronus, the dwelling-place of the Cthonian God²⁸, the portal of the lower world, the receptacle of the past, and storehouse of the future²⁹.

The creations of polytheism were results of a process not merely of severance but of combination; of severance in regard to the original unity of idea, but of combination, inasmuch as each separated personification tended to absorb and inclose a variety of analogous symbols. And as the original Dione-Proserpine, daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, differed from the fish or wave-born Astarte-Aphrodite of the east, so the Pelasgian water-god was not the Libyan or Phœnician Poseidon, the power nursed by the Telchines, and appointed to his office by Cronus³⁰, but Zeus himself in another form, the "Poseidon" who became allied with Here or Demeter-Erinnyes in Arcadia³¹, or as Erichtheus with Athene-Polias at Athens³², the source of generation and fertility³³, father or nursling of the water-nymphs, whether descending in golden rain from heaven, or springing upwards from the lake or fountain³⁴.

²⁷ Poseidon and Pluto were nearly related, and the horse was a symbol common to both. Both are included in the name Clymenus. Creuz. S. iv. 239. Lasus in Athenæus, x. 170. Paus. ii. 35. 5. The entrance to the under world was beneath the sea, where the sun sinks in the evening, and where Pluto carried off Proserpine with his immortal horses (Hymn to Ceres, 38). Hence Poseidon is said to close the doors of Hades (Hes. Theog. 732).

²⁸ Exemplified in Echetus, "man-destroyer," Odyss. xviii. 85. 116; or Ilus Mermerides, king of the Thesprotian poison-land.

²⁹ Comp. the Illyrian grave of Cadmus, the Sicilian death of Minos, the Mesenian defeat of the Thracian Thamyras, &c. Iliad, ii. 599. Virg. Georg. iii. 498.

³⁰ Diod. S. v. 55. 69.

³¹ Paus. viii. 25. 4.

³² Müller, Kleine Schrift. ii. 142. Paus. i. 26. Plutarch, Vit. Lycurg.

³³ "Φυτάλμιος," "γενεσιος," "ναιος." Apollon. Rh. 2, 3. Paus. ii. 32. 8; xxxviii. 4. Creuz. Symb. iii. 78. 82. Völcker, Japetus, 163.

³⁴ Völcker, ib. 87. 90.

This beneficent or "friendly" Zeus³⁵, manifested to the aboriginal Greeks in the fertilizing stream of that river of rivers, the Achelous in Thesprotia³⁶, appeared to have been ushered into the world as a new progeny of the Supreme Being at Thebes³⁷, where, under the name of Dionysus, he added the produce of the vintage to the "Acheloian cup;" while the Molochistic wolf-god, or Zeus Lycæus³⁸ of the Arcadian Pelasgi, was changed into the legendary adversary of a milder or purer deity, and his antique symbolism became to after ages a warning example of the punishment of cruelty in the fate of the sanguinary Lycaon. Distinct notions thus became poetically distinct persons, and the connection of the derivative idea with its source was intimated by the symbols of fraternity or parentage, so that subordinate personifications were from a real psychological relationship accounted sons or brothers of Zeus, and Zeus himself, with Pan and Hermes, became children of that Heaven or Æther which had in fact been a part or manifestation of their former selves³⁹.

§ 19.

NOTION OF THE SUPREME BEING AMONG HEROES.

In his earliest history Zeus seems to retain his name only while his nature is fluctuating and obscure. He retires before the multitude of personifications, reappearing only in his specific or Olympian character to fill up an occasional blank left by some intermediate process of transformation. This process was that already alluded to, consisting of local or conceptional analysis, and of poetic assimilation. When the place of a Universal Being was occupied by special personifications,

³⁵ Ζεὺς "Φίλιος." Paus. viii. 31. 2.

³⁶ Artemidor. Oneiro, iii. 43. Hes. Theog. 340. Eur. Bacchæ, 512. 615.

³⁷ Lycophr. Cassandra, 1194. Clem. Alex. Protr. 12.

³⁸ Elsewhere paralleled by Apollo "λυκηγενής," or Lycurgus, the sun under the sign of the wolf.

³⁹ Cic. N. D. iii. 21.

it was inevitable that as every system of artificial combination must be limited, and as there could be but one Zeus, Poseidon, or Pluto, many aspects and local titles should either be confounded among lower gods, or sink into the condition of heroes¹. For mythology, which realises conceptions as facts, realises them on earth as well as on Olympus; giving them the forms of history as well as those of theology. All nations claimed God for their champion and father; and to make good this presumption they more frequently changed gods into men than men into gods. That inversion of view which in Greece had assumed a systematic inveteracy in its coarsest personifying form, was often enabled to rescue an obsolete deity from oblivion under the name of a hero, and as the most ancient coins bore the stamp not of a human monarch but of a god², so tribal deities served to mark national distinctions, and may be used as a sort of heraldry in the marshalling of traditions³. The gods Helios and Poseidon share between them the genealogies of the Æolians. Ceyx, son of Lucifer, the "Burning,"⁴ married Alcyone, the sea-bird, and they respectively assumed the names of Zeus and Hera⁵. The marriage of Pyrrha and Deucalion has been supposed to mean an alliance of fire and water⁶; the misfortunes of Athamas are the tale of the dry and the rainy season. Æolus, whose name would seem to imply the "varied" god, is now son of Poseidon, now of Hellen or Zeus; and though the Homeric Ruler of the winds⁷

¹ In angeblichen Heroennamen gar nicht selten locale Beinamen von Gottern stecken. Müller, Kleine Schrift. ii. 39.

² Payne Knight, Anct. Art, s. 14.

³ The Lydian and Carian Zeus carried the battle-axe; the Pelopidæ the Gorgon. Schol. Pind. Ol. i. 37. Comp. xi. 72. Eurip. Phoenissæ, 1138. Iphig. Aul. 257. Æschyl. Septem. Bothe, 399. Baehr to Herod. v. 66. p. 113. Creuzer, Briefe, 104. 106ⁿ.

⁴ From *καυω*? He was called king of Trachis, or Thrace (Hes. Scut. Göttl. 355), probably as the Thracian Ares.

⁵ Servius to Virg. Georg. i. 399. Apollod. i. 7.

⁶ Völcker, Japetus, 342.

⁷ Æolus Hippotades, *i. e.* son of Poseidon Hippius. Serv. to Æn. i. 52. Comp. Hygin. fab. 125. Or of Zeus, Diod. S. iv. 67.

may be still more diverse from the national patriarch than from the gods of Olympus⁸, yet the comparison made between them by later writers may be better founded than Müller allows⁹, since in the distribution of the elemental world among the gods of poetry the winds alone were left without a specific president, and Æolus, girt with his wall of brass (the *mœnia mundi*),¹⁰ might not unfairly be recognised as a cosmical being, as representative of the year and father of the twelve months¹¹. Again, Aloeus, the grandson of Æolus, differs but little from him in name or nature. The many interpretations of which his name is susceptible¹² suit the physical ambiguity of his character; he is son not only of Poseidon but of Helios¹³; and it must be presumed that the Aloeus of Corinthian genealogy obtained his place there through the same channel as Sisyphus. The wife of Aloeus becomes mother of the Aloidæ, in whom the sun's career is subdivided and opposed¹⁴, by besprinkling her bosom with sea-water¹⁵; his brother Æëtes, son of Helios, is father of Medea-Here, whose abduction is similar to that of Helena and of Io. As Aloeus is Poseidon's son, so the sons of Aloeus ("Aloidæ") are sons of Poseidon. From Xuthus, the "golden Light," descend Achæus, *i. e.* the Achæan¹⁶ worshippers of Ægeon-Poseidon; and Ionians,

⁸ Comp. Odyss. x. 2. Nitzsch. ib.

⁹ Orchomenus, 2nd Ed. p. 132ⁿ.

¹⁰ Comp. Hes. Theog. 726. 750. Iliad, v. 750; viii. 393. Herod. i. 148; "τειχος καὶ ἐξωθεν—περιεργει;" the sky was called "brazen," "πολυχαλκος." Odyss. iii. 2.

¹¹ Heraclid. Alleg. Hom. p. 215. Schow. Comp. Odyss. x. 5. Apollod. i. 7. 3, 4. Similarity of name may generally be assumed in mythology to mean some sort of identity. "Dass überhaupt Helden der Mythischen Welt die von einigen Ruhm und Thaten sind, wenn sie unter einem Namen unter den verschiedensten und unverträglichsten Umständen erscheinen, dennoch meist dieselben sind, dies drängt sich jedem Beobachter auf." Buttmann, Mythol. ii. 209.

¹² "Man of the sea," "man of the threshing floor," or "the Sun." Comp. Schol. Odyss. xi. 237. 258. Müller, Orchom. 380. Schwenk's Andeutungen, p. 222. Creuz. S. iii. 40.

¹³ Paus. ii. 1. 1. and 6; ii. 3. 8.

¹⁴ Hyg. fab. 28.

¹⁵ Odyss. xi. 306. Apollod. i. 7. 4.

¹⁶ From ach, "aqua."

collectively personified in Ion, husband of the moon, ("Helice"), the wanderer in the Zodiac, *i. q.* Hyperion, Amphion, Pandion. If Völker¹⁷ is justified in assuming that a qualified reliance may be placed on genealogies, it will be found that every standard deity is attended by an array of satellites connected or descended from him, reflecting his peculiarities and attributes. Poseidon is repeated in Ogyges, Ægeus, Glaucus, Nauplius, Hipponous, Halirrhothios, Nestor, Bellerophon, &c.; Hermes in Cadmus, Dardanus, Iasion, Erichthonius, Plutus; Pluto in Clymenus¹⁸, Eurypylus, Polydamas, Polydectes. Several of these again are referred back by ancient testimony to the supreme object of worship. Cadmus, for instance, sometimes directly as well as indirectly made identical with Hermes¹⁹, is brother or son-in-law of Zeus²⁰, wedded like him to the empress of the shades or of the world²¹, the bull-symbol teaching arts and letters, establishing the world (Thebes), and becoming father of the gods²². His nuptials were one of the most ancient themes of sacred song²³; his destroying the dragon of Mars is analogous to the victory of Apollo, of Hercules, or of Zeus over the Titans, dragons being in the opinion of the ancient Greeks Titanic or Typhonian²⁴. There were many seemingly distinct personages claiming the name of Zeus. There was a son of Æther, a son of Cronus, and a son of Prometheus²⁵; but the son of Prometheus was Deucalion; and

¹⁷ Mythologie des Japetischen Geschlechtes, 129.

¹⁸ Clymenus, for example, was slain at the festival of Poseidon at Onchestus. Paus. ix. 37. 2, and comp. Suidas ad v. Paus. ii. 35. 5.

¹⁹ Comp. Götting to Hes. Th. 937. Tzetzes to Lycophr. 162. 219. 222. Schol. Apollon. Rh. 917.

²⁰ Through Europa and Electra. Comp. Paus. ix. 8. 3.

²¹ Harmonia-Proserpina. Comp. Plut. Erot. 23. Paus. ii. 19. 6; ix. 16. 2. Müller, Kl. Schrift. ii. 33.

²² *i. e.* of Cabiri. Strabo, 472. Müller, u. s. and Orchom. 447. 453.

²³ Paus. ix. 12. 3.

²⁴ Acusilai Frag. Sturz. 35. The dragon or serpent appeared to be a son or symbol of the earth and underworld. Herod. i. 78. Völcker, Japetus, p. 38.

²⁵ Cic. N. D. iii. 21. Lydus de Mens. Roth, p. 226. 228.

since it was a common practice to blend the dynasties and genealogies of gods with those of men²⁶, Deucalion, the "first king of men,"²⁷ who reigned in Thessaly, may be compared with the ancient Zeus of the Thessalian or Thesprotian Dodona²⁸, whose oracle he founded²⁹. The same region from whence came the notion of a great mother³⁰, seems to have been the channel through which the primary idea of Zeus passed into Greece through Thrace and Thessaly. Here may be traced the memorials of a many-named and many-featured Being, sometimes resembling Hercules³¹, sometimes more akin to Dionysus or Poseidon³², or the oriental symbols of Vishnou, Oannes, or Ninus, who, as representing the waters, takes his distinguishing emblem from the fish, yet at the same time gives assurance of renewed fertility and stability by the pledge of the rainbow in the sky, or by the impression of his footstep in the soil. Such a being often recurs in the legends of Greece, in Buto, Ogyges, Inachus, Danaus, and Erectheus; in Boreas, the appropriate kinsman and ally of the Attic man-snake³³; in Hercules identified as husband of Echidna, as in many other particulars with his father Zeus³⁴; and again in Cadmus, who slew the dragon, yet afterwards became what he had destroyed. The general idea of a god rising and rescuing from the waters³⁵, which the contracted view which flouted rather than consulted antiquity once imagined to have arisen from scattered reminiscences of the true history of Noah³⁶, reappears in the

²⁶ Herod. ii. 144. Livy, Præf.

²⁷ Apollon. Rh. iii. 1088.

²⁸ Zeus Achelöus or Phyxius.

²⁹ Etym. Magn. Δοδωναιος. Guigniaut's Creuzer, ii. 540.

³⁰ Metis. Comp. Herod. iv. 53. 76. and u. s.

³¹ "καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ σεβειν Ἡρακλῆα τοὺς περὶ τὸ Καυκάσιον οἰκούντας." Duris, in Schol. Apollon. ii. 1253.

³² The Scythian Poseidon, Thammasadas. Herod. iv. 59.

³³ Paus. v. 19. 1; viii. 36. 4.

³⁴ Herod. iv. 9. Diod. S. ii. ch. 43, p. 155.

³⁵ Zeus "αποβατηριος," and "Σωτηρ." Arrian, Exped. Alex. i. 4 and 11. "Φυζιος." Schol. Apoll. ii. 1151.

³⁶ Joseph. Antiq. i. 3. 5.

Scythian³⁷ or Thessalian Patriarch landing from his ark at the oak of Dodona or on the summit of the mountains of Greece³⁸ to found the human race. The site of his kingdom follows the migrations of the tribes descended from him, from the Thessalian worshippers of the sea³⁹, into central Greece, to Parnassus, Opus, and Cynus; and he was said to have been buried at Athens⁴⁰, and to have there founded the most ancient temple of Jupiter Olympius, containing within its precincts a fissure through which the waters of the Deluge were imagined to have escaped⁴¹. This deluge happened in the time of the Athenian king Cranaus, or, in other words, when the indigenous inhabitants of Attica were, as Herodotus asserts them to have been⁴², Pelasgian Cranai, and when their dialect had not as yet undergone that change which occurred when they passed from the Pelasgian denomination to that of Hellenes. This change was again referred by genealogists to Deucalion. Hellen, his son, had three children, Æolus, Dorus, Xuthus; Xuthus was father of Achæus and Ion. The theory implied in this genealogy becomes clearer when compared with another⁴³, in which the Patriarch is directly identified with the god, and Hellen is said to be nominally son of Deucalion, but really son of Zeus. Deucalion then as well as Hellen, for Hellen too is made a Zeus in genealogy⁴⁴, is a symbol or eponym of the many-sided Pelasgian nature-god, the tradition of whose death was alone sufficient in the opinion of the later Greeks to convert him from a deity into a hero. He might be the Zeus “*καραιος*” of the high place where his ark was stranded, the Orestheus of Ætolia, the power to whom he sacrificed on Par-

³⁷ Buttmann's *Mythos der Sündflut*. Mythol. i. 191. Lucian, D. S. 12, 13.

³⁸ Apollod. i. 7. 2. 5. Etym. M. p. 294. Comp. Jason rising from the Anaurus or Evenus, Titan from the Bosphorus, &c.

³⁹ Zeus Pelorus.

⁴⁰ Strabo, ix. 425. Paus. i. 18.

⁴¹ Comp. Pind. Ol. ix. 78, on the reabsorption of the waters by the art of Zeus.

⁴² Herod. i. 56, 57; ii. 51; vi. 137; vii. 94. Thucyd. i. 2.

⁴³ Eustath. ad Odyss. x. 2. Schol. Apollon. Rh. i. 118. Apollod. i. 7; ii. 7.

⁴⁴ Euripid. Melanippe, Frag. 2. Eurip. Ion. 63. Pind. Pyth. iv. 191.

nassus⁴⁵, or to whom Phrixus sacrificed the ram, either the impersonation of the deluge, or the sun-god rescued like Perseus or Dionysus from its floods, instituting the institutions of settled life after the inundations of winter. He is the god disguised under one of his attributes or titles, establishing his own worship at Dodona, and instituting the duodenary Pantheon virtually contained within himself, corresponding with the twelve constituent tribes of the Amphictyonic congress. He was founder of Hellenism, as being the divine rather than human author of its civil and religious institutions, and for the same reason ancestor of Aethlius, "the wrestler," and of the Thessalian or Attic king Amphictyon, names commemorative of those federative festivals founded on community of worship which were among the chief sources of Hellenic union and nationality.

§ 20.

EARLY GREEK POPULATION.

The famous dispute between Athena and Poseidon for possession of Attica, supposed to have occurred in the reign of Cecrops, a being half man, half fish, was said to have been decided under the authority of Zeus either by Cecrops alone as umpire, or by the twelve gods of Olympus. Such stories, even when with least historical pretension, may be the more valuable as intimations of opinion. It would seem in the case adduced as if the whole of the later Pantheon were placed in equation with a single pantheic emblem disguised as a patriarch and paralleled with Zeus. In attempting to form a conception of the progress of the theosophy which Herodotus calls "Pelagian," it is impossible to avoid speculating on the wide extent of the denomination which, as a nebulous halo, indefinitely spreads itself round the elementary centres of Greek history. Ancient Hellas or Pelasgia¹ was occupied by tribes different in name, but impossible to distinguish; Ionians were Pelagian as

⁴⁵ Schol. Apollon. ii. 655. 1151.

¹ Herod. ii. 56; viii. 4.

well as Æolians², and the barbarous races which in later times hovered round the frontier had at an earlier period been intimately connected with the Greek aborigines³. The Æolian Pelasgians of Pthiotis, the ancestors of Pierus, favourite of Apollo⁴, of the Aloidæ who chained the god of war, changed sea into land, and founded the worship of the Muses⁵, may themselves have been Pierian Thracians, as on the other hand they were unquestionably Hellenes, the tomb of whose eponymous hero or god was shown at Melitæa on the Enipeus⁶. Again, the fusion of Pelasgians, of Thessalians⁷, and of those whom Aristotle thought the most ancient Hellenic tribe, the Helli or Selli of Dodona⁸, with Tyrrheni⁹, is a remarkable link in the mass of confused statements implying a general connection of the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece and Italy¹⁰. The name of the Tyrrheni was partly identified and almost co-extensive with that of Pelasgian itself¹¹. They were builders of the walls of Athens and Tyrins, marauders and tyrants in the Ægean¹², once holders of Attica, and to a late period in occupation of Lemnos, and parts of the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace¹³. They were reputed to have been connected with the Cadmean authors of arts and letters, and to have been teachers of religious mysteries¹⁴. Their name occurs in the genealogies of Lydia¹⁵, and their power extended to the western Mediterranean, which they are assumed to have reached either by crossing

² Herod. vii. 94, 95. Müller, Orchom. 121.

³ Strabo, 321.

⁴ Apollod. iii. 10. 2.

⁵ Paus. ix. 29.

⁶ Strabo, ix. 431, 432. Herod. i. 58.

⁷ Niebuhr's Rome, trans., p. 30, sq.

⁸ Aristot. Meteor. i. 14. 23.

⁹ Schol. Venet. to Iliad, xvi. 235.

¹⁰ Müller, Orchom. Appx. 1. Comp. Diod. S. iv. 67. Dion. Hal. i. 18.

¹¹ Serv. to Æn. viii. 600. Dion. Hal. i. 25. 28, 29, confounded with "Minyæ." Hoeck, Kreta, ii. 422, 423.

¹² Hom. Hymn Dionys. vi. 8. Herod. iv. 148; vi. 137. Philochori Fragm. Didot. Frag. 5. Athenæus, xv. 672^b.

¹³ Herod. ii. 51. Thuc. iv. 109.

¹⁴ Herod. ib. and v. 61. Plato, Laws, p. 738. Müller, Orchom. 444. 455.

¹⁵ Creuz. Frag. Hist. p. 147. 149. 152.

the Adriatic¹⁶, or, according to a not altogether inconsistent tradition, since both might have been equally founded in fact, by leading a colony from Lydia to Etruria¹⁷. The ancient connection of Troes and Dardani with Thracians¹⁸, and even with Emathia, seems to presume the continuity of a race of Thraces, Trausi, or Odrysæ, worshippers of the god Tor, Tyr, or Targitaus,

“Geticis qui præsidet arvis,”¹⁹

connecting Bithynia and Phrygia with the Italian Tyr-rheni, and on the other hand with the Scythian Tyritæ, Tyragetæ, and Agathyrsi. In the sense of a common origin there may have been a real foundation for the theory of Dionysius that the Troes were of Hellenic extraction²⁰. The close resemblance of Trojans and Greeks is familiar to every reader of Homer²¹, and cannot be wholly accounted for by supposing the traces of national individuality to have been already obliterated in the sources from whence Homer drew²². The Troad, which, subsequent to the far-famed war, was a possession of the Thracian Treres²³, continued long after to be the seat of a worship analogous to that of Athena and Apollo, and in the Iliad Tros is son of Erichthonius, while Dardanus can only be regarded as a repetition of his father, a sort of Hermes or Zeus²⁴. The opposite coasts of the Hellespont seem to have been inhabited by kindred races²⁵, similar in customs and language, and interwoven by complicated emigrations. The Homeric relation between the Trojans and the great Pæonian nation on the Strymon²⁶, who sent auxiliaries under

¹⁶ Hellanicus, Sturz. 108. Dion. H. i. 28. Comp. Müller, ib. p. 431, 432.

¹⁷ Herod. i. 94. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 1. Tacit. Annal. iv. 55.

¹⁸ Il. ii. 844. Steph. Byz. Arisbe. Diod. v. 48.

¹⁹ Aul. Gel. v. 12. Grimm's Mythol. i. 177, 178. Weishaupt to Tacit. Germ. 9. p. 200.

²⁰ “Ελληνικον αρχηθεν.” Dion. Hal. i. 62.

²¹ Comp. Virg. Æn. viii. 129. 132.

²² Hoeck, Kreta, ii. 253.

²³ Strabo, xii. 573; xiii. 586. (273, Tch.)

²⁴ Iliad, xx. 215. 230. Virgil, Æn. vii. 210.

²⁵ Strabo, xii. 564. (163 Tch.)

²⁶ Iliad, ii. 849; xxi. 141.

the starry²⁷ son of Pelagon, is explained by the story of a great emigration of Mysians and Teucrians who, in a remote age crossing the Hellespont from Asia, subdued Thrace, and extended themselves as far as the Peneus and the Ionian Sea²⁸. The Trojans were connected not only with this distant colony, but with European Thrace generally. Among their allies were Acamas, Iphidamas, Rhesus; and the close relation intimated by the poet is confirmed by many collateral circumstances of identity in names and legends²⁹. While the Pæonians of the Strymon announced themselves to be descended from the ancient Asiatic Teucrians³⁰, the race of Dardanus reappears in the remote region of the Thracian Orbelus³¹, and in the mountain districts of Illyria. It has been hence inferred that the aboriginal population of Greece and Hither Asia was a connected race spread in ante-historic times from the North, and that the Teucri and Dardani may have been to the Trojans what the Pelasgi were to the Hellenes. It has been further supposed that the similarity of the ancient Teucri and Dardani to allied Pelasgic races gave occasion to an assumption that the aborigines of the Troad were themselves Pelasgic, and that hence arose the theory deriving Dardanus from Arcadia, "where Pelasgus first grew out of the black earth,"³² *i. e.* from the country where the primitive race was most familiarly known to exist in the unaltered individuality of its original character. Dardanus, cotemporary of Phineus, may be compared with the Lydian Iardanus, whose wife was married to Hercules, as Hercules to the king of Mysia and Teuthrania³³, whose son he adopts. The name of Dardanus accompanies that of the migratory god interpreted according to his varying aspect either

²⁷ "Asteropæus."

²⁸ Herod. v. 12. 122; vii. 20. 75.

²⁹ *e. g.* Arisbe, Xanthus, the fable of Midas, &c. "Rex Dardanorum Midas, qui Phrygiam tenuit."—Serv. to Virg. *Æn.* ii. 325.

³⁰ Herod. v. 13. Comp. the expression, "ὑπολειφέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν." Ib. ch. 122.

³¹ Diod. v. 48. Plin. N. H. iv. 1.

³² Paus. viii. 1, 2.

³³ Teuthras, Deus Tyr?

as Mars or Hercules³⁴, and his simultaneous presence in Asia, Italy, Mæsia and Arcadia, can be understood only of a far wandering race, such as the Pelasgians or Tyrrheni³⁵. The Dardani, though a savage people living in caves of the earth, are said to have had considerable taste for music, playing on pipes and stringed instruments³⁶; and the migratory Tyrrheni, once the tyrants and architects of Greece³⁷, must have possessed in the East as in the West a superiority in knowledge as well as power which made their various settlements in the European peninsulas³⁸, the most probable "Tarshish," or Hesperia of the Canaanites. In the Ægean as in the Western seas³⁹, the Tyrrheni are associated with Phœnicians; Dardanus is said to have become intimate with Cadmus at Samothrace⁴⁰, and Thasus, a son of Poseidon, accompanied the sons of Agenor⁴¹ in the search after Europa⁴². The mythical voyage of Cadmus encircles the Ægean from Rhodes to Santorin or Thera, thence to Samothrace and Thrace⁴³; yet the traditions associating his name with Phœnician traffic and colonization are by no means irreconcilable with the presumption of his being a theological personage originally Greek. The gods followed the migratory habits of men, and Cadmus and Dardanus, considered as human sovereigns, were obliged to pass from land to land in order to explain the widely spread recurrences of the ideas and peculiarities of their people. Discoveries of arts were not the mere invention of man, but gifts of the Deity associated with his

³⁴ Tacit. Germ. 3 and 9. Virg. Æn. viii. 103. 275.

³⁵ "Denas" is said to be Phrygian for God (Dion. Hal. i. 78); and by the common change of τ into δ , as in $\iota\delta\omega\varsigma$ for water, Deus for $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, fader for $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$, a plausible etymology might be devised to explain the word Dardanus, only there are unfortunately at least two others equally so.

³⁶ Strabo, vii. 316.

³⁷ The words $\tau\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\tau\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ were said to have been inherited from them. Philochor. Frag. 5. Steph. Byz. ad voc. Dion. H. i. 26.

³⁸ Comp. the names Tarseium, Tarchonium, Tarragona, Tartessus, Taras or Tarentum, Tarracina. Tchuk. to Mela. ii. 4. 9.

³⁹ Herod. i. 166.

⁴⁰ Steph. Byz. v. Dardanus.

⁴¹ Völcker, Japetus, p. 68. Creuzer, Briefe, 105. 160.

⁴² Apollod. iii. 1. 1.

⁴³ Herod. ii. 44; iv. 147.

earliest thoughts, and the voyage of Cadmus may be only the recognition of an analogy between the indigenous god (Hermes) and those Phœnician adventurers who seemed to resemble him as much in superior knowledge as in predatory habits. The transference of idea would be easier if, as in the case of the Pelasgian deity, the secular migration was concurrent with a physical or ideal one; for as the Asiatic adventures of Orestes or Bellerophon rest in regard to their historical significance rather on independent probabilities⁴⁴ than on the particular legends, so if it were not for the direct evidence in Homer and Herodotus of the presence of Phœnicians in the Ægean⁴⁵, the voyage of Cadmus, like that of Danaus, or of Phœnix⁴⁶, would be altogether what it doubtless is in part, a mere mode of representing the apparent type of all terrestrial colonisation, the sun, advancing from the east with gifts of mental illumination as well as of material abundance, and ending his career by dying in the west⁴⁷. A similar construction might be put on the Lydian (or Phrygian) colony of Pelops, who though, like Cadmus, originally an Achæan personification⁴⁸, was made to share with Perseus and other heroes in the representation of early influences supposed to have been exerted from the Asiatic coasts upon Greece. These influences, however, were only collateral and subordinate to those which, attested by the legends of Delos and Delphi, Dodona and Olympia, connected the physical idea of the sun's return out of

⁴⁴ On Lycia comp. Hoeck. vol. ii. 328. The migrations of Orestes probably relate to sites of Carian or Achæan worship.

⁴⁵ Plass, *Urgeschichte der Hellenen*, i. 99. 106. Herod. i. 1. Comp. Josephus, *Apion*, i. 12.

⁴⁶ Phœnix, too, was inventor of the alphabet; he was also father of Adonis by Myrrha or Alphesibæa (Apollod. iii. 14. 4), and, according to Homer, he threatened to repeat the parricide of the celebrated Egyptian bird which periodically immolated its parent on a pile of myrrh. (Herod. ii. 73.)

⁴⁷ The imaginary grave of Cadmus was on the Drilo, in the district of Dyrrhachium in Illyria (Apollon. Rh. iv. 517. Tzetzes, *Chil.* iv. 395), the seeming limit of the wanderings of his worshippers (?).

⁴⁸ Autesion in Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 137.

the North with that of the principal channel of Greek immigration⁴⁹. Though Pelasgus made Thrace the limit of his nominal sway⁵⁰, Thracians had long before penetrated into Attica and Peloponnesus, the son of Poseidon and Chione had brought a Thracian army to war against a kindred being in Erechtheus⁵¹, and it was from Thrace that originally came those Cyclopean builders of Tiryns, Argos, and Mycenæ⁵², who afterwards, from a concurrence probably of speculative with other reasons⁵³, were referred either to the Lycian land of the sun's rising, or as arbitrarily dismissed to pasture their herds along with those of Helios in Sicily. The Thracians so intimately connected on the continent with Pelasgi are still less distinguishable from them in the islands, to which they brought the worship of Dionysus, and where the two races are described alternately as aborigines⁵⁴. The islands were thus an obvious link in the connection recognised when with the extension of discovery the legends of Greece found a pedigree and parentage in analogies traced backward towards the region of their probable origin⁵⁵; the priestess of the Tauric Artemis is said to have acknowledged a brother in the son of Clytæmnestra who carried the statue of the goddess into Greece, and the ancient affinity of the Athenians with Boreas⁵⁶, their faithful ally during the Persian war, was supposed to have originated in the marriage of the Erechtheid Oreitheia, a name also belonging to the leader of the Thracian Amazons, whose worship of the first

⁴⁹ According to Herod. (iv. 33) the Delian legend was in exact conformity with the usages of the Northern tribes. Comp. Paus. i. 31. 2. Ælian. V. H. iii. 1. Callim. H. Del. 284. Etym. M. Dodonaïos. Pind. Ol. iii. 28.

⁵⁰ Æschyl. Suppl. 230, Bothe. Acusilai Fragm. Sturz. xiv. p. 217.

⁵¹ Paus. i. 38. 3.

⁵² Schol. Eurip. Orest. 955 (or 966).

⁵³ Uschold, Vorhalle, ii. 314.

⁵⁴ Herod. vii. 95. Diod. v. 50. 81. Strabo, x. 445. Müller, in his *Mythology* (p. 94, Trans.), corrects his statement in the "Orchomenus" (p. 298), which is also animadverted on by Welcker, *Trilogie*, p. 208.

⁵⁵ Müller, *Orchom.* p. 305.

⁵⁶ A being half man, half snake, like Cecrops and Erechtheus. Supr. p. 244, n. 33.

"homicide"⁵⁷ had given its name to the old criminal tribunal of Areopagus⁵⁸.

§ 21.

THE RELIGION OF THRACE.

The mythical Thracians, who acted so important a part in the transmission of the first elements of culture, are one of the most difficult, as well as interesting problems of Greek antiquity. It was assumed with warrantable pride that the traditional authors of poetry, music, and religion¹, must have been a race far superior in civilization to the hordes since known as Thracian², though, it may be added, that they could scarcely have attained this influence and celebrity, unless, like the later Thessali, they had been related in language³ and habits to the people among whom they came. Homer's Thrace has a double aspect; the country of the snowy north⁴ changes into the fruitful mother of wine and pasture⁵, the den of Ares into the vineyard of Maron, son of Euanthes. These names answered to the two principal deities attributed to the historical Thracians. Herodotus mentions a Thracian triad, whom he calls Ares, Artemis, and Dionysus; Hermes, too, had a peculiar worship, and was considered the divine ancestor of the kings⁶. Ares is a power whose angry aspect, like that of Apollo, is

⁵⁷ "βροτολοιγος."

⁵⁸ Æschyl. Eum. Bothe, 625. Hellan. Frag. 16, p. 57.

¹ Strabo, vii. 321; ix. 410; x. 471. Bode, Dichtkunst der Hellenen, i. 91.

² Paus. ix. 29. 2. Thucyd. ii. 29. Herod. v. 3. Comp. i. 57, 58; ii. 52; for the Pelasgi, though barbarous in comparison with Hellenes, might esteem themselves superior to foreign barbarians.

³ Rask, über die Thrakische Sprachclasse, Halle, 1822, p. 3.

⁴ Iliad, ix. 5; xiv. 227. Comp. Eurip. Hec. 79; Androm. 214.

⁵ Iliad, xi. 222; xx. 485.

⁶ v. 7.

represented in Lycurgus, son of Dryas⁷, in Polymnestor, Pleistorus, Diomedes⁸; violator of the rights of hospitality, hated by his own father⁹, the enemy or antithesis of Dionysus and the Muses¹⁰. Artemis is the great mother, or Juno, answering probably to the Scythian Estia, or Maia, changing occasionally into Hecate¹¹, and generally the many-named queen of Nature. Dionysus is the vernal sun, the joyous time of year, Æneus, or Ænopion¹², periodically expelled by a violent adversary¹³, or dying under the names of Polydorus, Charops, Orpheus, Buto, &c. In the imagination of the Greeks, the God whose residence was among the snowy mountains of Thrace¹⁴ was exclusively a war dæmon, or god of death, the appropriate patron of the Brygians¹⁵. But the power overwhelmed by Athene, or chained by the Aloidæ, the Mamers of Rome, or Samothracian lover of Aphrodite, was originally a personification of Nature¹⁶ whose physical or universal character underwent the disintegrating process of the Epic, and whose martial ferocity, humanised in Diomed, Acamas, or Thoas, son of Andræmon¹⁷, represents either the notion of solar force producing the destructive heats of summer, or that of the grave, or underworld, where in the form of the dragon, said to have been his minister or progeny in Colchis or Bœotia¹⁸, he watches over the

⁷ Iliad, vi. 131. Comp. Apollod. i. 8. 2, with iii. 5. 1. He was said to have been grandson of Mars, and to have been worshipped by the Edones. Strabo, x. 722. Zoega, Abhandlungen, p. 20, sq. Æschyli Lycurgia, ed. Didot, p. 177.

⁸ Schol. Pind. Nem. x. 12.

⁹ Iliad, v. 890.

¹⁰ Soph. Antig. 963.

¹¹ Paus. ii. 30. Schol. Apollon. iii. 467.

¹² Æneus-Dionysus, both husbands of Althæa, givers of the grape. Apollod. i. 8.

¹³ Agraius, &c.

¹⁴ Iliad, ix. 5; xiv. 227. Odys. viii. 361. Meursius to Lycophr. 937.

¹⁵ Cycli Frag. Didot. p. 585^a. Iliad, xiii. 301. Ælian, V. H. viii. 6.

¹⁶ Guigniaut, Rel. ii. 642. 649.

¹⁷ Θοος, i. e. the "rapid" sun. Iliad, xiii. 328. Comp. Uschold, Vorhalle, ii. 64. The phrase "περιανυγέα κυκλον ἱλισσων," in the hymn to Ares, means the planet Mars, and is probably of comparatively late origin.

¹⁸ Schol. Soph. Antig. 118. Apollod. iii. 4. 1.

springs of abundance, and the treasured hopes of futurity¹⁹. His aspect changes, like that of Apollo, from a deity to a dæmon, author of pestilence as of discord²⁰, and husband of an Erinnys, whose Colchian grove, inclosed within a sevenfold wall guarded by Hecate, and unapproached by mortal foot-step²¹, is an evident description of Hades. Like many other Homeric gods, seemingly Olympian, or exclusively supernal, he thus becomes an ambiguous or Cthonian power, craving human victims, like the tyrant Thoas in the Thracian Chersonese, or else a prisoner²², or victim²³, in his own "stony" dominion, like Lycurgus or Polyphemus, Phineus or Orion, bound or blinded by divine interposition²⁴, a god dishonoured among gods²⁵.

Except as adversary, or antithesis, of Cadmus, Jason, and Dionysus, Ares seems to have been but little noticed; his physical attributes were distributed among other divinities, as Hercules, Hermes, and Apollo, and his name is often absorbed in those of heroes. Tereus, the Thracian son of Ares in Phocian legend²⁶, is himself the destroying god, while Eumolpus, saved from the waters, and entombed at Eleusis, performs the part of Dionysus. The alternate exile or chaining of Lycurgus and Dionysus by each other²⁷, is evidently the ever-recurring

¹⁹ *i. e.* The golden fleece, the apples of the Hesperides, the fountain Tilphossa, &c. Comp. H. D. Müller, *Beitrag über Ares*, p. 22, &c. The dragon being emblem both of destruction, as in the case of Python, and of renovation, as in that of Æsculapius, Polyidus, &c. Apollod. iii. 3. 1.

²⁰ Soph. *Cedip. R.* 190. Æsch. *Choeph.* 925.

²¹ Orph. *Argon.* 897. 908.

²² Hom. *Il.* v. 385.

²³ *Iliad*, xxi. 403.

²⁴ Compare the expression applied by Sophocles, (*Antig.* 955,) to Lycurgus "ὄξυχολος," "πετρωδεὶ καταφρακτος ἐν δεσμοῖς," with the "δωματα μακρησὶν πετρησὶ καστηρεφί," in Hesiod, *Theog.* 777. *Iliad*, vi. 139. *Odys.* ix. 382. 479. Diod. S. iii. 65.

²⁵ "Ἀτιμος." Soph. *Ced. R.* 215. Comp. Æschyl. *Eum.* 691. "Αἰδὴς βροτοῖσι Θεῶν ἐχθιστος ἅπαντων." *Iliad*, ix. 159. The legends of Ares relate chiefly to his overthrow or imprisonment, his transformation into the wintry emblems of bear and fish; yet he was in a sense also Zeus, or God. Theo. to Arat. 225. Eratosthenes, *Catast.* 19.

²⁶ Apollod. iii. 14. 8. Conon. *Narr.* 31. Photius, p. 439. Tyr.?

²⁷ *Iliad*, v. 385; vi. 130. Soph. *Antig.* 955. Servius to *Æn.* iii. 14.

antithesis of Nature, the vicissitude of the seasons, Lycurgus, the fierce heat, the genius of destruction, “Λυκίος,” “ἐκκαεργός,” “βροτολοιγός,” and Dionysus, fertility rescued by Thetis, the renewer of life and time, deliverer of Nature from her chains²⁸, the emblem of spring, whom the women of Elis, Argos, or Thebes²⁹ summoned to appear out of the waters “with his oxen hoof.” A similar physical antithesis, expressing the great outlines of natural religion under the symbols of government or family, pervades the legends and mysteries of Greece. Conceptions fundamentally the same are to be found in the Trinities of Samothrace, Ætolia, Thelpusa, Eleusis, Athens³⁰, and, it may be added, of Etruria and Rome³¹. Everywhere is the same, or some similar scene of strife, in which day and night³², summer and winter, destroy or supplant each other. Lycurgus banishes Dionysus, and Dionysus chains Lycurgus. The Lion and the Boar, Polynices and Tydeus-Ares³³, emblems of the contrasted seasons, fight in the Court of Adrastus³⁴, Adrastus who at Sicyon is the antithesis of Melanippus, and in Phrygia the murderer of Atys. The sons of Cræsus, the sons of Boreas and of Jason³⁵, all probably represent “Dioscuri” of various kinds, paired, or opposed. The same antagonism occurs in the Thracian colonization of Naxos, the favoured of “Staphylus,” or the grape³⁶, where Theseus was terrified by a night vision to cede Ariadne to the local god, the mystical repetition of himself, where Butes drowns himself³⁷, and the Aloidæ, like the Œdipodæ, perish by each other’s hands. Orpheus takes

²⁸ *Λυσιος*. Creuzer, S. ii. 619. Guigniaut, R. iii. 64.

²⁹ Plutarch, Qu. Græ. 36. Isis and O. 35. Soph. Œd. T. and Antig. Eurip. Bacchæ, 1005.

³⁰ Comp. Gerhard’s table of Pelasgian theogony, in Creuzer, S. iii. p. 154. Schol. Soph. Œd. Colon. 56. Paus. viii. 25.

³¹ Gerhard, die Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 5.

³² Hes. Th. 749.

³³ Apollod. ii. 5. 8.

³⁴ Apollod. iii. 6. 1.

³⁵ Herod. i. 34. Acusilai Frag. 20. Müller, Orchom. 299.

³⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1021.

³⁷ Diod. S. v. 50.

up the lyre which Apollo had thrown down³⁸, as he attempted to heal the wound of which Aristæus had been the cause³⁹, and, in his turn, falls a victim to the jealousy of a telluric Dionysus for worshipping the rising sun, and watching for its appearance from the summit of Pangæus or Olympus. The idea is the same, when the physical opposition is distributed between three persons or seasons instead of two, for instance, in the share of Proserpine, or the Proëtides, allotted to the season of gloom, to Pluto, or to Melampus⁴⁰, in the fratricide of the Æacidæ, Cabiri, or Corybantes⁴¹; or when the two contrasted aspects blend in one personification, as in the dark and white sail of Theseus, the rising and setting hemispheres of Hermes-Argus⁴², or Thoas, the swift-footed Ares of the Chersonese, who at Lemnos represents the fugitive Dionysus, or slaughtered Zagreus⁴³.

But this dualism, or strife, is always subordinate to a third power, male or female, in whom reside the sovereign prerogatives of arbitration, healing, and perpetuity, and who then bears the legitimate functions of Zeus; he punishes the proud, reconciles discord, brings life out of death, and maintains the regularity of nature⁴⁴. This supremacy most frequently attached to Zeus, Athene, or Apollo, occasionally belongs to the other deities, and is sometimes even given to personages whose rank is only mortal; as, for instance, to Phineus, who, as father of Polydectes and Polydorus, contains the dualism in himself; or in the tragedy of Pentheus⁴⁵, where the

³⁸ Eratost. Catast. xxiv. p. 19. Æschyli Bassarides, p. 180, Didot.

³⁹ Virg. Georg. iv. 457.

⁴⁰ Apollod. i. 5. 3.

⁴¹ Pind. Nem. v. 12. Apollod. iii. 12. 6. Paus. ii. 29. Clem. Alex. Protr. 12. 15. Pott. Welcker, Trilog. 252.

⁴² Eurip. Phœniss. 1116. Comp. Æthalides, son of Hermes, allowed to reside successively in the upper and lower world.

⁴³ The Thoas of Lemnos is son of Dionysus, Apollod. i. 9. 17. Apollon. Rh. i. 622, &c., and escapes to Cœnœe, the island of "Wine." His daughter, Hypsipyle, is afterwards slave to Lycurgus.

⁴⁴ Æschyl. Suppl. 589. Agam. 353.

⁴⁵ Pentheus, the dragon, or earth-born son of Echion, of the seed of the dragon of

expiring year is torn asunder by the Bacchanals, headed by its mother under the form of Agave, Cadmus "the great"⁴⁶, the ancestor of Dionysus, assumes the office of superior god in recombining the scattered limbs, and who indeed so appropriately, as the author of the Theban race, who first introduced the phallic worship of Dionysus, *i. e.* the symbol of regeneration, and who, with his consort Harmonia, finally became the two emblematic serpents of the caduceus of Hermes⁴⁷? There are many mythical names, as Phorbus, Triops, Iasus, Corythus⁴⁸, which it would be difficult to assign as predicates to particular gods, because they belong to deity in general; and the Thracian Zamolxis, whom the Greeks were disposed to identify with Cronus⁴⁹, includes a pantheon in himself as Ares, Zagreus, Euphorbus-Pythagoras and Hermes Trophonius⁵⁰. Among the inferior gods, the office of paramount decision most frequently belongs to Apollo⁵¹, who then becomes emphatically the "Θεὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων,"⁵² or supreme divinity. Apollo Lycius, or Lycurgus, proprietor of the celebrated Olympic discus, or orb of day⁵³, is in this sense one with Ares and Zeus; in another his attributes absorb those of Dionysus, with whom Lycurgus is contrasted⁵⁴.

Ares, not mortal, or woman-born, but like one of the Giant adversaries of the Gods, (Eurip. *Bacchæ*, 532. 976. 984,) a mighty hero, intent on arduous labours, destined to find eternal glory in the monuments of the sky (ib. 960). He was torn to pieces by the Mænades on Cithæron, the scene of the death of Actæon (1281), when following the Bull in female disguise (1145); his mother, as a priestess (1103), or as Dame Nature, first attacked him by rending away his shoulder; and his head was borne on a pole, or thyrsus, like that of a lion, through the midst of Cithæron (1131, 1164, 1204, 1268).

⁴⁶ Eurip. *Bacchæ*, 1290. 1315.

⁴⁷ Eurip. *Bacchæ*, 1320. Volcker, *Japetus*, 96; *i. q.*, the Column of the Aloidæ or Dioscuri. Hyg. *Frag.* 28.

⁴⁸ Com. Schwenk's *Mythol. der Römer*, 480. Illgen, *Hymn to Apollo, Pyth.* 33. Paus. ii. 22; vii. 26, &c.

⁴⁹ Creuz. *Symb.* iii. 12. Buttmann, *Mythol.* ii. 51.

⁵⁰ Comp. Herod. iv. 94—96.

⁵¹ *Iliad*, viii. 69; xxii. 209.

⁵² Herod. i. 90. Æschyl. *Septem*, 658.

⁵³ Plutarch, *vit. Lycurg.* Herod. i. 65. Comp. Strabo, viii. 366.

⁵⁴ Schol. Aristoph. *Equit.* 539.

His omnipotence is dualistic; he is now the destroyer, lord of the death-dealing arrows and bow⁵⁵, walking like the night⁵⁶, or retiring to the shades⁵⁷; now he is Pæan or Phorbas, the healer or nourisher⁵⁸, defender of the city of the elements⁵⁹; his bow, not always bent, is occasionally exchanged for the lyre⁶⁰, with which the usually fierce Achilles sometimes diverts the solitude of his tent⁶¹. So, too, Dionysus, the "polyonymous⁶²," has two aspects; the joyous tamer of savage beasts, the reveller of the hills⁶³, changes to the terrific vision of Theseus, or the dark figure⁶⁴ who suddenly appeared behind Xanthus in the combat with Melanthus. Great as is the diversity of their respective stations and rites, the son of Semele and the son of Latona are mystically or metaphysically related as descended from the same Here *νυχια*⁶⁵, and partaking, after a different fashion, the same antithesis so repeatedly recurring in mythical genealogies, as between Paris and Hector, Menelaus and Agamemnon⁶⁶, causing the slaughter of brother by brother, and of friend by friend.

They are twin conceptions, descended from a common father, and each representing a physical dualism comprehended in the integral or supreme deity, who theologically would be called Helios or Zeus⁶⁷. Each has some characteristics of the other; the supernal sun is properly Apollo, the sun in the lower hemi-

⁵⁵ Æschyl. Agam. 1049, *λοιμιος, δυσφονιος*.

⁵⁶ Iliad, i. 42. 47.

⁵⁷ Comp. Odyss. xi. 318; xii. 383. He is the devouring Cyclops, Polyphemus, guardian of the Sicilian herds of Helios. Comp. Eurip. Cyclops, 320. 334; the antithesis of Dionysus, ib. 435. 615; the fierce butcher of Hades, ib. 396.

⁵⁸ Iliad, ii. 766. Pind. Pyth. iii. 27. Callim. H. Ap. 50. *Επικουριος, Αλεξικακος*, Pausan. viii. 41. 5.

⁵⁹ Iliad, xxi. 515. Soph. Œd. Tyr. 197.

⁶⁰ Hymn, Apoll. Del. 131. Horace, Od. ii. 10. 18. Comp. iii. 4. 60.

⁶¹ Iliad, i. 177; ix. 186. Pind. Pyth. i. 19.

⁶² Soph. Antig. 1115. Plutarch, de Ei Delph. 9.

⁶³ Soph. Œd. T. 211. Serv. Æn. i. 734. Uschold, Vorhalle, ii. 121.

⁶⁴ Melas, son of Œnopion.

⁶⁵ Creuzer, S. iii. 118. Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 232.

⁶⁶ Odyss. iii. 136.

⁶⁷ Orphic. H. vii. 13, Frag. vii. 27.

sphere, Dionysus⁶⁸; the one is god of day, the other bears the torch as leader of the nocturnal stars⁶⁹; yet Apollo descends to the shades, and Dionysus rises in the constellation of the Bull. Both are in turn opposed, successive, or supreme in respect to each other. Orpheus, succeeding to Apollo⁷⁰, is killed by a superior Dionysus; again the torch of Dionysus, leader of the Muses, is extinguished by Lycurgus⁷¹; and as Maron, son of Euanthes⁷², or Anius, the spirit of the Delian lament⁷³, Dionysus is himself Apollo's priest, and officiates before him at Delphi⁷⁴. Both deities share the rocks and sanctuary of Parnassus⁷⁵, where Dionysus-Orpheus is entombed under the protection of the Delphic god⁷⁶, as the Aloidæ, slain by each other, are buried within the sacred precincts of Dionysus as presidential god of nature at Naxos and Anthedon⁷⁷.

§ 22.

HERMES AND HIS CORRELATIVES.

The interment of a god within the temple of another deity indicates a presumed relationship, and a superiority in popular estimation of the living power, according to an improved idea of the immortal nature of the Divine. The traditional resemblance had outlasted changes of opinion, and Orpheus,

⁶⁸ "Nyctelius"; Plutarch, *Ei Delph.* 4 and 9.

⁶⁹ Soph. *Antig.* 1125. Macrob. *Sat.* i. 18, p. 300.

⁷⁰ Eratosth. 24.

⁷¹ Strabo, xiii. 628. Soph. *Antig.* ub. s.

⁷² Odyss. ix. 198.

⁷³ Anius, a Bacchic symbol, whom Virgil, in relation to the later religion of Delos, makes a priest of Apollo, while Cretan legend considered him as a lieutenant of Rhadamanthus. Hoeck's *Kreta*, ii. 223.

⁷⁴ Aristoph. *Nub.* 595.

⁷⁵ Plutarch *de Ei Delphico*, ch. ix. Soph. *Antig.* 1130. Paus. ix. 32. 5. Eur. *Bacchæ*, 302. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1212.

⁷⁶ Plut. *Isis and Osiris*; ch. xxxv. Philochori *Frag.* 22, Didot.

⁷⁷ Paus. ix. 22. Diod. S. v. 50.

Eumolpus, Linus might be considered as living for ever in Apollo, Dionysus, and Zeus. The burial of Pandion, Erechtheus, or Acrisius in the temple of Minerva, of Myrtilus in that of Hermes¹, of Deucalion in that of Zeus, was as the tomb of Osiris in the sanctuary of Sais, or Isis reposing under the patronage of Pthah at Memphis. All the gods were alternately subordinate and supreme, and the varying relation was variously imaged by strife, by parentage, by protection, nurture, or mediation. Sonship and successivity mean sometimes identity, sometimes opposition; thus Orion is son of Hyrieus (Aquarius?), Œnomaus of Ares or Hermes²; the firebrand Meleager either of Ares or of Œneus³. Strife implies the rivalry of identical conceptions as well as the opposition of contrasted ones; Hercules wrestling with Zeus, or Here contending for the apple with Aphrodite, are nearly allied rivals, and the hostility of Apollo to Amphion⁴, or to Lycus, would seem to make him the antithesis of himself as generally understood⁵. Ares or his dragon overcome or pacified by Athene or Medea supposes the supremacy of a great mother; Ares in turn is omnipotent in the release of Hades⁶, and Hermes, the minister and representative of Zeus, occasionally becomes his equal or superior, for he liberates not only Ares⁷ and Prometheus, but even Zeus himself⁸. The ministerial relation arises out of a dramatic subdivision of his character, for Hermes is himself Prometheus "*ἀνακνῆτα*," the founder of all worship⁹, the great deity of the ancient Pelasgi, the mysterious centre of Theban, Arcadian, Samothracian religion. His primary character is that of fruit-

¹ Paus. viii. 14. 7.

² Volcker, Japetus, 107. 361.

³ So, too, in the many personifications of the heavenly bodies born of Poseidon, the Nereids and Oceanides.

⁴ Apollod. iii. 5. 6. 5.

⁵ In the war of Erechtheus against Eumolpus, Poseidon appears at variance with himself; but the source of the apparent contradiction is the pantheistic versatility of Erechtheus who, as destroyer of Immaradus, becomes for a time the homicidal Ares.

⁶ Pherecyd. Sturz. p. 165. Comp. Steph. Byz. art. *Μαζταυρα*.

⁷ Iliad, v. 390.

⁸ Iliad, xv. 127. Apollod. i. 6. 3. 10; iii. 4. 1. 4.

⁹ Diod. S. i. 16; v. 75. Hymn, Merc. 115. 128. Euseb. Pr. Ev. ii. 1.

fulness rising from the ground, the leading idea of the agrarian Pelasgi¹⁰, a power alternating between the upper and lower world, between life and death. Hence his emblem of the phallus¹¹, the wooden image said to have fallen from heaven into the marriage chamber of Semele¹², and according to one etymology his name¹³. Hence, too, the greater part of his official functions; for instance, his leading Proserpina to the light of day, borne by golden horses, his reanimating Pelops and even Zeus, his carrying the infant Dionysus to be nursed by the Hyades¹⁴, or to the assembly of the gods¹⁵. He gave the lyre to Apollo and Amphion, the sword to Hercules, but he concealed the herds of the sun at nightfall¹⁶ in the land of Pluto (Pylus), and his name signifies fate or death¹⁷. His worship properly belongs to the ancient seats of the Pelasgi in Arcadia, Attica, Bœotia, and the Ægean Islands. The ithyphallic Hermes, the first of Cicero¹⁸, derived, according to Herodotus¹⁹, from the Pelasgian founders of the mysteries of Samothrace, is virtually Zeus; he is father and husband of Nature, the demiurgus who woos Minerva at Athens²⁰, marries Harmony (or Harma) in Bœotia²¹, or as Iasus aspires to the hand of Demeter²². As presiding over the commencement and close of the sun's career, and consequently placed at the entrance of

¹⁰ "Der Gott eines ackerbauenden Volkes, agrarischen wesens, wie alle(?) Götter der Pelasger und alle früheste Hellenische Religion auf diesen Boden wurzeln."—Völcker, Japetus, p. 79. Comp. Hesiod, "Works," 236.

¹¹ The "Cyllenian God," "Κυλληνίος θυοντής Φαλητι." Paus. vi. 26. 3. Lucian, Hemst. vol. ii. p. 690.

¹² Paus. ix. 12. 3.

¹³ From *ερα*, earth; art. "Hermes" in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia.

¹⁴ Apollod. iii. 4.

¹⁵ Paus. iii. 18. The "Θεοὶ εἰσιοννῆες" are identical with "Θεοὶ χθονῆες," the Cthonian power being author of wealth, "Πλουτοδοτῆς." Nicander in Anton. Liber. fab. 25. Soph. Inachus. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 727. Ranae, 479.

¹⁶ Hom. H. v. 18.

¹⁷ Æsch. Chœph. 612.

¹⁸ N. D. iii. 22.

¹⁹ ii. 51. Lennep to Hes. Th. 927.

²⁰ Paus. i. 17; iv. 26. Cic. N. D. p. 604. Creuz.

²¹ Comp. Müller, Kl. Schrift. ii. 33. Plutarch, Pelop. 19.

²² Diod. S. v. 49. Dion. Hal. i. 61. Hes. Theog. 970. Comp. the Iasus, son

the Olympic stadium, emblematic of the diaulic race-course of the heavens²³, he anticipates the offices of Apollo and Hercules. Hercules, who partly identical²⁴ with Ares, guardian like Hermes of the equivocal golden ram²⁵, is made subordinate to the ancient Pelasgian deity in the tradition of his being sold by Hermes to Omphale. The sacred marriage of Hermes with Hecate, Herse, or Persephone²⁶, is the great mystery of his worship. It was celebrated in the Zerynthian Cavern at Samothrace²⁷, where the god bore the several names of Saos, Eros, Himeros, or Axieros²⁸, as also at Lemnos and Imbros²⁹; islands whose aborigines were Thracian, and it may have been a divinity undistinguishable from the Thracian equivalent of Hermes alluded to by Herodotus³⁰, who, represented as ithyphallic on an Imbrian coin³¹, gives a significant hint in Homer of his ultimate identity with Ares and Hephæstus³². But Hephæstus, too, is a representative of Zeus. The fire which Prometheus took from him in Æschylus, is in reality stolen from Zeus;³³ the son of heaven or Here, father or husband of Athene³⁴, is the demiurgic power theologically parallel both with Zeus and Prometheus³⁵, and the supreme parent in the old of "Sphelus Bucolides," leader of the Athenians in the Iliad, xv. 337; (Hermes-Strophæus?) Note to Aristoph. Plutus, v. 1153.

²³ Paus. v. 14. 6; viii. 32. Schol. Pind. Ol. vi. 129.

²⁴ Serv. to Virg. Æn. 275. 285.

²⁵ Comp. Paus. ix. 22. 1.

²⁶ Apollod. iii. 14. 3. Schol. Lycophr. 680.

²⁷ Comp. Paus. v. 19. 2; x. 32. 2. Sacred marriages, as those of Cronus and Rhea, Hercules and Echidna, Bacchus and Ariadne, Æneas and Dido, &c., generally took place within the earth, *i. e.* "ἐν σπείσσι γλαφυρήσι." Anton. Lib. 19. Porphy. de Antro.

²⁸ Schol. Apollon. i. 917. Dion. H. i. 63. Diod. S. v. 48.

²⁹ Notes to Lycophr. Cassandr. 162. Steph. v. Imbros. Welcker, Trilogie, p. 217; comp. 207, 208.

³⁰ Comp. Tacit. Germ. 9. Caesar, B. ix. 6. 17. Dindorf to Aristoph. Lysistrat. 940. Ritter, Vorhalle Europ. Geschichte, 377. Wodan or Odin, Bhooth, Buto, Bdeu, Deus, Θεός.

³¹ Welcker, Trilogie, 218.

³² Odyss. viii. 342.

³³ Hes. Works, 51.

³⁴ J. Firmicus, p. 20. Cic. N. D. iii. 22.

³⁵ Above described as a predicate of Hermes. Comp. Lyd. de Mens. 244. Roth. Apollod. i. 3. 6. Æschyl. Eum. 13. Prom. 39. Müller, Orchom. 447.

Attic Trinity³⁶ was afterwards imagined to have stolen³⁷ the emblems which he really possessed in his own right. The Titanic torch-bearer, represented under his heroic aspect as adversary of Zeus, resembles Ares³⁸, enemy of Dionysus, bound like himself during thirteen generations or moons³⁹, and bound, according to some accounts, to the same ancient symbol, the post or pillar⁴⁰, which eventually became a golden staff in the hands of the official minister and representative of Zeus. The Hermetic pillar, fatal to Atys and Pentheus (*infelix arbor*), but the birth-place or tree of life to Osiris and Dionysus, is the integral divinity comprising the two Dioscuri⁴¹, whose sacred wood was wrought by the Corinthians into the twin deities of their forum⁴². This ancient symbol, which under a rude shape comprised a rich and extensive meaning, was the original emblem of Dionysus⁴³, whose phallic worship is said to have been introduced by Cadmus⁴⁴, thus blending in one form the several names of the old Pelasgian divinity aggregated in the Homeric hymn as "Hermes," and contrasted with the more heroic attributes of the Hellenic Apollo. The religion of nature requires a congenial spirit for its interpretation, and in attempting to correct and arrange the confused accounts of antiquity, both ancient and modern criticism has often succeeded only in making its most beautiful conceptions contradictory and unmeaning. Little is gained by thinking with the

³⁶ Schol. *Œdip. Colon.* 55. Plat. *Critias*, 109. The sacred marriage of Hermes-Prometheus is repeated in that of Jason and Hypsipyle, Hermes and Eupolemia (*Ap. Rh.* i. 55), Ulysses-Hermes and Penelope (*Lycophr.* 772. *Cic. N. D.* iii. 22), Zeus-Cadmus and Semele or Harmonia, Paris and Helena, Agamemnon and Chryseis, Argus-Hermes and Ismene, Dardanus and Arisbe, Iasus and Demeter, &c.

³⁷ Since life and all its goods are, as it were, a loan, or a scanty portion plundered by the dexterity of man from the upper or under world, from the fire of Zeus or the treasury of Erginus.

³⁸ *Soph. Œd. Tyr.* 192.

³⁹ *Iliad*, v. 387. *Æschyl. Prom.* 799.

⁴⁰ *Max. Tyr.* viii. 8. *Apollod.* i. 9. 16. 5. *Clem. Alex. Prot.* iv. 46. p. 40, Pott. *Plutarch*, *Rom.* 12. *Livy*, xxiv. 10. *Aul. Gell.* iv. 6. *Comp. Pales*, or *Palos*. *Diod. S.* ii. 43. *Creuz. S.* iii. 335. 684.

⁴¹ *Pind. Nem.* x. 115.

⁴² *Paus.* ii. 2.

⁴³ *Paus.* ix. 12. 3.

⁴⁴ *Herod.* ii. 49.

author of a recent work⁴⁵ that the "great gods of Samothrace" were in reality little or subordinate gods, and we mistake the nature of the problem when perplexed by such seeming contradictions as the confounding of Cabiri or Dioscuri, or their variety of names, as Dardanus and Iasion⁴⁶, Zeus and Dionysus, Hermes Camillus and Hephæstus. It has been said that one great employment of a speculative age is to bring to light and to connect the confused trains of thought which passed through men's minds in the most unenlightened times⁴⁷, and the mythologist has in the same manner to translate into intelligible language those rapid transitions which in antiquity connected the ramifications of a complex conception, and which even the inventors, if questioned, would probably not have been able distinctly to explain. The gods of Greece are so fixed and personified in its poetry as almost entirely to conceal their essential generality of character; but in proportion as we approach the Asiatic sources of Greek ideas and population, or in any way indeed extend our view beyond the limits of the epic circle, the gods, or the humanised beings representing them, become more complex, multiform, and independent, until at last all the mysteries and contradictions of genealogies sink into the one mystery of Pantheism. Thoas, Jason, like the Dis-Æsculapius of Sinope⁴⁸, are pantheic symbols out of whom all the dramatic variety of Greek religion might be developed; Hercules, consort of the Scythian Echidna, is in possession of the bow, the bulls, and the horses of Apollo⁴⁹, and the sea-faring Jason is at once the water-god and the telluric power (Iasion), husband of Demeter and of Here. The name generally considered as corresponding with the supreme God of the Thracians, Celts, and Teutons⁵⁰, was in Greece specifically the

⁴⁵ Smith's Dictionary of Mythology, vol. i. p. 523.

⁴⁶ Athenæ, xiv. 661.

⁴⁷ D. Stewart, Philos. H. M. ch. ii.

⁴⁸ Tacit. Hist. iv. 84.

⁴⁹ Herod. iv. 8, 9.

⁵⁰ Hermes, Ἑρμῆς, or Mercurius. "Wodan, quem adjectâ litterâ Guodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universæ Germaniæ gentibus ut Deus adoratur; qui non circâ hæc tempora sed longè antè nec in Germaniâ solùm

mystic or agrarian power personated by Hermes in the earlier books of the *Iliad* ⁵¹, more dimly seen in the wise Ulysses of the *Odyssey*, who provides treasures in the underworld preparatory to his return ⁵², and more characteristically in the Bœotian Cadmus, a designation which, whatever else it might include, was primarily that of an indigenous god ⁵³, the Cabirus associated with Demeter at Thebes ⁵⁴, who, through the transformations of poetry or poetical feeling became a hero or human founder, ancestor of the Theban as of the Thracian kings. From Bœotia the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians are said to have emigrated to the banks of the Cephissus ⁵⁵, where the ancient altar of the Academy joined Hephæstus with Prometheus ⁵⁶, and from these emigrants it is said that Athens derived its phallic Hermes, and the legend associating him with Brimo-Persephone or Athene. The same people, according to Herodotus, gave to Samothrace the sacra elsewhere said to have been introduced by Dardanus from Arcadia ⁵⁷; these sacra were a virtual epitome of Greek religion ⁵⁸, a gift of mingled love and hate, either bestowed as a marriage gift by Athene, or falling from heaven at the combat of the Giants, or during the stolen intercourse of Zeus with Electra. Zeus by Maia was father of Hermes, by Electra of Iasion and Dardanus, the latter being only a subdivision of the son of Maia into two Cabiri ⁵⁹; and it is immaterial whether the separation originated among the Pelasgians of Asia or Arcadia, whether Dardanus went from Troas

sed in Græciâ fuisse perhibetur."—P. Warnefrid de Gest. Longobard. Uckert's *Germania*, p. 238.

⁵¹ "Ερμηνεύς," "δαίμων εἰών," "σῶκος."

⁵² *Odyss.* xix. 283 ^{sq.}

⁵³ Müller, *Kleine Schrift.* ii. 33. *Orchom.* 113. 453, last ed. *Schol. Lycophr.* 219. Götting (to *Hesiod*, *Theog.* 937) notices the emphatic juxtaposition of Hermes and Cadmus.

⁵⁴ *Paus.* ix. 25. 5, 6. *Comp.* ix. 22. 5.

⁵⁵ Müller, *Orchom.* 434. *Kleine Schrift.* 34. 45. *Herod.* ii. 51—5. 64. In another account the sacra were brought from Athens to Thebes by Methapus. *Paus.* iv. 1. 5; ix. 25. 5.

⁵⁶ *Strabo*, ix. 401.

⁵⁷ *Dion. Hal.* i. 68.

⁵⁸ Müller, *Orchom.* 443.

⁵⁹ *Schol. Apollon.* i. 917.

to Samothrace or from Samothrace to Troas. Each tribe was disposed to consider the kindred notions of others as derivative from its own, and to place its own conceptions and gods at the head of all similar stories and genealogies. Nor did the contradictions which ensued lead to any serious uncertainty or hostility, for the worship of nature generally tended to promote a spirit of amity, its comparisons produced agreement rather than alienation, the oriental claimed only a deeper acquaintance with the mysteries of Asclepius than the Greek antiquary⁶⁰, and Herodotus did not dream of any personal distinction between his own Zeus or Hephæstus and the deities whom, under different names, he saw worshipped in Egypt. With the same freedom the names of the Cabiri were variously rendered as Demeter, Hades, Persephone, Casmilus-Hermes; or Hephæstus and Cabiro, or the Zerynthian Aphrodite, engendering Casmilus; or Zeus, Aphrodite, and Dionysus; or Heaven, Minerva, and Earth⁶¹. The most ancient Greek religion was the idea of Nature passing through the alternations of love and strife, of life and death, represented under various symbols of physical opposition and family association. The sacred legend of Dardanus, son of Zeus and father of Erichthonius, richest of mortals⁶², is the type of many similar genealogies, as that in which Plutus was born of Ceres by Iasion, Eudorus of Hermes by Polymele, whom he met at the festival of the great goddess Artemis⁶³; that of Polydorus, the "first worshipper" of the Cadmean Dionysus⁶⁴, from Cadmus and Harmonia, and lastly, of Dionysus from Zeus. The derivation of Dardanus from Arcadia was probably founded on the local prominence of ancient Hermes-worship, and the legends in which Hermes, Pan, and Atlas seemed to converge and become identified. The rustic music of the Nomian god may represent the Pelasgian strain which preceded the invention of the lyre,

⁶⁰ Paus. vii. 23.

⁶¹ Varro in Augustin De Civ. D. vii. 28.

⁶² Iliad, xx. 215.

⁶³ Il. xvi. 173. Comp. Hymn, Ven. 118.

⁶⁴ Paus. ix. 12. 3; xvi. 3.

and the means employed by Hermes to close the hundred eyes of night (*Αργειφοντης*) were the same cosmical harmonies which made Theseus forget the sleeping Ariadne⁶⁵, and by which Osiris subdued the world⁶⁶. The murdered Argus is Hermes Cynocephalus wooer of Hecate, antithetical to the illuminated hemisphere⁶⁷, the faithful dog who expired at the return of Ulysses, the brother or mythical coordinate of Cerberus, in possession of Atlas⁶⁸. Atlas, the explorer of divine and human things⁶⁹, whose knowledge "pierced the ocean depths,"⁷⁰ who, like Cadmus, Jason, and many other objects of ancient Pelasgian worship, became in his human dress a wanderer, navigator, and astronomer, and thus a sort of Titanic hero who, in the subsequent economy of Zeus, bore the pillars of heaven at the horizon of the world⁷¹, resembles, in many respects, his grandson Hermes; he is first of sages⁷², first teacher of the seven-stringed lyre⁷³, ancestor of Homer and Hesiod⁷⁴. As familiar with the heavenly constellations⁷⁵, he resembles the æthereal Zeus Uranus; representing Prometheus as husband of Hesione or Axiothea, and standing before Zeus in the genealogy of Hermes and Dardanus. On the other hand he is placed, like Hermes, at the extreme limit of earth and heaven⁷⁶, guarding the apples of the Hesperides, the treasures of the underworld; his gardens⁷⁷ are as the pastures of Geryon, or the cave of Cacus⁷⁸, the tomb of the baffled suitors of Hippodamia⁷⁹, as of

⁶⁵ Schol. Theocr. ii. 45.

⁶⁶ Isis and Osiris, 13.

⁶⁷ Isaac Vossius de Idol. p. 190.

⁶⁸ Schol. Apollon. iv. 1399.

⁶⁹ Paus. ix. 20. 3.

⁷⁰ Comp. Hom. H. Ceres, 69.

⁷¹ Comp. Prom. Æschyl. 346. Herod. iv. 184. Hes. Theog. 749. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 44. The epithet "*ολοοφρων*," in Homer, is supposed to be the moralising version of the physical attribute "Cthonian." H. D. Müller, "Ares," p. 65ⁿ.

⁷² Diog. L. Pr. 1.

⁷³ Serv. to Æn. i. 745; viii. 134.

⁷⁴ Suidas, v. Hesiod.

⁷⁵ Virg. Æn. i. 741.

⁷⁶ Eurip. Hippol. 737.

⁷⁷ The Sun is always described as having a "garden" in the place of his retirement, as well as stables and pastures for his horses; hence the gardens of Midas, of Phœbus among the Hyperboreans (Soph. Frag. 93), the town "Kepos" on the Tauric Bosphorus (Uckert, Skythien, 491).

⁷⁸ Pherecyd. Sturz., p. 133. Didot, 33^a.

⁷⁹ Paus. vi. 21. 6.

those of Penelope, the treasury of the past, or rather the depository of "yesterdays to come." He is there Polydegmon or Polydectes, both Pluto and Plutus, or Eurypylus, the "wide-gated," the "all-receiving" grave⁸⁰. Hermes, too, is a Cthonian Zeus⁸¹; he is the oracular Trophonius⁸², the wealthy Erichthonius, the buried Æpytus⁸³; he is Polybus, husband of Polyboia or Merope (*i. q.* Sisyphus), and "lord of many flocks" (Phorbas Polymelus)⁸⁴, both descendant and ancestor of Argus. He comprises the three heroes⁸⁵ said to have met beneath the lofty towers of Pheneos⁸⁶, whose legends indicate the diffusion of his worship from Troas to Latium⁸⁷.

The issue of the sacred union of Dardanus with Chryse-Hecate, of Hephæstus with Aphrodite or Athene, Iasion with Demeter, or Hermes with all of them, had the character of the fatal dowry of the Palladium; it was sometimes harmony and fertility (Triptolemus, Eros, Polydorus), sometimes enmity and barrenness; for the rape of Helen was repeated in the disastrous abduction of Chryseis by Agamemnon, and the incest of Thyestes⁸⁸, the remote origin of the woes of the Atridæ, was itself only an iteration of the outrage offered by Hermes-Myrtilus to Hippodamia⁸⁹. Pelops, the favoured of Poseidon, builder of the first temple of Hermes⁹⁰, and who received from him the celebrated sceptre made by Hephæstus for Zeus, under-

⁸⁰ H. Ceren. 31.

⁸¹ Soph. Œd. Colon. 1568. Ajax, 382. Æschyl. Pers. 598. Chœeph. i. 110. Bothe. Guigniaut, vol. ii. 684ⁿ.

⁸² Strabo, ix. 414. Cic. N. D. iii. 22.

⁸³ Hermes-Æpytus at Tegea. Paus. viii. 47. 3. Pind. Ol. vi. 54. 133. Iliad, ii. 604. Theocrit. Id. i. 125.

⁸⁴ Apollod. ii. 5. 5. 1. Iliad, xiv. 490; xxiii. 660. Paus. ii. 16; vii. 26. Illgen to Hymn, Pyth. Apoll. 33.

⁸⁵ Evander, Anchises, and Priam. Virg. Æn. viii. 165.

⁸⁶ Paus. viii. 15. 7.

⁸⁷ Evander, son of Hermes or of Priam (Apollod. iii. 12. 5. 13), by Maia or Carmenta, was perhaps a predicate ("ευ-ανδρος") of the good genius of Italy. Anchises was buried between Mantinea and Orchomenos.

⁸⁸ Hermes-Criophorus. Paus. ii. 18. 2.

⁸⁹ Schol. Orest. Eurip. 802. 1565.

⁹⁰ Paus. v. 1. 5.

went the death of nature, for Demeter, maddened by the loss of her daughter (*i. q.* Demeter Erinnys), devoured his shoulder, and afterwards, either herself or through the intervention of Hermes, raised him in renewed beauty from the ground. His subsequent story reflecting that of the Olympic games, told how CEnomaus, king of Pisa, a son of Ares by the Pleiad Asterope⁹¹, or of Hermes or Atlas⁹², had been warned by the oracle that his daughter's marriage would be fatal to himself; and that, deeming himself invincible in the chariot race, he made it a condition that every suitor for the hand of Hippodamia who should unsuccessfully compete with him should suffer death. The race, which was from Pisa to the altar of Poseidon at the isthmus, took place at the vernal equinox, when, as each suitor started, CEnomaus offered up a ram⁹³ to Zeus, and following with his unconquered horses, like Ulysses following Diomed with a drawn sword during the night retreat from Troy with the Palladium⁹⁴, struck down many of the pretenders; until at length Pelops bribed his charioteer, Myrtilus, a son of Hermes by Proserpine⁹⁵, who, either by drawing a nail from the chariot wheel⁹⁶, or by substituting, as in the case of Icarus, a waxen one, caused CEnomaus to be thrown out and killed. Pelops, like the talisman made from his bones, was a genius of ruin as well as of conservation. A new train of misfortunes arose from the death of Myrtilus⁹⁷, whom he threw into the sea in revenge for the characteristic insult of the ithyphallic deity perpetrated by the repetition of himself; for Hippodamia is either Perse-

⁹¹ He is said to have sacrificed to Zeus "Areus." Paus. v. 14. 5.

⁹² Serv. *Æn.* viii. 130.

⁹³ The same victim was sacrificed to Pelops (Paus. v. 13. 2), to Hermes, to Ares (Zeus Areius or Laphystius).

⁹⁴ Eustathius to *Il.* x. 531, p. 822. Comp. *Odyss.* viii. 518.

⁹⁵ Or of Clymene and Zeus. Schol. *Orest. Eur.* 995. He is the ithyphallic Hermes with the "myrtle" boughs. Supr. 214.

⁹⁶ The Romans marked the years by driving a nail at the anniversary of the equinox; the defective nail in the wheel may be the break in the round of time.

⁹⁷ Soph. *Elec.* 508.

phone-Chloris⁹⁸, who, borne in the chariot of Pelops as it were in that of Pluto (Hermes Cthonius), received divine honours at Olympia⁹⁹; or she is Demeter, whose forced embrace by the autumnal "horse" annually brings forth Chloris out of Hades¹⁰⁰. The grave of Myrtilus was preserved at Pheneos in the sanctuary of Hermes¹⁰¹, and his father avenged his death by sending the golden lamb, which became the source of hate between Atreus and Thyestes. From the incest of Thyestes sprung the goat-suckled Ægisthus¹⁰², who repeated the ancient round of love and strife in the seduction of Clytemnestra, and the double murder of Atreus and Agamemnon. His honied words prevailed, when the faithful servant of the muse¹⁰³, appointed to guard the queen, had been exiled, and as if on the accomplishment of a pious work, he offered a solemn sacrifice to the gods for his success¹⁰⁴. His own murder by Orestes was a fatality as inevitable and guiltless¹⁰⁵ as that of his predecessor, or those other mythical homicides, such as that of Ædipus, or the archetypal bloodshed for which Ares was acquitted on the ancient hill of his worship by verdict of the twelve Gods. He was slain on the "eighth" year, the termination of the annus magnus¹⁰⁶, the Cthonian God, the antetype of himself, approving and authorising the deed¹⁰⁷.

In this way the acts and persons of gods and men were con-

⁹⁸ Völcker, Japetus, 355. 361.

⁹⁹ Paus. vi. 20. 10; 21. 1.

¹⁰⁰ On Hermes in connexion with Poseidon γεισιος, see Creuz. S. iii. 495.

¹⁰¹ Paus. vi. 20. 8; viii. 14. 7.

¹⁰² Apollod. i. 6. 3. 10. Ægipan, or Hermes in Capricorn.

¹⁰³ In the compact of Hermes with Apollo, the lyre was definitively consigned to the ruler of the harmonies of the upper world. Comp. Hes. Theog. 80. Pind. Pyth. i. 22 sq. Soph. Antig. 695. Eurip. Alcest. 354. Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 13, 14, and 54. Diod. S. i. 17.

¹⁰⁴ Odyss. iii. 264.

¹⁰⁵ Ib. i. 298. Æsch. Chœph. 897. Comp. Soph. Œd. Colon. 267.

¹⁰⁶ Comp. Odyss. iii. 306; iv. 82; vii. 261. Virg. Æn. i. 755; v. 46. Suidas, voc. Kadmos. On the Octoëteris Comp. Hoeck, Kreta, i. p. 247; ii. p. 120. Censorinus de Die Nat. xviii. p. 93. Müller, Orchomenos, 213 sq.

¹⁰⁷ Æsch. Chœph. i. 611. 800. 897.

founded, and the adventures of the princes of Bœotia, Attica, and Peloponnesus became a repetition of the legends of their most ancient deity. To the author of the Homeric catalogue the tomb of Hermes-Æpytus seemed of sufficient importance to be named as one of the principal characteristics of Arcadia. Arcas, son of Callisto, daughter of Lycaon by Zeus¹⁰⁸, was committed by his father to Maia or Hermes to educate¹⁰⁹, being probably himself an equivalent of his foster father¹¹⁰, and the guardianship, like that of Athene, an expedient to account for the paradoxical connection of the mortal and the god. The character of Supreme Being filled on the Cyllenian hill by Hermes-Atlas, was on the Lycæan "Olympus" occupied by Pan, the "horned Zeus,"¹¹¹ who, properly belonging to the first order of gods¹¹², was placed by Herodotus on a lower level and at a later date as a provincial innovation, partly perhaps on the pragmatistical ground of accounting for his being a son of Penelope¹¹³. But Pan, the son of Penelope, is also a son of Hermes, of Zeus, and of Uranus¹¹⁴. He is but another type of the issue of the universal marriage of the ubiquitous power with Maia, Persephone, or Penelope; who, as Zeus by the bear Callisto became father of the Arcadians, and who again as Pan or Hermes was allied with Persephone or Athene¹¹⁵. One simple idea pervades all the infinite diversity of local forms. The rapidity of thought far outstrips the resources of language, and a difference of name is compatible with similarity of character, just as different conceptions may be included under one name. The Cabiri are either two, three, or four, that is, a dualism subordinate to a trinity, engendering again a new divinity, Hermes-Cadmus, who, standing alone, represents the first Omnipotence, or united with Harmonia repeats the dualism

¹⁰⁸ Paus. viii. 4. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Apollod. iii. 8. 2.

¹¹⁰ Virg. Æn. viii. 138. Serv. to verse 130.

¹¹¹ Orph. H. 10. 12. Faunus Bicornis.

¹¹² Paus. viii. 37. 8. Hymn, Pan. 5.

¹¹³ Guigniaut, iii. 165.

¹¹⁴ Ib. pp. 152. 166. Apollod. i. 4. 1.

¹¹⁵ Creuz. S. iii. 402; iv. 67.

of his parents, giving birth to Eudorus in Arcadia, to Proventus at Eleusis. Whoever be assumed as head, whether Hephæstus, Hermes, or Ares, all ultimately coincide and identify as one the many husbands of Venus-Proserpina, the parentage of Nature, of corn and wine, the discovery of fire¹¹⁶, or again the various claims to bear the sceptre of death, the torch of day or night. In the more modern and popular language of Hellas, the converging point of all these diversified aspects would be expressed by the name "Zeus." The characteristics of the God of Nature are not obscurely marked in the legendary history of Zeus himself, in the symbols of his birth, amours and victories, in the symbolical accounts of the rise of Athene out of his head, of Dionysus from his thigh, and in the oracular prediction of his downfall¹¹⁷. But the fluctuating character of the physical deity was gradually forgotten when the poetical religion became permanently established on a moral basis. If the Being who died at Naxos as Butes, as Orpheus in Thrace, or Cænopion at Chios¹¹⁸, became immortal in Dionysus, if Hyacinthus lived for ever in Apollo¹¹⁹, or Æpytus in Hermes, it was still more necessary, when physical notions became subordinate to moral, that supreme sovereignty should have an unchanging representative in Zeus¹²⁰.

§ 23.

THE CURETES.

Polytheism was a practical analysis of monotheism; the many gods, like the variety of languages, were derived by the involun-

¹¹⁶ Hymn, Merc. 111.

¹¹⁷ Hes. Th. 892. Æschyl. Prom. 505. 885. Comp. Plato, Politicus, 269 (273). Götting ad Theog. 927.

¹¹⁸ Paus. vii. 5.

¹¹⁹ Paus. iii. 1. 3.

¹²⁰ "Εκ Διὸς βασιλῆες," Hes. Th. 96. "Διὲς" πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ Θεοὶ λεγόνται, Tzetzes, Lyc. Cassandra, 1194. "Διὸν, τὸ ἀρχικὸν καὶ βασιλικόν," Hermias to Plato, Phædrus, xxxiii. 252. "Zeus, τὸ βασιλευὸν καὶ κρατοῦν τῆς τῶν ἅπαντων φύσεως," Alex. Aphrodisiensis to Aristot. Metaph. xiii. 4.

tary operation of many minds out of the One, whose personifications may be made as numerous as the tokens of his presence¹; and the denial of a primitive monotheism² may have arisen from unwillingness to confound the glimmering consciousness of unity with the deliberate conviction of it, or from too proud an estimate of the superiority of the philosopher to the savage in a problem where both are almost equally at fault. The deity works simultaneously in heaven, earth, and sea³; he is first of architects, navigators, and musicians; for his knowledge is co-extensive with his ubiquity, comprising all the parts of space, and all the forms of thought. But worship always adopts a certain form, and of the many forms or symbols of the divine, one of the most ancient and general was that of the Sun, which, among later personifications, was most nearly represented in Apollo. For in the building of the walls of Troy, and the destruction of the Grecian rampart by the same two powers, it is impossible not to recognise the working of the two great creative and destructive elements; and the slaughter of the twelve children of Niobe by the twin offspring of Latona, as pointedly represents the death of the twelve months under the influence of sun and moon⁴. Yet Ares, Hermes, Hercules,

¹ Ἀλλας δι' ἄλλας δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐνεργείας ἐπ' ὀνόματι εἶχει. Iambl. Myst. viii. 3, p. 159, and note.

² Thirlwall's Greece, ch. vi. s. 3.

³ Virg. Georg. iv. 221. Hes. Theog. 972.

⁴ Poseidon challenges Apollo in the Iliad, (Eustathius, p. 1196. 1245,) probably for the same, or a similar reason, as that which made him contend with Helios at Corinth, (Paus. ii. 1. 6; ii. 4. 6,) or with Minerva at Athens, (comp. Eratosthenis Catast. 24. Plutarch, De Defect. Orac. 7 and 42; and de Ei Delph. 4. Paus. vii. 23. 6. Callimachi Fragm. 48. Strabo, xiv. 635,) and the festival of Apollo, the Thargelia, is also that of Helios. (Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 729. Plut. 1054. Müller, (Kleine Schriften, ii. 16,) makes it a question why, if Apollo were originally the Sun, the præ-Alexandrine writers had so entirely forgotten it. This, however, does not appear to be the case, (comp. Lobeck Aglaoph. p. 79,) although, the personification "Helios" being retained, Apollo's character, as Sun-God, would, of course, be less prominent. Yet, though disguised in the conventional or "Epic" system, the original symbolism is seen in the general significance of his attributes, in his plague-spreading arrows, his beautiful hair, his pasturing the herds of Admetus and Laomedon, his wielding the Ægis, his winter retreat to Lycia or the Hyperboreans, and

Dionysus, &c., were also sun-gods; they shared the solar emblems of the dazzling orb⁵, the golden cup, the tripod, and the lyre. The true Apollo is said to have been originally Dorian; but we know from the best testimony, that of Homer, Plato, and Aristotle⁶, that a sun-god was generally worshipped by the most ancient Greeks⁷. Diversified rites whose emblematic meaning have been laboriously explored attest the universality of a solar or astral fetichism; the foot and chariot race, the hurling of the discus, &c., mimicked the sun's diurnal course, and his subterranean passage was expressed by the nocturnal torch of Demeter, Hephæstus, or Dionysus. Ægialus and Ægeon, the Poseidon of the Ionians and Achæans⁸, is only member of a dualism, for the same tribes worshipped a sun-god⁹, born of fire or of water, occasionally drowned or cast into the sea to float within an ark, and afterwards emerging as Tennes, Dionysus, or Perseus, on the coast which was to be the scene of his worship¹⁰. The name Hellen, the eponymous hero or deity of the Æolians, often used interchangeably with that of Apollo or Zeus¹¹, may possibly itself be only an appellation of the Sun or Helios, in a shorter form¹², a denomination which seems to have accompanied the Pelasgians from particularly in the emblematic staff of the Daphnephoria (Müller, Orchom. 215. Proclus in Photius, 989 (or 525). Paus. x. 10, and in the facility with which his name absorbed and incorporated those of all other Sun-Gods.

⁵ Orph. H. xi. 11. Frag. 7. Pind. Pyth. i. 19.

⁶ Comp. Plato, Laws, x. 2.

⁷ Comp. Æsch. Chœph. 971.

⁸ Achæans, "sons of the waters"? from ach, aqua, aquosus, aquitania; hence Achilles, Achelous, &c. Müller, Mythol. p. 230, Transl.

⁹ The Delian Apollo, established in the Cyclades by the colony of Neleus or Poseidon, whither sacred embassies continued to be sent from their original home. Paus. iv. 4. 1. Hoeck, Kreta, ii. 129.

¹⁰ Cic. N. D. iii. 15. Tzetzes to Lycophron, 370. Paus. iii. 24. 3. Apollod. ii. 4. 1. 3.

¹¹ Comp. Apollod. i. 7. 3. and 6. Paus. v. 8. Euripid. Melanippe, Frag. 2. Ion. 63. Pind. Pyth. iv. 191. Hes. Frag. Göttling, 29.

¹² From ἡλιος, splendour. Helios, son of Perseus, founds the city Helos. Apollod. ii. 4. 5. Strabo, viii. 359, a name often occurring in places where the derivation from ἡλος, a marsh, is inapplicable. Müller, Orchom. 50.

their remote dwelling in Hellopia in Thesprotia, the country of the Helli or Selli, and to have been shared by the Hyllæans and Illyrians¹³. Earth and Apollo-Helios were parents of the Tritopatores, the progenitors of the Attic Demi¹⁴, so that this Sun-Apollo became the ancestral deity or first term in Ionian genealogy¹⁵. Ion, husband of the moon¹⁶, the eponym of what was once an unimportant tribe of Ægialea¹⁷, is himself the god of light, or Apollo-Xuthus¹⁸, brought up in his own Delphian temple, at whose presence, in the Attic poet, the sun breaks forth:

“Ὁ γαγενάτας δομος ουκετι
 νυκτας δερκεται,
 ἡλίου δ'αναβλεπει λαμπασι —”

while Dorus and Achæus are placed by this authority in an inferior rank as sons of the mortal father¹⁹. The whole mythology of Greece confutes the view²⁰ which would oppose its religion as a mere fetichism of stocks, stones, or animals with the symbolical star worship of Asia. Throughout its stories and genealogies, the elements and every part of Nature are in dramatic action, and in relationship to man. These legends, which in their primitive form may be called Orphic or Cabiric, and which were preserved in comparative purity at Thebes, Samothrace, or Eleusis, became disguised, yet not altogether lost, by being incorporated with heroic poetry²¹. We still see the offspring of Thetis contending against the sons of Apollo²²; the sons of fire in Thessaly are at war with the

¹³ Müller, Dor. i. 14.

¹⁴ Philochor. Frag. 2, Didot.

¹⁵ Cic. N. D. Creuz. 595. 599. Schol. Aristid. Panath. 97, p. 28, Dindorf. Plato, Euthyd. 302. Creuz. S. ii. 557.

¹⁶ Helice.

¹⁷ Afterwards Achaia. Herod. i. 143; vii. 94. Iliad, ii. 575. Paus. iii. 55.

¹⁸ Eurip. Ion. 10. 41. 82. 1467. Paus. vii. 1.

¹⁹ Ion. 1589. Comp. Eustath. to Odys. x. 2. The Puanepsia, celebrated by Theseus on his return from Crete, were, according to some, in honour of Apollo, according to others of Helios.

²⁰ Böttiger's.

²¹ Müller, Orchom. 451.

²² Tennes, Hector, &c.

children of the mist, (the Centaurs²³), and the story is repeated in the secular feud of Ephyreans and Gyrtonians²⁴, of Phlegyans and Minyans, Minyas²⁵ descended from Poseidon being head of a genealogy of infernal powers, such as Orchomenus²⁶, Erginus, the "gaoler," son of Clymenus-Hades²⁷, and Periclymene-Persephone²⁸, who exacted a yearly tribute from the Thebans, until the latter were released by their champion Hercules²⁹. This genealogy is connected through Periclymene, as others through Alcestis, with that of Pheræ in Thessaly³⁰, another site of Cthonian worship³¹, where Apollo fed the flocks of Admetus, (Pluto Adamastos,) and again, through Chloris with Neleus, (probably the "unrelenting,") king of Pylus in Triphylia, an eponym of the Power said to have been there wounded in a personal encounter with the Dorian Hercules, who served him as "Eurystheus" in Mycenæ.

In almost all these legends, it is noticeable that the God of the lower world is a compound of Poseidon and Hades³², and

²³ Müller, Orchom. p. 192, speaks of the birth of Centaurs from Nephele and Ixion as a late addition to the story; but then whence came the horse form, and the name "*κέν-ταυροι*," bull-slayers, unless from the ancient conception which made the wet season the destroyer of the dry, symbolised in the antithesis of horse and bull, the latter being the appropriate offering to Poseidon Hippius, hewn to pieces by the weird sisters in the temple of his subterranean consort at Hermione. Com. Creuz. S. iv. 202. "These sons of earth and heaven, of the clouds, or of the springs and rivers, are physical beings," says Creuzer, "personified under the common symbolical imagery of nature worship."

²⁴ Müller, Orchom. 188, 189.

²⁵ Also a son of Ares, Helios, or Sisyphus. (Müller, Orchom. 132.)

²⁶ *i. e.* "Orcus," the wealthy, the rapacious, "*Libitinæ quæstus*." Comp. Iliad, ix. 381. Soph. Œd. Tyr. 30. "Thesaurus Orcinus." Aul. Gell. Noct. A. i. 24, Gronov.

²⁷ from *εργω*, *i. e.* Orcus, Pluto, or Hermes Cthonius. Müller, Orchom. 149ⁿ. 4. The idea of Orcus was that of a brazen prison, *ἐργος*. Hes. Th. 725.

²⁸ Buttmann, die Minyæ der ältesten Zeit. Mythol. vol. ii. p. 197. 200.

²⁹ Schol. Theocrit. xvi. 105. Müller, Orchom. 60. 178. 203. Eurip. Herc. Furens, 50. 220.

³⁰ Hyg. Fab. 14. Schol. Alcestis Eur. 17. Comp. Müller, Orchom. 251.

³¹ Müller, Dor. i. 327, Transl.

³² In the legend of the Demeter of Thelpusa and Phigalia (Paus. viii. 42. 2), and as father of the horse "Arion," Poseidon is evidently confounded with Ares and

when the Phæacian children of Poseidon in Homer are said to have lived "near to the Gods," and to have been repeatedly visited by them, the poet seems indirectly to tell us that the original dwelling of these latter was not on Olympus, (the upper world, "Hypereia,") but partly, at least, in the under world of Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus, the western bourne of the diurnal passage of those alternate or "Titanic" beings, among whom the father of Zeus, within a specified boundary still continued his ancient reign. The services of the antique Samian Heræum³³, founded, it was said, by the Leleges, were significantly referred to "Admete" daughter of Eurystheus³⁴, as most appropriate minister of the Argive Goddess whose choicest gift was the sleep of death³⁵. The Arcadian Pelasgi were said to have "*preserved*" the old worship of their mysterious Demeter throughout all their revolutions³⁶; and in Eleusis, Thelpusa, in almost every part of Greece, the same Cthonian worship derived from the Ante-Hellenic population³⁷, of which we have already observed traces in Hesiod, was more or less prevalent. It was commonly carried on in crypts or caverns, (*μεγαρα* and *βοθροι*,) or in artificial adyta resembling them, treasuries of Atreus and Minyas, the marriage-chamber of Semele, Persephone, or Harmonia³⁸. The Demeter-Hercyna³⁹ of Lebadea presided over the oracle of Trophonius, reputed her nursling or her son, and, at Hermione, boys crowned with garlands of the woeful hyacinth led the procession of the eponymous Goddess⁴⁰. The ceremony of descending to consult Trophonius is described in Pausanias⁴¹, with the preparatory drinking the waters of Lethe and Mnemosyne, the sacrifice of a

Hades (Müller, Eumenid. p. 199). Ares again becomes a sort of Typhon or Poseidon, when metamorphosed into a fish in Egypt. (Anton. Lib. 28.)

³³ Paus. vii. 4. 4.

³⁴ Athenæ, xv. 672.

³⁵ Herod. i. 31.

³⁶ Herod. v. 61.

³⁷ Paus. iii. 13. 2.

³⁸ Empedoclis Fr. v. 438.

³⁹ Müller, Orchom. 139. 149, by whom "Hercyna" is explained as "Orcina." Comp. the description of Tartarus as "*ἔρκος*" in Hesiod. Th. 725.

⁴⁰ "Cthonia." Preller, Demeter, p. 199. Hesych. voc. Hermione. Paus. ii. 35. 3. Orph. Argonaut. 1140.

⁴¹ ix. 39. 4.

ram over a pit ("ἐς βοθρον"⁴²), and the bathing by night in the river Hercyna. Triptolemus, Trophonius, Iasion, are inferred by Müller⁴³ to be correlated Beings connected with agriculture, and with the religious sentiment which from agricultural phenomena interpreted the harvest either as a theft won from the treasury of the under world, or as a boon to be bought only by an expiatory ceremony, such as that in which the daughter of Minyas gave her son to be torn in pieces by the Mænades, or in which some member of the Zeus-descended house of Athamas was devoted to purchase the favour of heaven to bless the ground⁴⁴. This telluric or agrarian character was, according to Völcker⁴⁵, the basis of the aboriginal religion of the Pelasgi, most prominently exhibited in the symbols of Hermes—"Cthonius," and in those of the more retiring powers, Dionysus and Demeter, a God or Goddess buried, or withdrawing to the shades, yet still esteemed the fountain of wealth and talisman of safety. It continued longest in districts least disturbed by conquests and immigrations, as Attica and Arcadia, where the buried Erechtheus was propitiated with yearly sacrifices of lambs and bulls⁴⁶, and where Pelops or Myrtilus, who raised the first temples to Hermes, were Cthonian⁴⁷ Powers honoured even before Zeus⁴⁸.

In the fertile Pelasgian plains of Argos, Eleusis, and Bœotia⁴⁹, inhabited by a race not yet Hellenic, the worship of Demeter, and of the dying and reviving Dionysus⁵⁰, was celebrated by the priestly races of Eumolpus, Tiresias, and Melampus, long before its fusion with the kindred Asiatic orgiasm of Sabazius and Cybele⁵¹, giving rise to the greater portion of that

⁴² Comp. Tzetzes, Lycoph. 684. Od. xi. 25.

⁴³ Orchom. 150.

⁴⁴ Müller, Orchom. 160. 162.

⁴⁵ P. 351. 369 of his Japetus.

⁴⁶ Iliad, ii. 550.

⁴⁷ Hercules sacrificed to Pelops "ἐς βοθρον." Paus. v. 1. 15; v. 13. 1 and 2.

⁴⁸ Schol. Pind. Ol. i. 149. Paus. viii. 14. 7.

⁴⁹ Comp. the phrase "Πελασγικον ουδας" in Müller, Orchom. 120. Asius in Pausan. viii. 1. Athenæ, xiv. 639.

⁵⁰ Paus. ii. 35. 4; viii. 35. 2. Herod. ii. 50.

⁵¹ Völcker, Japetus, p. 98. Müller, Kleine Schrift. ii. 29.

bewildering variety of legend which enriched the later poetry of Greece. The superstition of the mountaineers seems, from the course of its development, to have been of a different, at all events, a less sombre stamp. This, though assuredly not the worship of the Olympian Di Superi, divested altogether of that gloomy feeling which became eventually concentrated upon the infernal powers and their abodes⁵², may have yet been in some respects an approach to it. It would be far beyond the proper limits of conjecture to attempt to specify the peculiar nature of such Deities; but it is remarkable that many even of the gods eventually restricted to the upper world betray, in many peculiarities, unmistakeable vestiges of alternation or "Titanism;" and this not only indirectly, as in their local proximity to the Phæacians, Cyclops, and Giants above adverted to⁵³, but in personal characteristics and adventures. Ares, for example, was inclosed in a brazen jar during a period determined probably by astronomical reasons, Minerva and Hephæstus fell like meteors from heaven, the unruly gods were flung headlong over the steep verge by their irritated parent⁵⁴, even Zeus occasionally absented himself from Olympus, and was threatened with imprisonment by the rebel powers⁵⁵, who were imagined by post-Homeric poets to have undergone a banishment, similar to that of Apollo⁵⁶ in consequence of the attempt. On the other hand, the powers eventually accounted subtelluric did not always strictly conform to the conditions of their separate investiture⁵⁷; Hades wounded by the arrow sought a remedy on Olympus⁵⁸, and the priestly author of the hymn to Hecate

⁵² Comp. Iliad, viii. 368.

⁵³ Or in their name "*Ουρανίωτες*" (Iliad, xxiv. 612) shared with the Titans, but which may be understood as applied to them in respect of their eventual dwelling-place.

⁵⁴ Iliad, xv. 23.

⁵⁵ Ib. i. 400.

⁵⁶ It was said that the slayer of the Python was not really exiled to Tempe, but removed for nine "great years" to the *other world*, whence he returned to occupy the ancient oracle of Themis. Plutarch, de Defect. Orac. ch. 21.

⁵⁷ Hymn to Ceres, 87.

⁵⁸ Iliad, v. 398.

in the Theogony vaunts the still ubiquitous character of his patroness as a Titan, and as still retaining her empire in heaven as well as in earth and sea⁵⁹. This universal or Titanic character became eventually confined to those among the gods called in opposition to the Epic personifications, "mystic" or Orphic, or to those whose fluctuating nature was dramatised into a permanent office of ministration, as in the case of Hermes, who releases the other powers, and maintains a general connection between the upper and lower world. The same mediatorial relation enters less obtrusively but with equal certainty into the attributes of Poseidon, who, under the name of his relative, Briareus or Ægeon, assisted Zeus, as Oceanus in Æschylus brings consolation to Prometheus. Generally a friend of the destroying principle, hostile to Troy and delayer of Ulysses, he is not however a destroyer only, but also a builder, restorer, and liberator. As the sea-goddess, Thetis, rescues Hephæstus after his fall, Dionysus from his enemy, the corpse of Patroclus from decay, and that of Achilles from the funeral pile, so Poseidon occasionally performs the part of Hermes, as by interposing in favour of the captured Ares⁶⁰; and though, as closing the brazen doors of Hades⁶¹ and reckoning Periclymenus among his children⁶², he might be said to be one of the conspirators against Zeus⁶³, yet under another aspect (as Ægeon) he rescued Zeus from imprisonment, repeating, in regard to the rebel Olympians, the assistance he had already given to his brother against the Titans⁶⁴, that succour⁶⁵ for which Styx obtained the most distinguished honours among the Oceanides⁶⁶. The story of Helen being detained by Proteus⁶⁷ on her way to Troy in company with Paris, is

⁵⁹ Theog. 413. 421. 427.

⁶⁰ Odyss. viii. 345. Comp. Iliad, v. 390.

⁶¹ Hes. Theog. 732.

⁶² Apollod. i. 9. 9.

⁶³ Iliad, i. 400. Comp. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i. 1165.

⁶⁴ *i. e.* as one of the Centimani.

⁶⁵ Hence the emphatic exception of Oceanus from the number of the Titanic conspirators who put an end to the generations of Uranus. Apollod. i. 1. 4.

⁶⁶ Theog. 397.

⁶⁷ Herod. ii. 112. 118.

probably only another version of her being carried by Hermes to the same personage⁶⁸, who, as son of Oceanus or Poseidon, might be supposed to provide the most appropriate receptacle for the powers of Nature during their obscuration or decline. For the same reason that Thetis rescues Hephæstus or Dionysus, that the Oceanid Metis administers the emetic which obliges Cronus to disgorge his offspring⁶⁹, or that Eurynome (another Oceanid?) makes the bed of Ulysses⁷⁰, Poseidon is represented as stabling the tired horses of Zeus⁷¹, and the proverbial saying that the sea washes out all human ills⁷², or, at least, steepes them in Lethe⁷³, is beautifully indicated in the hospitable reception of Ulysses in Ogygia ("Ocean-land") by the water nymph Calypso⁷⁴, the friend of Proserpina⁷⁵, as also in the delivery of Peleus through the intervention of the horse god (Chiron) who under another form (Poseidon) supplied him with the same victorious horses which he gave to Pelops⁷⁶.

If in these relations Poseidon appears nearly allied with Hades, in equal proportion does he tend to coalesce with the great elemental genius and general liberator Hermes⁷⁷, until the restrictions of personal individuality relax and disappear in a common symbol, such as Erechtheus, Butes, or Atlas⁷⁸.

⁶⁸ Eurip. *Helen*, 46.

⁶⁹ Apollod. i. 2. 1.

⁷⁰ Odyss. xx. 4.

⁷¹ Iliad, viii. 440.

⁷² Schol. Lycophr. 135. Comp. Odyss. xx. 65. 79. Iliad, i. 314.

⁷³ Comp. Odyss. xxiii. 282.

⁷⁴ "Concealment;" she was daughter of Atlas in Homer; but this, as Völker has shown, is no real inconsistency.

⁷⁵ Hymn to Ceres, 422.

⁷⁶ Apollod. iii. 13. 5. Pind. Ol. ii. 115. Iliad, xxiii. 277. Comp. the winged horses which delivered Bellerophon, Adrastus, &c.

⁷⁷ The Heraclitean theory of the intermediate position of the sea between the finer and grosser elements (Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 14, p. 599) is a different application of the same symbol.

⁷⁸ Comp. Iliad, xx. 24. Creuz. Symb. 491. 501 sq. Laur. Lydus de mens. Röther, p. 238. The husband of Demeter being the equivalent of the wooer of her daughter Proserpina-Penelope.

If further we attempt to resolve the relative agency of these allied beings into its probable origin as part of the general conception of the godhead, it will appear as if the Olympian gods had themselves been originally Titans, Titans however not in the Homeric sense as exclusively "hypotartarean," but as passing from one hemisphere to another, and exercising the alternate office which Hermes alone among the Epic gods continued openly to perform. Homer's Titans are of necessity removed out of the way in order to make room for the more decided personality of his gods, who however indirectly betray their essentially Titanic nature when rescued or restored by the good offices of the lower world, or provided through the instrumentality of the waters with an opportunity of return, or, as it were, with horses to wing their flight; and as Europe could not be said to have been fairly discovered until the idea of Asia was defined, so the Titans, as a class, were never, properly speaking, worshipped, because they only existed in that conceptional actuality which they never possessed until the forms and functions of the Olympians were arrayed in opposition to them. The dissimilarity yet identity of the Homeric gods with the Titans would seem to be one of the great problems of Greek theology. The original characters of the former may be supposed to be more clearly revealed in the heroes connected with them as sons or descendants, Ares for instance in his son Tereus⁷⁹, or in CEnomaus⁸⁰, Apollo in Orestheus, or the migratory Orestes⁸¹, or the Hyperborean Apollo-"Agrius" alluded to in the old legend of the mortal and dying Lycurgus⁸², who persecuted the god Dionysus. There was doubtless some remote age and clime in which the attributes of Apollo and Dionysus, of

⁷⁹ Paus. i. 41. 8.

⁸⁰ Called "*γαμβροκτονος*." Lycophr. 161. Zeus "Areios." Paus. v. 14. 5.

⁸¹ Paus. viii. 3. 1, said to lie buried in Apollo's temple; that is, he was in a certain sense identical with him.

⁸² Worshipped, however, according to Strabo, in Thrace, *i. e.* as Apollo "Lycorgus."

Hermes and Zeus, were associated in one⁸³; when the Melampodidæ and Corybantes needed no reconciliation with the God of Delphi⁸⁴, when the work of the Thracian Orpheus was properly confounded with that of the Hyperborean Abaris⁸⁵, and when a Cimmerian or Sintian (Scindian?) race driven from the interior of Asia to those shores of the Phasis and Mæotis⁸⁶ so intimately connected with Grecian history, both mythical and real⁸⁷, brought along with them a deity⁸⁸ comprising the sun, the water, and the grave among his aspects, the rising and setting power, in connection with whom the idea of a transference or revival of the spirit passed into Greece through Scythia and Thrace⁸⁹. At this point the expeditions and persons of Bacchus and Hercules, the gardens of Phœbus and of Midas, are undistinguishable. But in course of time, the peculiar character of the deity was determined by the forms of his worship, and the same god assumed on the plains and mountains, or rather in the poetry, of Greece the distinguishing characteristics which afterwards continued to mark the Di Superi and Inferi, the Olympian and Cthonian powers⁹⁰. It was a result of this subdivision that the Pelasgian Hermes or Dionysus be-

⁸³ Plutarch, de Ei Delph. ch. 9. Macrob. Sat. i. 18.

⁸⁴ Diod. S. Excerpt. vol. ii. p. 546. Odyss. xv. 255. Strabo, x. p. 194. Tch. 471. Cas. Apollo might then have been called a son of Zeus-Silenus. Porphyry. Vit. Pythag. p. 30, Kiessling. Creuz. S. 4. 51, and have been supposed to be killed like Dionysus.

⁸⁵ Paus. iii. 13. 2.

⁸⁶ Herod. iv. 11. Ritter, Vorhalle, p. 162. Hudson's Geogr. Min. vol. ii. Scymnus Chius, p. 52. Strabo, xi. p. 141.

⁸⁷ On the mythical connection of Corinth and Colchis, comp. Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 74. Tzetzes to Lycophr. 174. Of the Tauric Artemis Iphigenia with Lemnos and Attica, Müller, Orchom. 305.

⁸⁸ For instance, the "Koros-Buddha" of Ritter, the god of the Cercetes (Tcherkesses) of Scylax (p. 31 Huds. vol. i.), the Coraxi, &c., the Hercules or Jason of Greece, the Dis-Æsculapius of Cimmerian Sinope.

⁸⁹ *e. g.* Xamolxis, Aristeas, Abaris, Pythagoras, *i. e.* Apollo himself. Iamblich. Vit. Pythag. p. 196. 294, Kiessling.

⁹⁰ Comp. Preller, "Demeter and Persephone," p. 184, note.

came the mythical rival of the Hellenic Apollo, and the Homeric hymn beautifully describes the eventful circumstances of the final treaty, in which the Cthonian power barter the assured harmonies of the world in exchange for the perquisite stolen indeed, yet rightfully his own, those backward-stalking bulls whose feet rooted to the ground by the enchanter's art announce the irrevocable doom which bind the past to the world of shadows. The two systems or classes, hitherto unformed because united, became for a time separated⁹¹. Ares, for example, is no longer the being (Midas) who perished by drinking bulls' blood, whose secret was in the pit, the prostrate giant entombed under the stone of Minerva or guarding the treasures of the golden fleece in the Colchian grove of Hecate, but the angry aspect of nature in the upper hemisphere, husband of Aphrodite but slayer of Adonis, the avenging Apollo, (Orestes-Tisamenus?) to whom his analogy may be seen in the parentage of Cynus, the dealing of pestilence⁹², and in other traces of his dualistic nature⁹³. The sons of Ares are sometimes called Phlegyans⁹⁴, that is, "incendiaries,"⁹⁵ a race tyrannical and overbearing⁹⁶, foes to God and man, though intimately connected with both⁹⁷, and in particular described as threatening the city of Cadmus⁹⁸, and as violating the proper Apollinic worship of Delphi. Yet they probably represent a prior aspect of the same aboriginal religion. Minyas himself was a son of Ares, the worship of Zeus Laphystius was in a sense that

⁹¹ Müller, *Kleine Schrift.* ii. 237.

⁹² Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 27. 190. The "*πυρφόρος Θεός*."

⁹³ *e. g.* as "Pæan," Soph. *Ajax*, 706.

⁹⁴ From Phlegyas, son of Ares and Chryse, father of Coronis, from whom by Apollo or Ischys Asclepius.

⁹⁵ Comp. *Iliad*, iv. 312; xiii. 688.

⁹⁶ Strabo, ix. 414^d, "regardless of Zeus" (*H. Apollo*, 270), *i. e.* uncompliant to the moral rule of the modern gods.

⁹⁷ Undistinguishable from the Lapithæ, the sons of Cœneus, *i. e.* Mars, models of strength and courage of the olden time. *Iliad*, i. 262. Müller, *Orchom.* 190, 191. 194.

⁹⁸ Schol. *Apollon. Rh.* i. 735.

of Dionysus⁹⁹, and the posterity of the Hercules "Cytissorus," who released Athamas, became themselves liable to the curse hereditary in their race¹⁰⁰. The poetry and theology of the dwellers of the plains retired before the fierce tribes of the interior, surviving only in minstrelsy bequeathed to record the exploits of the conquerors, or in legends which they partly incorporated with their own, and partly consigned to the more reserved keeping of mysteries¹⁰¹. The revolution appears to have been accompanied by a general exchange of sacerdotal kingship for the rule of warrior chiefs or heroes apart from the priesthood, and constituting, under various names, Achæans, Ionians, or Dorians, a feudal aristocracy¹⁰² distinct from the conquered, who became helots, *i. e.* slaves, or feudatory Penestæ, Pericæci, or Teleontes. The great historical movement of the Grecian population caused by the inroad of those "sons of Hercules," who from Thessaly and Macedonia came to be ancestors of the princes of Thebes and Argos, was probably only the last of a long series of similar revolutions either less important in themselves, or less celebrated in song¹⁰³. After the Thessalian deluge, Deucalion, father of Orestheus, the type of the Æolian inhabitants of the country, and his wife Pyrrha, a personification, as supposed by some, of the country itself¹⁰⁴, appear among the mountains of Central Greece surrounded by Leleges and Curetes, both described as wandering and warlike races¹⁰⁵, extending through the highlands from Acarnania to Eubœa, and afterwards entering Peloponnesus. A new Æolis was founded in Ætolia¹⁰⁶, and Ætolia afterwards sent colonists

⁹⁹ Müller, Orchom. 132. 168.

¹⁰⁰ Ib. 159. Herod. vii. 173. 197.

¹⁰¹ Müller, Orchom. 446.

¹⁰² Called in Homer, Hesiod &c., "βουλευφοροι" and "εξοχοι ανδρες," "βασιλεις," "πολεμαρχοι," &c. Müller, ib. 117. 181. Paus. i. 31. 2.

¹⁰³ Comp. Herod. ii. 53. Buttmann, Myth. ii. 260, 261.

¹⁰⁴ Apollod. Frag. p. 430. Strabo, ix. 443.

¹⁰⁵ References in Volcker, p. 373. Comp. Aristot. in Strabo, vii. 321^d.

¹⁰⁶ Thucyd. iii. 102. Apollod. i. 7. 7.

under Oxylus¹⁰⁷ to Elis. In Elis, the land of Augeas, the "shining," the son of Helios, first governed by Endymion who had fifty daughters by his wife Asterodia or the moon¹⁰⁸, the Olympic games were instituted by Curetes, while their associates, the Leleges, one of those problematical races who in different sites appear under different forms, and the etymology of whose name, as hinted in the Hesiodic fragment¹⁰⁹, would simply mark them as autochthonous, became ancestors of the Laconians and Messenians. All were probably included among those Æolian worshippers of Poseidon and descendants of Helios who had already witnessed the battle of the elements in their native Thessaly, where Hercules founded Elone among the Lapithæ in memory of his victory over the Centaurs¹¹⁰, and where the Phlegyans of Gyrton or Corton, the city of Coronus and Ixion¹¹¹, carried on their hereditary warfare against the Thessalian Ephyreans¹¹². In their eventual establishments the peculiar patrons of each tribe seem to have been more accurately ascertained. The children of the daughter of the Sun¹¹³ by Poseidon adopted at Pylus the religion of their father, while the Corinthians who worshipped Poseidon on the shore, consecrated their citadel to Helios as their tutelary Zeus¹¹⁴. It was at Corinth, the "Sun city," "Heliopolis,"¹¹⁵ where the ele-

¹⁰⁷ Son of Ares, the "sharp-sighted," or the triophthalmic. Müller, Dor. i. 61. Hom. H. Apollo, 374.

¹⁰⁸ Paus. v. 1.

¹⁰⁹ 35 Götting, λεκτους εκ γαιης, or "men made from stones." Comp. Pind. Ol. ix. 70.

¹¹⁰ Schol. Iliad, ii. 739.

¹¹¹ Schol. Apollon. i. 57. Steph. Byz. ad v. Strabo, vii. 380; ix. 439. 442. The Gyrtonians were also called Phlegyans.

¹¹² Müller, Orchom. 188.

¹¹³ Tyro. Hom. Od. xi. 236.

¹¹⁴ Paus. ii. 1 and 6. Aristides, Isthmicus, tom. i. p. 44 (40 Dindorf). Müller treats the Corinthian sun religion and the Poseidonian as succeeding each other. Æginetica, i. 7, p. 27.

¹¹⁵ Eustat. ad Iliad, ii. 570. Steph. Byz. Ephyre. The grave of Neleus-Poseidon. Paus. ii. 2. 2.

ments were thus apportioned to their respective sovereigns, that Bellerophon caught the Neptunian emblem of the winged horse by Peirene, and that the Æolid Sisyphus, the "spy of gods and men,"¹¹⁶ detected the rape of Ægina from the rock of Epope. Sisyphus banished from his throne preserves even in hell his real office¹¹⁷, his stone being the solar disc which he strives to roll up the steep of the zodiac.

When Corybas is made father of Apollo, and the Curetes and Corybantes his children¹¹⁸, the story must be understood as implying a fusion of the proper Apollinic worship with that of the older sun-gods of Phrygia and Crete. But this amalgamation of ideas was facilitated by their prior affinity. The Delphic oracle was said to have been discovered by "Coretas," who gave his name to the Corycian cave, to Lycorea, and even to the oracle itself ("Cortina")¹¹⁹. We have already seen instances of a form of worship confounded with the idea of a fictitious nation in the Amazons, as it was also in the Telchines, the Cabiri or Cabiræi in Pausanias, &c.; and, possibly, the name of Cretheus and many others¹²⁰, particularly that of the Curetes, may be interpreted as marks of a widely extended form of religion¹²¹, of which the armed or pyrrhic dance in honour of the sun was a principal feature¹²². Both Acarnania and Ætolia were anciently called Curetis¹²³, that is, the abori-

¹¹⁶ "Epopeus," Hom. Hymn, Ceres, 62.

¹¹⁷ Σίσυφος, the wise God, σίους γὰρ οἱ Δωριεῖς φασὶ τοὺς θεοὺς—συσφός δὲ ὁ σοφὸς παρὰ Αἰολέουσι. Eustath. to Odyss. λ. p. 1702. Pherecyd. Sturz. 166. Pind. Ol. xiii. 74. Sisyphus seems partly Atlas-Hermes, partly a Sol inferus; the Corinthians, "οἱ ἀπὸ Σίσυφου," were his descendants. Philostr. Heroic, xix. 14, p. 739.

¹¹⁸ Cic. N. D. iii. 23. Strabo, x. 472. Schol. Lycophr. 78. Apollod. i. 3, 4.

¹¹⁹ Paus. ix. 24. 4.

¹²⁰ Such as Kerkyon, Corythus, Coræbus killing the monster sent by Apollo (Paus. i. 43. 7), Cercaphus, son of Helios. Plutarch, de Fluv. Huds. p. 38.

¹²¹ Paus. viii. 24. Strabo, x. 462.

¹²² Strabo, x. 467 (162. 278. Tch.). Hemsterheus's Lucian, i. 226. Paus. iii. 25. 2. "Pyrrhicus" was said to be one of them. Strabo, x. 163. Tch. Nonn. Dion. xxiv. 75.

¹²³ Steph. Byz. "Athenæ," and "Κουρηνς." Apollod. i. 7. 6. Apollon. Rh. iv. 1229.

ginal¹²⁴ country of the Curetes, who appear sometimes as an orgiastic priesthood circling round the altars of the sun, and attendant on Deucalion or Zeus¹²⁵, sometimes as gods themselves, though usually of a subordinate class¹²⁶. Strabo appears to have considered them as originally priests performing orgiastic rites¹²⁷; not, however, the charlatans or cheats which they would seem to modern scepticism, but men who, under the influence of a religious frenzy, as unaccountable to themselves as to others, became ideally blended with the divinity which was supposed to agitate them. It was only when in a later age these ceremonies had been made an object of reflective speculation, that the visible agent became as it were merged and forgotten in the spiritual, and that the human performers of a mysterious rite were permanently elevated into a class of problematical divinities, like the Anactes or Anaces of Athens or Amphissa¹²⁸, the Tritopatores, Dioscuri, Satyri, &c.¹²⁹ Like other Nature gods they had an equivocal character, as alternately sportive or malevolent¹³⁰, and in particular were to Zeus what the Pans and Satyrs were to Dionysus, the Corybantes to Cybele, the Charites to the Acidalian Aphrodite, the Muses to Apollo¹³¹. They were supposed to have performed among the gods the pantomimic dance common among rude tribes, and which, like other human practices, such as eating, leaping, and

¹²⁴ Strabo rejects the idea of the derivation of the Ætolian Curetes out of Crete, x. 466. (p. 154. Tch.)

¹²⁵ Dion. Hal. i. 17.

¹²⁶ Strabo, x. p. 203. Tchuk. Diod. S. v. 65. Paus. iii. 25; iv. 31.

¹²⁷ x. 155. 157. Tch.; and where he speaks of the "connection" of the legend of the birth of Zeus with these practices (171. Tch.), as an afterthought: "*προσποιημένοι μύθον περί της του Διός γενέσεως.*"

¹²⁸ Paus. x. 38.

¹²⁹ Cic. N. D. iii. 21. Eurip. Bacchæ, 120. 130. A theoretical subdivision of their chief or parent, but collectively identical with him around whom they danced. Welcker, Tril. 196.

¹³⁰ Hes. ap. Strab. x. 471. Orph. H. xxxvii. 14.

¹³¹ Eurip. Cyclops. 220. "*προπολοι,*" or attendants.

wrestling, was adopted in the ritual of religions¹³². The tumultuous excitement of barbarian worship, which also characterised many of the religious celebrations of the Greeks, contributed to swell the legendary accounts of the gods in whose honour it was performed; and, if it be allowable to give a preference to one among many conjectures about a word so notoriously the object of speculation¹³³, we may adduce the opinion of a distinguished scholar¹³⁴ who derives the word Chor, or Choros, an ancient name of the sun, out of Asia¹³⁵, according to which "Curetes" would mean sun-worshippers, indicating a form of worship as widely extended as their name¹³⁶. Hence they were confounded with the Phrygian

¹³² Plato, Laws, 799. 2 Samuel, vi. 14. Robertson's America, ii. 182. Lucian de Salt. xvi. p. 277. Creuz. S. ii. 367ⁿ. Dancing, like hunting, (Xen. Cyneg. ch. 1), wrestling, and song, was supposed to be of divine institution.

¹³³ In preference to the explanation "young warriors," Iliad, xix. 193. 248. Strabo, x. 467; though the two etymologies may possibly be connected. Comp. Böttiger, Ideen, ii. 5. Hoeck, Kreta, i. 202. Strabo says justly, "*πλεοναχως ετυμολογειν τους Κουρητας εν ευπορω κειται.*"

¹³⁴ Carl. Ritter, "Vorhalle Europaischer Volkergeschichten," p. 82, 83, sq. 89.

¹³⁵ Whence the race of the Kurus, or "sons of the Sun," whose war with the Pandus is described in the Maha-Bharata, the Pandoos being favourites of Crishna, the Kurus probably a reminiscence of the inhabitants of the extreme north, "Uttara Kuru," whence the Iranians came into India. (Comp. Lassen. Ant. i. 526.) From the same source comes the word Khorasan, "land of the Sun," and the name of the river and king called by the Greeks "Κυρος" and "Κορος." "Κυρον καλουσιν οι Περσαι τον 'Ηλιον." Plut. Vit. Artaxerx. ch. 1. Κορος—ὁ βασιλευς των Περσων ὁ παλαιος 'Ηλιου γαρ εχει τουνομα. Etym. Magn. p. 530. Comment. to Dionys. Perieg. 1073. "Cor," Welsh, "a circle." Hence, Χορος, κυκλος. Hesych. The orb of day, Eurip. Electra, 465. Æsch. Prom. 91. καρ, κορη, and κορρη, the head. Eustat. to Il. © 84. N. 576: καρ, the hair, the head surrounded with hair being compared to the sun surrounded with beams, the resplendent tresses of the Homeric helmet-crest: "κορυς," a helmet; "κοραξ," the bird of Apollo. Eustat. to Il. iv. 101. Porph. Abst. 4. However, Welcker calls it blindness not to see that "Curetes" are derived from *κουροι*. Trilogie, 190.

¹³⁶ Not only in the reputed residences of the Curetes, but extending from Asia throughout Europe from Khorasan, Caramania, and the Cercetes of Scylax to Carniola, Corsica, Cora, Cortona; comp. Coronea, Corseæ, Gyrtone, Corydallus, Corasus, &c., and the legends of Cræsus, in Photius, Bibl. 110. Baehr's Ctesias, p. 104. Pers. ch. 49, p. 194. Plutarch, V. Artaxerx. 1. Xanthi Fragm. 19.

Corybantes and Idæi Dactyli¹³⁷, bequeathing the same common appellation to many a tribe and mountain in Asia as well as Greece. We may imagine the muttered chant or incantation of the ancient Pelasgi as they circled round the altar¹³⁸, like the Indians in their war dance, and like them streaked with paint, the red colour from whence the dance itself probably derived its name of "Pyrrhic."¹³⁹ The Indians saluted the rising sun with a dance and gesticulations imitative of the celestial movement of the luminary¹⁴⁰, as the ancient Israelites leaped or "hopped" round their altars¹⁴¹ in the orgies of Baal. The Thracian dances of the Amazons on the Thermodon¹⁴², and the Salian dance of the priests of Mars at Rome, derived from the Lydians and Etrurians¹⁴³, had a symbolical meaning analogous to the choruses of Apollo at Delphi, Thebes, or Delos¹⁴⁴, the rhythmical rowing of the Argonauts, or the harmonious hammers of the Cyclops. Dancing, says Lucian¹⁴⁵, was coeval with creation, with the movement of the stars, and with the birth of Love. Helios himself, represented by the Cretan Meriones, was a consummate dancer¹⁴⁶; and Minerva played the Pyrrhic measure to the alternate step of the Dioscuri¹⁴⁷. The gods danced on Olympus¹⁴⁸; their solemn cho-

¹³⁷ Strabo, x. 215. Tch. Diod. S. v. 65. Hellanici Fragm. Sturz. p. 107. Lucret. ii. 630.

¹³⁸ Virg. *Æn.* iv. 146.

¹³⁹ Comp. Hor. Ep. ad Pis. 277. Athenæ, xiv. 629. Strabo, 467.

¹⁴⁰ Lucian, de Salt. 17.

¹⁴¹ Exod. xxxii. 19. 1 Kings, xviii. 26, in the original.

¹⁴² Virg. *Æn.* xi. 660.

¹⁴³ Valer. Max. ii. 4. 3. Livy, vii. 2. The dance of the Salii in the Campus Martius was the solemn inauguration of the year addressed to the God of Nature in his character of the warrior Sun. Serv. to Virg. *Æn.* iii. 35; ii. 325.

¹⁴⁴ Apollon. Rh. i. 536. Comp. Virg. *Æn.* viii. 285. Macrobi. S. iii. 12. Spanheim ad Callim. Dian. iii. 170. 242 and 247. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 690.

¹⁴⁵ De Saltat. 7.

¹⁴⁶ Athenæus, 5, ch. 10; comp. 1, ch. 40. Iliad, xvi. 617.

¹⁴⁷ Schol. Pind. Pyth. ii. 127. Aristides, i. p. 26.

¹⁴⁸ Hymn, Apollo Pyth. 19. Hes. Scut. H. 201.

ruses led by Zeus¹⁴⁹ in heaven were conducted on the Lycæan hill by Pan¹⁵⁰, as by Apollo and Dionysus on Parnassus¹⁵¹. The seemingly anomalous dances of Mars¹⁵² and Aphrodite belong to their physical character; and if Venus led her choruses beneath the glimmer of the moon¹⁵³, it was because as the horned Astarte she united the symbol of the lunar crescent rising out of the ocean with her attributes as queen of Nature¹⁵⁴. The dance of the “χαλκοκροτοί” Curetes was an astronomical one; it was the earthly response to the choruses of Olympus¹⁵⁵, like the Gnosian measure performed by Theseus at Delos after his escape from Crete, and said to have been a mimicry of the mazes of the Labyrinth¹⁵⁶; in short, the sidereal dance, “not without song,” sculptured by Dædalus or Hephæstus¹⁵⁷, the architects of Nature, in which the central tumblers, “κυβιστηγε,” were sometimes the Dioscuri, or lights of heaven¹⁵⁸, sometimes the genii of the seasons¹⁵⁹ represented by Hermes and Ares¹⁶⁰, among whom the Corybas *κυκτερινος* circled in the maze of Nature’s revolution streaked with the blood of his murdered brothers¹⁶¹. In this sense the Curetes were said to

¹⁴⁹ Zeus was represented dancing in the Titantomachy of Eumelus. Athenæ. i. ch. 40; vii. ch. 5.

¹⁵⁰ Guigniaut, iii. p. 168.

¹⁵¹ Soph. Antig. 1130. 1148. Athenæus, i. 22 b. Comp. Odyss. viii. 103. 247. 248. Hence Cronus and even Zeus might be placed among Curetes.

¹⁵² Ares, “ορχηστης.” Lycophr. 249.

¹⁵³ Hor. Od. i. 4, 5. Comp. Aristoph. Lysistr. 1315.

¹⁵⁴ Uschold, Vorhalle, ii. 60–63.

¹⁵⁵ Pind. Ol. xiv. 12.

¹⁵⁶ The “Geranos,” or Crane-dance. Eustat. to Iliad, Σ 590. Plut. Vit. Thes. 21.

¹⁵⁷ Iliad, ib. The idea being probably taken from a work of art, such as the Gnosians still possessed in the time of Pausanias, ix. 40. 2. Comp. Hoeck, Kreta, p. 67, 68.

¹⁵⁸ Lucian de Salt. 10. Creuz. S. iv. 117.

¹⁵⁹ Spanheim in Callim. Hym. Jov. 52.

¹⁶⁰ Hom. Hymn, Apollo, Pyth. 23.

¹⁶¹ Orphic. H. xxxvii. 23; xxxix. 6. Müller, Orchom. 451. Halius and Laodamus, those unequalled dancers, throw about the ball made by Polybus (Hermes-

have been the first teachers of astronomy, and of religious mysteries¹⁶²; since the sidereal dance of heaven is the archetypal jubilee of nature¹⁶³, the pattern of all human forms of adoration. It was probably the prominent part assigned to Crete in the mythical development of Greece, as well as its pre-eminence in the armed or orgiastic dance¹⁶⁴, which made the Curetes who attended the birth of Zeus seem the primary type of all similar rites and persons¹⁶⁵. But the denomination was properly a general one. The Curetes were sons of earth or of the atmosphere¹⁶⁶. Their central habitation was in Acarnania and Ætolia, where they were assisted in their wars by Apollo¹⁶⁷; in Eubœa, their king was Phorbas, the grazier or nourisher¹⁶⁸, the friend of the great grazier Apollo¹⁶⁹, and perhaps himself identical with Helios¹⁷⁰. The youth of heaven¹⁷¹, the Titans, and probably even the Olympians¹⁷², were their models; they stood as gods in the genealogy of Phoroneus¹⁷³, and had their shrines and sacrifices in Messenia, while at the same time they seem to represent the remembrance of a race who lived as yet unseparated from the gods whose divinity they shared. Their name intermingled more or less with almost every local genealogy; the Sicyonians were descended from Corax through Cthonius) among the clouds, in turns hurling it back without allowing it to touch the ground. Odyss. viii. 374.

¹⁶² Theon. ad Arat. i. 35, 36. Lucian, de Salt. 10. Creuz. S. iv. 117.

¹⁶³ The musician was originally separate from the chorus, the pantomime of the one being governed by the sovereign harmonies of the other. Comp. Odyss. viii. 266.

¹⁶⁴ Strabo, x. 481.

¹⁶⁵ Dio. Chrysost. Or. xi. 31. Soph. Ajax, 699. Schol.

¹⁶⁶ Strabo, 472. Ovid, Met. iv. 282. Welcker supposes the derivation from "Imbri" to be an allusion to Imbros, *i. e.* Hermes. Trilogie, 193. Steph. Voc. Imbros.

¹⁶⁷ Strabo, x. 463. Paus. viii. 24. 9; x. 31. 4.

¹⁶⁸ Hellanicus, Sturz. p. 56.

¹⁶⁹ Hyg. P. A. ii. 14. Paus. vii. 20. 2.

¹⁷⁰ Apollod. ii. 5. 5. 1. Schol. Apollon. i. 172; or with Hermes Polymelus. Odyss. xii. 128. Il. xiv. 490.

¹⁷¹ "καὶ οὐρανόθεν." Orph. Frag. viii. 40.

¹⁷² Comp. Il. xxiv. 612. Cronus and Rhea, says Proclus, were the first Curetes.

¹⁷³ Hesiod in Strabo, x. 471.

Coronus, undistinguishable apparently from the prince of the Lapithæ, a son of Apollo and Chrysorthe¹⁷⁴, while deducing "Epopeus," the sovereign spy, a son of Aloeus or of Helios, from Thessaly¹⁷⁵, where the Crannonians, like the Corinthians, had been called Ephyrei. The Argive Heracleids derived their origin from the Macedonian Caranus,

"Pellæa dedit qui nomina regum,"¹⁷⁶

the line of kings who measured out the sun for their portion¹⁷⁷, and lived near the fabled gardens of the Gordian Midas. The brazen image of a crow is related to have been discovered in digging a foundation near Corone in Messenia, where Apollo had been worshipped from very ancient times under the name of Corynthus¹⁷⁸. Corythus or Hellen, son of Paris and Helena, or of the sun and moon¹⁷⁹, once lost his helmet¹⁸⁰, for the same reason, probably, as Hercules his head of hair¹⁸¹, the founder of Cortona, and father of Dardanus and Iasius, being identical with Apollo and with Zeus. Dancing was peculiarly appropriate in the emblematic service of the sun god¹⁸²; the Spartan youth danced on a place called the "Choros" in their forum, in honour of Apollo¹⁸³; and when it is said that Zeus was preserved by the dancers of Curetes, the fable partly expresses how the regenerated emblem of light and life is preserved from the destroyer by the revolution of the heavens, the true arena of the rapid feet of the Phæacians ("μαρμαρυγαι

¹⁷⁴ Paus. ii. 1. 1; v. 8. Apollod. ii. 7. 7.

¹⁷⁵ Paus. ii. 1. 1; vi. 1. Theopomp. ap. Tzetz. Lycophr. 174. Zeus Epopeus. Paus. ii. 6.

¹⁷⁶ Ausonius.

¹⁷⁷ In Herod. viii. 138, this symbolical act is attributed to Perdiccas.

¹⁷⁸ Paus. iv. 34.

¹⁷⁹ Eustat. ad Odyss. iv. 3.

¹⁸⁰ κορυς.

¹⁸¹ The hair, *i. e.* the rays of the sun; hence Apollo "Crinitus," juba—*i. q.* "jubar." By analogy the strength of man was supposed to reside in the hair; hence the expression, "ἐπὶ τυράννιδι ἐκομήσθαι" (Herod. v. 71), and the custom of shaving as a sign of humiliation and grief. (Herod. i. 82. Plut. Isis, ch. 14. Leviticus, ch. xix. 27.)

¹⁸² Lucian, Salt. 16, 17.

¹⁸³ Paus. iii. 11. 7. Athenæ. x. 456 f.

πρωτων"), and partly how a new religious conception, nursed among the wild rites of a barbarous tribe, was matured in the course of their own development, and shared the victory purchased by their achievements. The name of Curetes, originally the sidereal and actual performers of the religious and military dance called Pyrrhic, may have easily been extended to all the tribes who used the rite¹⁸⁴; the aborigines, whether of Ætolia or Crete, whose name, together with the practices connected with it, remained unaltered in remote fastnesses, and occasionally assumed a peculiar form in legendary history.

But the aboriginal sun-god of Greece often appears a very different character from Apollo or Zeus. Physically¹⁸⁵ they may have resembled each other; and it might be correct to say that a supreme "Apollo" consecrated his earliest Pythium on Olympus, and that the Dorians, the "δῆμος θεραπῶν Ἀπολλωνος,"¹⁸⁶ were equally descended from Dorus and Hellen, from Apollo, from Hercules, or Zeus. But there are many local personifications, such as Sisyphus, Salmoneus, and Athamas¹⁸⁷, who, however afterwards degraded, were once looked upon as divine, and whose characters indicate a rude and cruel superstition, mimicking, or rather dishonouring, the true majesty of Zeus¹⁸⁸. The period of their sway properly belonged to the mythical times of Cronus and his Titans, afterwards represented as rebels against the gods whom Hellenic civilization raised up to succeed them, while their symbols were fancifully transmuted into the instruments of their punishment¹⁸⁹. The gods were then robbers or tyrants, like those earthly tyrants, the son of the powerful Crius in Eubœa¹⁹⁰, or Creon, the

¹⁸⁴ Comp. Athenæus, xiv. 29.

¹⁸⁵ For every god has an inner and an outer character. Bottiger, *Ideen*, i. 302.

¹⁸⁶ Schol. Pind. Ol. iii. 28.

¹⁸⁷ Zeus Laphystius.

¹⁸⁸ Max. Tyr. Diss. 6. 2.

¹⁸⁹ Thus the stone of Tantalus and Sisyphus, the wheel of Ixion, the pillar of Prometheus-Hermes, the den of Cacus, &c.

¹⁹⁰ Paus. x. 6.

mythical king of Thebes or Corinth¹⁹¹. They were a race of beings who might, according to circumstances, be placed in the list of Titans or of heroes, but all of whom had once been nature gods or planetary powers, worshipped with choral dances, and still connecting their names with the high places on which their rites had been immemorially performed¹⁹². The traces of their worship were generally obliterated, because, like the Achæan god who betrayed Sparta to the Dorians¹⁹³, they belonged not, properly speaking, to Hellenism, but either to the fetichism of the aborigines, or to that Phœnician period of mingled luxury and cruelty which had been banished with Cronus. In ancient times the Curetes sacrificed human victims to Cronus¹⁹⁴. But they then belonged to an older Zeus¹⁹⁵, or to an ante-Doric Apollo-Carnus¹⁹⁶, one probably identical with Ares, or Chryses, who exacted human victims at Sparta, or Cynus, who killed Lycus the Thracian¹⁹⁷, and who built a temple to his father out of the skulls of strangers¹⁹⁸. Their rites resembled those of the ferocious Pelasgian Lycaon rather than the better type adopted by his supposed cotemporary Cecrops in the worship of Zeus the Supreme (*ὑπατος*) at Athens¹⁹⁹; occasionally they were redeemed from the brand of ignominy as Titans by being merged in some more recent and approved impersonation, as Apollo, or Hercules²⁰⁰; but even these better

¹⁹¹ Diod. S. iv. 54. His death resembled that of Hercules, to whom he was related. Apollodorus mentions many persons of this name (i. 9. 28. 3; ii. 7. 8. 1, &c.)

¹⁹² Comp. Paus. ii. 11. 5 and 8; ib. 21. Cronius near Olympia, Lycæus, &c.

¹⁹³ Paus. iii. 13.

¹⁹⁴ Istri Fragm. 47.

¹⁹⁵ Diod. S. iii. 60.

¹⁹⁶ Paus. iii. 13.

¹⁹⁷ Paus. i. 27. 7.

¹⁹⁸ Schol. Pind. Ol. xi. 19. The character of the god of the Thargelia, the "*ατασθαλος*," (Hom. H. Del. 67,) scarcely justifies the construction commonly given to the epithet "*ουλιος*," (Spanheim to Callim. H. Apoll. 40,) which rather conveys the meaning of "*Ουλος*" *Agēs*.

¹⁹⁹ Paus. viii. 2; comp. i. 26. Also called Cronus-Saturnus. Macrobian Sat. i. 10.

²⁰⁰ Hence Hercules is one of the Curetes. (Paus. v. 7. Diod. v. 64.) The good Marathonian Titan of Philochorus, (Frag. 157,) and Ister, (Frag. 2,) is probably

conceptions, which eventually superseded the older gods, retained some traces of the fierceness of antiquity; Apollo and Dionysus often wear a frown, and Hercules, the saviour of devoted Athamas²⁰¹, of Prometheus and of Theseus, the usual abolisher of bloody rites²⁰², preserves as the "devourer" or the "frenzied" the mythical traits of Cronus or Adrastus. The poetic tales of horror professedly extracted from the records of Thebes, Corinth, or Argos, are probably images of physical vicissitudes, and moreover indicative of the character of the rites made too literally to correspond with them, in which the alternation of life and death was tragically enacted and imitated²⁰³. The sacrifice of the Æolian Athamas, the murder of Sidero on the altar of Nature, or the rites of Zeus Lycæus or Acrius in Arcadia which Pausanias shudders to disclose²⁰⁴, were an attempt to mimic by a symbolical sacrifice the apparent procedure in which death is the necessary earnest and antecedent of life, so that the children of Nephele, or the first-fruits of the Athenian youth, must perish in order that the fertility of the earth may be restored²⁰⁵. Again, when in poetry Agamemnon is made the destroyer of his own child, and the cause of innumerable woes to Greece, or when Achilles leaps like a "dæmon"²⁰⁶ into the Scamander²⁰⁷ and encumbers its stream with dead, it must be recollected that the former is an ancient Achæan deity²⁰⁸, and that Achilles, no less a god²⁰⁹, reigned

the Marathonian Hercules. (Paus. i. 15. 32.) The confusion between Apollo and older sun-gods is notorious.

²⁰¹ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 258.

²⁰² Macrob. Sat. i. 7, p. 240. Zeun.

²⁰³ See Diod. xx. 14, p. 416, on the true meaning of Saturn devouring his children; and Macrob. Sat. i. 8.

²⁰⁴ viii. 38.

²⁰⁵ Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 36, and the story of Macaria. Paus. i. 32. Hence the symbolical self-sacrifices of Codrus, Antipænus, &c., in order to insure victory. Paus. ix. 17.

²⁰⁶ In Homer, meaning "a god."

²⁰⁷ Iliad, xxi. 18.

²⁰⁸ Comp. Lycophr. Cass. 1123. Eustat. ad Iliad, ii. 25. Paus. ix. 40. 11. Clem. Alex. Protr. 11, sec. 38. Comp. the Zeus Homagyrius of Ægium. Paus. vii. 24.

²⁰⁹ Photius, p. 487. Hescl. Paus. iii. 20; vi. 23.

over the original country of the Laphystian Zeus in Alos, Alope, and Hellas²¹⁰. But this Cronian or Curetic worship had more than one aspect. In another view the rites of the ante-historic deity were more in analogy with those golden Saturnian days of ideal piety and justice still imagined to continue in some distant Elysium, when sanguinary offerings were unknown²¹¹, and in this sense they may have contained the germs of an improved or "Hellenic" system, which, preferring mercy to cruelty, eventually substituted a moral power for a merely physical one²¹², and lessened the frequency of human sacrifices if it did not entirely repudiate them²¹³. It was probably through the superiority of the Æolian tribes in Southern Thessaly, their activity in maritime adventure, and their preponderance in the celebrated confederation which afterwards became the chief Amphictiony of Greece, that the Hellenic name first became of importance. Doubtless Hellenism had its sources within Greece as well as without; in the simplicity which forms the better aspect of the life of the savage, as also in those powerful instruments and pledges of civilisation, the sacred assemblies and confederations. The Olympic games were among the oldest institutions of Greece, dating from Cronus, the Curetes, and the Idæi Dactyli, from the revolutions of the stars, and the first conflicts of the elements; and as the Arcadians claimed the birth of Zeus as having belonged to the "Cretea" on their own mount Lycæum²¹⁴, called, like many other consecrated heights, "Olympus,"²¹⁵ so the Olympian Curetes may have

²¹⁰ Comp. *Iliad*, ii. 682, with *Herod.* vii. 197. This Zeus is called "Ares" in the Colchian sacrifice of Phrixus. *Schol. Aristoph. Nub.* 258.

²¹¹ As at Athens before the Erechtheum (*Paus.* i. 26), or at the "altar of the pious," contrasted with the "*κακος βωμος*" (*Hesych. "Δηλου"*) at Delos. Comp. *Ælian*, V. H. viii. 3. *Porphyr. Abstin.* ii. 28, sq. *Theophrast. in Euseb. Pr. Ev.* i. 9. 6, p. 31, Heinichen.

²¹² *Æschyl. Agam.* 169. Bloom.

²¹³ *Grote's Hist.* i. 173. *Smith's Antiq. art. Sacrifice.* *Porphyr. Abstin.* ii. 55. *Böttiger, Kunst. Mythol.* i. 380. *Müller, Orchom.* 158ⁿ. 160.

²¹⁴ *Paus.* vi. 20; viii. 2.

²¹⁵ *Paus.* viii. 38. *Strabo*, viii. 356. *Schol. Apollon.* i. 599.

been Æolian or Ætolian, not Cretan missionaries, though from similarity of name the latter may have by a common inversion been supposed to have imported what in reality was indigenous²¹⁶. The first establishment of the games belonged to the age when the "Cronian" Pelops²¹⁷, the favourite of Poseidon, performing Nature's magic change under the auspices of Demeter, won the sovereignty of the country which continued to bear his name, the mystery of the Cthonian goddess being symbolically attached to the arrangements of the Hippodrome, at one end representing the crowning of the victorious hero, at the other the descent to the abode of "Chamyne."²¹⁸ It may have been in another and later age that Hercules brought thither the olive from the Hyperboreans, or that the Ætolian Oxylus, son or predicate of Ares or Apollo²¹⁹, was chosen leader of the Dorian Heraclidæ, though his title of triophthalmic pointed him out as no absolutely unknown stranger in the land of Endymion and Angeias.

§ 24.

CRONUS.

But the development of "Hellenism," *i. e.* of Greek improvement, had another source in the extraneous relations of the aborigines, in the commercial intercourse of the coastmen of Greece with its islands and colonies¹. It was in this way, probably, that the immediate birth of Zeus, in its commonly received sense synonymous with that of law and civilisation,

²¹⁶ "Aethlius," son of Zeus, is also son of Æolus. Paus. v. 8.

²¹⁷ Pind. Ol. iii. 41.

²¹⁸ From "χαμαι," *i. e.* Demeter "Cthonia." Völcker, Japetus, 358. 361.

²¹⁹ *i. e.* as Sun-God, the "sharp-eyed," "ἡλιος οὐρανός." Hom. H. Apollo, 374. Pind. Ol. vii. 70; or as son of Hæmon, the blood-stained, another predicate of Ares. Paus. v. 3. 5.

¹ Aristot. Polit. vii. 6. Strabo, vii. 301, 302.

was generally referred to the island of Crete², whose hundred cities made the first Greek³ pretension to extensive empire, and whose reputation for success in maritime adventure made it a natural presumption that any chance wanderer from beyond sea might be a Cretan⁴. Crete was the centre of a variety of immigrations and worships, where Asiatic legends, engrafted upon the story of the Phrygian or Pelasgian Nature-God, afforded a clear view of the materials which were the basis of the Hellenic religion, and which afterwards became a rich mine for the speculations of the Eubemerists⁵. It was in this island, formed by Nature, thought Aristotle⁶, to domineer over Hellas and its waters, that Hercules mustered the host with which he proceeded to do battle against the monsters of the west⁷, a story indicating probably that Crete was one of the most important of the emporia where Asiatic and European ideas intermingled, and to which the Phœnicians, generally supposed to be meant by the "companions of Cadmus,"⁸ resorted (as they said) in quest of Europa. The name "Europa," if rightly interpreted to signify "the dark," or "land of evening,"⁹ must have owed its origin to a people living eastward of the country so designated, and can scarcely be assigned to any other than those Sidonian adventurers who were the earliest manufacturers and merchants of Greece¹⁰, who supplied its coasts and islands

² Strabo, x. 477. Hence called the "Isle of Zeus." Virg. *Æn.* iii. 104. Dionys. *Perieg.* v. 501.

³ The Greeks claimed the traditions of Cretan greatness as belonging to themselves, though the Cretans of Minos were probably no more entitled to be considered Hellenic than the Carians and other "barbarians" expelled by the colony of Neleus. *Ælian*, V. H. viii. 5.

⁴ Hom. *Hymn to Demeter*, 123. *Odyss.* xix. 172. Strabo, x. 481. Herod. i. 2.

⁵ Diod. v. 46. 77.

⁶ *Polit.* ii. 8.

⁷ Diod. iv. 17.

⁸ The sons of Agenor or Phoenix.

⁹ *i. e.* the Phœnician Hesperia, from "Ereb." Comp. Buttmann, *Mythol.* ii. p. 176. Müller, *Kleine Schrift.* ii. 35; Orchom. 149. Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* ii. 190. Höeck, *Kreta*, p. 88. The epithet "*εὐρωπός*," in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* (v. 630), may possibly have a different origin.

¹⁰ Hence called in Homer, "*πολυδαίδαλοι*."

with arms and trinkets, and who, in vast excavations at Thasos¹¹ and elsewhere¹², left indisputable tokens of their long-continued presence as miners and traffickers in the Ægean, which they frequented as far as Tenedos and Lemnos¹³. Crete, it was said, was cleared of wild animals by Hercules, in acknowledgment of the rich presents received from its inhabitants¹⁴. These earliest inhabitants were barbarians¹⁵, called either, in contradistinction to later Hellenic colonists, Eteocretes¹⁶, or Pelasgi, because recognised by them as having an affinity with themselves. It was a common practice with speculative Greeks to derive all Pelasgians from the localities best known as Pelasgian in Thessaly and Peloponnesus; and when after the oblivion of centuries the dispersed members of a once connected race began to visit and recognise each other, they incorporated their presumed affiliation in legends of imaginary colonies, among which each theorist selected what suited best his own system. But, if there was any real foundation for the Arcadian claim to the problematical Cydones, the worshippers of Britomartis or Dictynna in the west of the island¹⁷, it is far better authenticated that the "Curetes" who founded Cnossus¹⁸ and the prevailing Zeus worship of the eastern districts, represent a tribe of Phrygian extraction¹⁹, who, included possibly under the comprehensive name "Pelasgic," brought with them in an unrecorded age the worship of the Asiatic Nature-God and the noisy rites of Magna Mater (Rhea-Cybele), and were afterwards driven by more active and civilised races towards the southern coast and the fastnesses of Ida and Dicte. But the earliest occupation of the Cretan high places by the ostensible name of Zeus is not to be confounded with the advent of his

¹¹ Herod. vi. 47.

¹² Comp. Strabo, x. 447. Plutarch, de Defect. Orac. 43.

¹³ Plass. Urgeschichte der Hellenen. p. 96. 156. Höeck, Kreta, i. 76, sq.

¹⁴ Diod. S. ib.

¹⁵ Herod. i. 173.

¹⁶ Strabo, x. 475, p. 231, Tch.

¹⁷ Paus. viii. 53. 2.

¹⁸ Euseb. Chron. Milan. p. 267. Höeck, 161.

¹⁹ The Phoronis in Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i. 1129. Hellanicus, Sturz. p. 107. Strabo, x. p. 469 (175, Tch.), 472 (202, Tch.).

Hellenic namesake. If Minos was son and successor of Zeus, the first Curetan Zeus was a representative of Cronus, already described to mean the wild and immoral sway of the Supreme Being conceptionally separated from his personality. Properly speaking, the Greek Cronus was only morally and poetically distinguishable from Zeus. Zeus was united with him in all the apparent sites of his worship, at Athens²⁰, at Lebadea²¹, at Olympia²²; and to say that Cronus was unknown to ritual is in a certain sense true, inasmuch as the isolated abstraction is not the real being who existed antecedently to Zeus, but untrue, because Zeus as then conceived was invested with the attributes of Cronus, together with the personality which afterwards devolved exclusively upon a different modification of himself. The name and attributes of Cronus seem to comprise a wide circle of mythical beings, with whom Zeus is both connected and contrasted: Lycaon²³, Athamas, Atreus, Œnomaus, or Agamemnon²⁴, in short, every emblem of the old Nature-God, considered chiefly as an object of superstitious dread, though partly, too, as a representative of the golden age and of hoar antiquity²⁵. But the aboriginal Pelasgian Cronus became confounded with the distinct yet similar conception of the Phœnician El, and in this way may have acquired in relation to Greek ideas a more distinct local individuality. Cronus is recognised as Ilus or El, in the confused genealogy reported by Philo of Byblus²⁶, who again identifies his mythical confederates, called Eloëim or Cronii, with the "Titanic allies,"²⁷

²⁰ Paus. i. 18. 7.

²¹ Ib. ix. 39. 3 and 4.

²² Ib. v. 7. 4; viii. 2. 1.

²³ Ib. viii. 2. 1.

²⁴ Comp., with what follows, the expression in the Agamemnon (Æschyl. v. 1011. Bothe), "Keep the bull from the heifer."

²⁵ Hence the facility of the etymological rendering of Cronus by "Chronus." Eurip. Herc. Furens, v. 900. Aristot. de Mund. ch. 7.

²⁶ Buttmann, ib. 43.

²⁷ "οἱ ἐπὶ Κρονου." Or as Iliades, Telchines, Idæi Dactyli, &c. (Movers' Phœnizier, p. 27. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10.) The Curetes, too, are sometimes enumerated among the "δαίμονες περὶ τὸν Κρονον." Plutarch, de Facie in orbe Lunæ, ch. 26 and 30.

discovered in Cretan tradition, and inherited by the Greeks from Hesiod²⁸. Who those Titanic beings were, supposing them to have had any other than a mere ideal existence, whether they represent an early tribe even more rude and cruel than the first Phrygian colonists²⁹; or whether they are only an ideal expansion of the Pelasgian or Phœnician deity, *i. e.* the more ancient Curetes or Corybantes³⁰ of the island, contrasted with the Hellenic defenders of an improved Zeus-worship, is a question which Diodorus seems to have been as little able to answer as ourselves. The Phœnicians may have appeared under the same questionable or repulsive aspect to the aborigines as the latter did to the Hellenes; yet, as they were pronounced by the oracle of Apollo to have been among the earliest religious instructors of the Greeks³¹, and personified in Hermes-Cadmus, were supposed to have brought from abroad the facilities of art ascribed to Hermes-Prometheus at home³²; so, under the reservation required in construing a legend which evidently intermingles human beings and divine³³, it may be presumed to have been they who, as the sea-born "Telchines," manufactured the first religious statuary³⁴, plying their trade between Cyprus, Crete, and the coasts of Greece³⁵, sometimes appearing as skilful artists favoured by Athene, sometimes as magicians or dæmons capriciously raising or quelling tempests,

²⁸ "Κρόνον ἀμφὶς εἰσόντες."

²⁹ Höeck, Kreta, i. 171. Comp. ii. 185, sq.

³⁰ Who sacrificed children to Cronus (Porphyr. Abstin. ii. p. 202), or Cronus-Zeus) (Anticlidēs, in Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 36, Potter), and who, like the Titans, were destroyers of Epaphus Dionysus. (Apollod. ii. 1. 3.)

³¹ Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 6 and 9. Julian. Imp. Orat. vii. 220. Diod. S. v. 58.

³² It is observable that, when Herodotus derives religious lore from Egypt, he makes Cadmus the bearer of it (comp. ii. 49. 54; iv. 147. Höeck's Kreta, i. p. 51), combining probably in one name the idea of an indigenous divinity (the son of Atlas or Zeus), (Tzetzes to Lycophr. 219) with that of Phœnician colonization (son of Agenor or Oceanus).

³³ Welcker, Trilogie, 187. Suidas, ad v.

³⁴ *e. g.*, the sickle of Cronus and the trident of Poseidon. Comp. Diod. v. 55. Strabo, xiv. 654. Callim. H. Del. 51. Isaiah xl. 19. Höeck's Kreta, i. 355.

³⁵ Paus. ix. 19. 1.

and desolating the earth by destroying its produce with sulphur and Styx-water.

Among the so-styled educators of Zeus were also the Idæi Dactyli³⁶, called servants of the Adrastea of Mount Ida or Berecynthos, seemingly the gnomes of the mine and forge originally imagined by a Phrygian race, who, mimicking the volcanic operations of nature in the mountain glens, were themselves regarded by their cotemporaries with mingled fear and wonder, either as wizards or gods³⁷. Always connected with the name of "Idæa Mater," either as their president or parent, they accompany the transfer of her worship to Crete, where, no longer tied to their original office, they expand into genii of the elements or planets³⁸, and become confounded with Corybantes and Curetes³⁹. The Adrastea or "Idæa" whom they serve, and who afterwards herself becomes one of the Cretan nurses of Zeus, is probably only a local form of Rhea, identical with the Nemesis worshipped by the ancient "hero" Adrastus⁴⁰, whose agency in Lydian and other legends would seem to place him on a parallel with Cronus; and among the fragments of tradition may be found several personifications, such as Tantalus, or Zeus Talaïos⁴¹, the Dactyls, Titias, and Cyllenus⁴²,

³⁶ Paus. v. 7. 4. Whether their names were formed after the sentiment that the source of all art and wisdom is the human hand (Hesych. ad. v.), or after the topographical metaphor in Strabo (x. 212. Tch.), it is, of course, idle to inquire.

³⁷ The Phoronis, in Schol. Apollon. Rh. i. 1126, 1129. Welcker, Trilogie, 171. 174. Höeck, Kreta, i. 194. 279, sq. Pherecyd. Sturz, p. 157. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 15. 73, p. 360. 362, Potter.

³⁸ Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 672. Höeck, ib. 313, sq.

³⁹ Paus. v. 7. 4. Höeck, ib. 207. Diod. S. v. 64.

⁴⁰ Strabo, xiii. p. 281, Tch. Eustath. Schol. Il. ii. 380, p. 767. Apollod. iii. 12. 3.

⁴¹ The stone, or mountain god. Agdistis, Ærgæus, Casius, &c. Comp. Vossius de Theol. Gentili, i. 14, p. 60.

⁴² The two latter are called leaders of the Idæi Dactyli, and "παρῆδροι" of the Mother of the Gods. Schol. Apollon. Rh. i. 1126. To these may be added Caläus (Paus. vii. 17. 5), Ilus (Iliad, x. 115; xi. 166. 371), Mæon (Diod. iii. 58), and especially the Dactyl Acmon, whom Hesychius, following an old tradition, makes identical with Uranus and Cronus. (Comp. Alcman in Eustath. to Iliad, p. 1154 and 1150. Antimachi Frag. Dübner. 42. Callim. Frag. Benti. 147.)

and Teucus, son of Idæa, the Phrygian⁴³ or Salaminian sacrificer of human victims to Zeus⁴⁴, all of whom, as presumable consorts of Rhea, may serve to fill up the seeming blank between the Phrygian Atys and the Cronus of the Greeks⁴⁵.

The correlated God of Phœnicia, the Cronus of the Lycian Solymi⁴⁶, the Apollo Telchinius of Rhodes⁴⁷, whose colossal form probably corresponded with the gigantic Sol-Talaïos of Crete, was Moloch, the devourer of his own children⁴⁸, God arrayed in his character of terror, on whose altar the first-born of man and beast had been immemorially offered, in order to purchase exemption from evil and sterility⁴⁹.

The Cretans were said to have sacrificed human victims to Zeus, as, by a similar perversion of names, the Lesbians to Dionysus⁵⁰, and this although Cretan civilisation was commonly connected with the name of Zeus, and of Minos, who was his son by a daughter of Phœnicia⁵¹. But the name of Minos, as well as that of Zeus, is used in different senses⁵². The

⁴³ Diod. iv. 77.

⁴⁴ Lactant. Inst. i. 21. Teucus seems to connect the notion of Cronus with the Asiatic Apollo "Smintheus," whose worship he introduced. Schol. Lycophr. 1306. The Trojan Apollo, again, is the "Lycius," or Lykegenes, the wolf-god, invoked by Glaucus. (Iliad, xvi. 514. Com. v. 173.) Many other comparisons might be made, as to the Zeus Chrysaor of Stratonikeia (Strabo, xiv. 660), the Zeus-Anax of Miletus, Z. Labrandeus, Dardanus, married to Batieia or Myrina (Il. ii. 813. Apollod. iii. 12. 1. 5), Ilus, &c.

⁴⁵ It should, however, be noticed, that a dualism of sex can scarcely be expected to be so clearly marked in Asiatic legend as in Greek, since the former seems to have often preferred to contemplate Nature's unity under the symbol of the hermaphrodite.

⁴⁶ Plut. Defect. Orac. 21. Comp. Joseph. Ap. i. 22. Plut. Vit. Alex. 17. Qu. Smyrnæ. iii. 243.

⁴⁷ Talos, or Helios Colossus; Ritter, Vorhalle, 104.

⁴⁸ "Ὁ καταβροχθὶς." Movers, "Phœnizier," 31. 299. 305.

⁴⁹ Serv. to Æn. iii. 141. Curtius, iv. 4. Sil. Italicus, iv. 767. Comp. Leviticus, xviii. 20. Exod. xiii. 2; xxii. 29; xxxiv. 20. Ezek. xx. 31. Diod. xx. 14.

⁵⁰ Ghillany, "Menschenopfer der Hebräer," p. 114. 222. Höeck, Kreta, ii. p. 73.

⁵¹ Iliad, xiv. 322.

⁵² The Romans were more circumspect in the use of the word "Jupiter," always rendering the Phœnician Moloch by "Saturnus." Plutarch, Qu. Rom. 34. Euseb. Pr. Ev. iv. 16. Comp. i. 10. 16, p. 37^a.

Zeus who brought the daughter of Phœnix, or Agenor, the sister of Cadmus⁵³, from the Phœnician coast, in the form of the Sidonian bull-idol, is mythically equivalent to the astronomical king Asterius who marries her in Crete. Again, the divine bride, Europa, a name unknown to the author of the *Iliad* in the geographical sense, and who, as Herodotus remarks⁵⁴, never reached the country supposed to have been named after her, has generally been conceived to mean the moon-goddess Astarte⁵⁵, virtually identical with her mother "Telephassa" ("the far-shining"), and with her daughter "Pasiphæe," or Creta (the "all shining")⁵⁶, for the daughter of Asterius is daughter also of the Sun, and wife of Minos, or the Minotaur⁵⁷. The Zeus-Asterius symbolised in the Cretan Minotaur would thus be the horned Moloch of Phœnicia, carrying over the waters his consort Astarte, or Pasiphæe, "the queen of heaven,"⁵⁸ who at Paphos, Cythera, and Eryx, rose out of the sea as the golden Aphrodite⁵⁹; and the original Europa, whom the companions of Cadmus professed to seek, was not the personified region of the West, but the inconstant Goddess who, in her star-besprinkled robe⁶⁰ had eloped from the East upon the bull, and who, from her usefulness in navigation, might be

⁵³ Müller, *Kleine Schrift*. ii. 35.

⁵⁴ Herod. iv. 45.

⁵⁵ Ps. Lucian (de *Deâ Syriâ*, ch. iv.) relates that the Sidonians had a magnificent temple, supposed to be that of Astarte, whom the writer conceives to mean the moon. One of the priests, however, assured him that the temple belonged to Europa, the sister of Cadmus. Höeck, *Kreta*, i. 90. Comp. 2 Kings, xxiii. 13. Jerem. vii. 18.

⁵⁶ A daughter of Helios, Schol. Eurip. *Hec.* 838, or 826, brought by mythologists from the Colchian Sun-genealogy to be made wife of Minos.

⁵⁷ Apollod. iii. 1. 3.

⁵⁸ Jeremiah xlv. 17. The moon, "ashtar," or *αστηρ*. The Uranian Aphrodite (Paus. i. 14. 6. Herod. i. 105), worshipped first by the Assyrians, afterwards by the Phœnicians and Cyprians; the far wandering Io, Isis, or Semiramis, consort of El, Baal, Baalsemen (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* i. 10. 5); the rape of Europa being a measure of retaliation for that of Io, that is, an equivalent transaction.

⁵⁹ Diod. S. iv. 83, also called "Pasiphæe," Laur. *Lydus de Mensibus*, 244, Röther.

⁶⁰ Compare Millingen, *Peintures de Vases Grecs*. Plate 25. Höeck, *Kreta*, i. 97.

justly called the celestial beacon of the mariner⁶¹, as, on the other hand, she was the disastrous torch signal of Medea⁶², or that of the Argive fleet on its night return from Tenedos to Troy⁶³. The first Cretan Zeus would therefore seem to have been properly an amalgamation of the Phœnician and Greek Cronus, and to have owed his ambiguity of name to a revolution of opinion among that portion of the Cretan population, Pelasgian and Dorian, who⁶⁴ also introduced their own domestic personifications, such as Deucalion, into the local genealogy, blending him as father of Creta with Asterius⁶⁵, the solar deity equivalent to Cronus-Zeus. But the Greeks generally gave the name of Cronus alone, as the Romans invariably did that of Saturnus, to the Phœnician or Carthaginian Baal notoriously worshipped in Crete and through the Mediterranean; for, of the two aspects included in Cronus, the benign and the Titanic, the latter, owing to the separate personification of Zeus, ultimately became his predominant characteristic. Hence the Greeks almost exclusively dwelt on the inhuman sacrifices of Cronus, his annual offerings of the first-born⁶⁶, how parents slew their own progeny, or bought the offspring of the poor for the same horrid purpose; and they explained the fable of Cronus devouring his own children by these dreadful realities⁶⁷, of which the story of the Minotaur was probably only another form. The sickle with which he mutilated

⁶¹ Comp. *Iliad*, xix. 374, 375. The object of the Cadmeans was said not to obtain possession of Europa, but of Europe (*Conon*. no. 37); the real aim of the mariner being not the planet which directs his course, but the port for which he sails.

⁶² *Supra*, p. 210. It was particularly mentioned in the "Little *Iliad*," that the fall of Troy occurred at the time of full moon. The appearance of the beacon-symbol, "λαμπτήρ νυκτός ἡμερησίου φαιος πῖφανσκων," was precursor of the murder of Agamemnon *in the bath*, Clytæmnestra holding the torch while the crime is being committed. Winkelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, v. 3, s. 16.

⁶³ *Virg. Æn.* ii. 256.

⁶⁴ Either they or the logographers who afterwards arranged the series of their mythi.

⁶⁵ *Apollod.* iii. 1, 2; iii. 3. 1.

⁶⁶ *Buttmann, Mythol.* ii. 41. 51.

⁶⁷ *Diod. S.* xx. 14.

his father is a cosmogonical application of a well-known symbol, primarily agricultural⁶⁸, yet not unconnected probably with that sacrificial practice of Asiatic priests for which circumcision was substituted as a milder rite; and the stone which replaced the living God was doubtless akin to the Asiatic "Bethel," some local fetichistic emblem, or heaven-descended image⁶⁹, the story of the swallowing and ejection being founded partly on the phenomena of aërolites, partly on the physical succession of generation and death, both of which the stone, for example, the stone which concealed the sword of Ægeus, symbolically expressed. From the comprehensiveness of symbolical expression, it often happens that, with the interpretation of one aspect of a personification, the task is only begun, and the symbol is discovered to be many-sided, with bearings little connected, or even conflicting. It would be vain to seek in the memorials of the affiliation of an idea the same consistency which we expect in an historical pedigree, and it is needless to scrutinise too closely those mythical contradictions which excited no astonishment among those who were familiar with their nature⁷⁰. Zeus never really usurped the place of Cronus either in heaven or earth; his nominal reign had been uninterruptedly continued; the Zeus "*ὑπατος*" of Cecrops might still be called a Cronus by Philochorus⁷¹, and even the atrocities of the Laphystian and Lycæan hills passed under the name of the higher impersonation. Cronus could be worshipped only as Zeus, or under some specific appellation, either of a hero or god, and the periodical festival peculiar to him in Italy was celebrated in honour of Hermes in Crete⁷², of Zeus-Pelorus in Thessaly, in Trœzen of Poseidon, in Athens of Dionysus⁷³. But his name, though rarely pre-

⁶⁸ Comp. Movers, *Phœnizier*, 272. 422. 435. Rosenmüller to Joshua, xi. 4, and xvii. 16, with Buttmann, u. s. p. 29. 54. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 362. Böttiger *Ideen*, i. 228.

⁶⁹ "*Διπτερες*." Comp. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* i. 10. 18.

⁷⁰ Paus. viii. 53. Schol. Soph. *Elect.* 539.

⁷¹ Macrobi. *S.* i. 10. Comp. Paus. i. 18 and 26.

⁷² Höeck, *Kreta*, iii. 39.

⁷³ Buttmann, *ib.* 55.

served in ritual, remained the symbol of ancient religion, as that of Deucalion was the type of ancient ancestry. The same generality of idea belongs to the Curetes, who sometimes associated with Deucalion, with Cronus⁷⁴, or with Zeus, were from the local pre-eminence of Zeus-worship and its ancient orgiastic character thought so peculiarly and characteristically Cretan⁷⁵, that they were called children of a Cretan nymph⁷⁶, and the island called "Curetan land"⁷⁷ was said to have taken its name from them⁷⁸. Their dance is the wild orgy of antiquity, common, as Strabo says, to barbarians, and to the more ancient Hellenes. They were supposed to have come to Crete subsequently to the Idæi Dactyli, and, if not descended from them, were presumed, from their high antiquity, to have been earth-born or autochthonous⁷⁹. "They lived in the forests and mountain caves, they were shepherds, hunters, and keepers of bees, inventors of armour, and of armed dances."⁸⁰ They were, in short, the rude population whose customs they reflected, having no more claim to be considered as autochthonous than the Idæi Dactyli sometimes confounded with them, and whom the Phoronis asserted to be Phrygian. In their day there lived at Cnossus a race of Titans, whom the Greek historian, following the established theogony, asserts to have been sons of Uranus and Gæa, or of one of the Curetes by Titæa⁸¹ (Earth), and to have been the first who, according to the pragmatistical view, were, in consideration of the benefits they had conferred, permitted after death to reside on Olympus⁸². In their higher

⁷⁴ Proclus in Plat. Polit. Welcker, Tril. 193.

⁷⁵ "Ἰδίας ἐπετελιστο." Strabo, x. 465. 468 (170), Tch. Pliny, N. H. vii. 57.

⁷⁶ "Danaïs," i. e., the Cretan Danaï. Tzetz. Lycophr. 78.

⁷⁷ "Θαλαμειμα Κουρητῶν." Eurip. Bacchæ, 120. Curetis, Plin. N. H. iv. 20, Servius to Virg. Æn. iii. 131.

⁷⁸ Also, perhaps, many of its district names, as Corycus, Cape Crio, the island Coryca, and Gnosus, anciently *Καιρατος*. Strabo, x. 476. Others, however, make *Κρηῆτες* a Greek word, in the sense of "*μεμιγμένοι*." Pott, Etym. Forsch. ii. 561, So Crete, Rhodes, and Sicyon were called Telchinia, and Attica, Titania.

⁷⁹ Höeck, Kreta, i. 231, sq.

⁸⁰ Comp. Diod. S. v. 65.

⁸¹ Probably another name of Rhea. Schol. Apollon. Rh. i. 1126.

⁸² Diod. ib. 67, ad fin.

significancy the Curetes might themselves be termed Titans, or early gods of Cronian character⁸³, that is, they in part represented the barbarian worshippers who sacrificed children to Cronus⁸⁴, but in the subsequent arrangement of Cretan legend, in which Greek and oriental notions, as well as the past and present of Greece itself were intermingled, the religious retrospect was differently and more accurately subdivided; the Curetes were said to have been educators of the Hellenic God, and their darker character, as associates of a Greek or oriental Cronus, was transferred to the Titans, eventually overborne by the preponderance of Zeus. And as in the final arrangement of the world the abode of Cronus and his Titans was placed in the still barbaric West⁸⁵, so the West of Crete was, under similar relative circumstances, supposed to have been the eventual dwelling of these local adversaries of the supreme Deity⁸⁶ after the analogy of their prototypes.

§ 25.

BIRTH AND RELATIONS OF MINOS-ZEUS.

The infancy of Zeus, like that of many other celebrated heroes, was beset with peril. Heaven and Earth had announced to Cronus his approaching deposition by the hands of his son¹, so that, in order to anticipate the rivalry of the "*Ουρανιωνες*,"² the ancient God devoured his children as they were born, until Rhea, when about to bring forth that child, who, though her youngest, had been already appointed by Fate to be "Father of gods and men,"³ was "sent" through the

⁸³ Strabo, x. p. 203, Tchuk. Paus. iv. 31. 9, &c.

⁸⁴ Ister in Porphy. ut supr. Euseb. Pr. Ev. iv. p. 11. Clem. Alex. Cohort. iii. 36, Pott.

⁸⁵ Diod. S. iii. 60. Cic. N. D. iii. 17.

⁸⁶ Diod. v. 66.

¹ Hes. Theog. 463.

² "Sons of Heaven."

³ Theog. 457. 468. 478.

precautions of Uranus and Gæa to Crete, where she arrived "bearing her precious burthen through the dark night," and where the divine babe was received and brought up by Gæa. It was inevitable in the legendary masquerade, where the same being appeared under many forms, that the disguised personifications should often meet and jostle each other; that Rhea or Athene, for instance, should seem different from Gæa, and that Erectheus or Tityus⁴, Dionysus or Zeus, should in their so-called nurses have a repetition of their parent. The first elements of Cretan Zeus-worship would appear to have been imported⁵, since Rhea, *i. e.*, the Phrygian Magna-Mater⁶, was an emigrant or fugitive, who afterwards sent again to Phrygia for Curetes to act as supplementary nurses to her infant son⁷. The night journey of the wandering goddess is followed by the appearance of Zeus in the ancient city Lyctus⁸; his birth-place, the Idæan cavern, afterwards made the scene of Curetan mysteries, may represent the abyss of Hades⁹ from whence the heroes of light arise, and to which they return. But it may also be a type of the grottos of the Pelasgi, and of their troglodytic life; the nurture of the God on milk and honey may reflect their nomadic habits¹⁰, his preservation amidst the wild dance of the Curetes the forms of their superstitions; while his victories may in part exemplify the heroic age of Crete, anticipating the conquests ascribed to Minos, and intimating the rudimentary establishment of those institutions which afterwards became so celebrated when the Dorian states professed to have adopted them as their model. These traditions are, however, more certainly to be understood as symbols of an antique nature-worship, when the Cretan "children of Ida"¹¹

⁴ Apollon. Rh. i. 762.

⁵ Zeus was also said to have been born in Lydia or Phrygia. Lydus de Mens. 228, Röth. Schol. Apollon. Rh. iii. 134.

⁶ Strabo, x. 173, Tch.

⁷ Strabo, ib. p. 202, Tch. Höeck, Kreta, i. 233.

⁸ Polyb. iv. 54.

⁹ Anton. Lib. 19.

¹⁰ Diod. S. v. 65; sup. p. 309.

¹¹ Aristoph. Ran. 1356.

may be supposed to have hailed the nativity of their deity on the summit of the same mountains¹² whose dark recesses preserved the secret of his death; where each year, as in the annual miracle of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, a fire was said to blaze up out of the recesses of the cavern, perpetuating his mysterious revival in the circle of the seasons¹³. In process of time the Greek Zeus usurped the ascendancy of the Cronus or Asterius of Crete, Minos was reputed to be his son, and again, the Deucalion of Æolian or Pelasgian genealogy was made a son of Minos. "There were conflicting opinions, says Strabo¹⁴, respecting Minos¹⁵, some representing him as a native of the island, others as a foreigner¹⁶: some making him a just ruler and lawgiver, others a sanguinary tyrant." That is, if we may venture to put a construction on the riddle of antiquity, it was difficult to say whether the elements of Cretan civilization, heterogenous as they must be allowed to have been, were indigenous or foreign; or whether, being still mixed up with the legends of an Asiatic Moloch, a Nature-God alternately placid and austere, a moral and physical dualism¹⁷, they could be looked upon as the genuine product of Hellenic eunomy. The equivocal character of Minos was explained rationalistically by the later Greeks as originating in patriotic jealousy, and they attempted to refute the obloquy usually attached to his name by referring to Homer and Hesiod as evidence in his favour¹⁸. But it would be more natural to understand the migratory bull, and the penalties exacted for the death of Androgeos or flight of Dædalus as me-

¹² Diod. S. v. 70. Comp. Laur. Lydus, p. 96. 228, Röth. "τεχθῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐν τῷ παρα Ἰδῇ ὀρωμένῳ οὐρανῷ. Höeck, Kreta, iii. 311.

¹³ Anton. Lib. 19.

¹⁴ x. 477.

¹⁵ Probably the Menu, Menes, or Manes of other countries. References in Höeck, ii. 46. Dion. Hal. i. 27. Herod. i. 94. Menag. to Diog. v. 35. Pott's Etym. Forschungen, ii. 69.

¹⁶ Comp. Ephorus in Diodorus, v. 64.

¹⁷ Creuz. S. iv. 262. Guigniaut, iii. 491.

¹⁸ Ps. Plato, Minos, 320. Plut. Vit. Thes. ch. xvi. Eustat. ad Odyss. λ 574 p, 523,

morials of an obsolete religion, whose symbols, when no longer understood, were converted into a rough explanation of the traditional relations between the two countries. The sun's temporary exile was imagined to be a punishment for his cupidity or cruelty¹⁹, and the ancient subjugation of Attica was referred to a supposed guilty act, which in reality was only the annual death of Nature, commemorated²⁰ in the Moloch sacrifices of Athens²¹ as well as of Crete, the gloomy spirit of the latter being personified in Minos, to whom Nisus was obliged to resign his purple hair, and whose embrace was synonymous with death²². But though the guilt of Athens, in this respect, was in all probability equal to that of its Cretan sovereign, it seemed, in a later age, when the fury of the Marathonian bull had been curbed by civilization, as if the bloody tribute had been a tyrannical exaction, and as if the Minos who inflicted it must have been personally distinct from the just lawgiver, just as the Apollo "Telchinus" of Lycia or Rhodes, anterior to the Dorians, was not the Greek God, but the father of the Heliades, the "sun-wolf" (Lycus the Telchin), the Phœnician Baal of the Solymi²³.

Minos is a complex conception; he is both god and man; he represents the ancient condition of the island, when Talus exacted periodical victims, and again, the Hellenic²⁴ revolution, when, for the second time, and in a new character, he might

¹⁹ For instance that of Apollo, of Lycurgus, the stories of Tantalus, Aristæus, Adrastus, Procris, &c.

²⁰ The tribute to the Minotaur was either a yearly one ("κατα ετος." Apollod. iii. 15, end. Serv. to Virg. *Æn.* vi. 21), or sent at the expiration of a cycle of nine years. It was probably similar to that exacted by Orchomenos from Thebes, (supr. p. 277), until the latter was emancipated by Hercules.

²¹ The Attic Thargelia occurred in May, the Oschophoria and Puanepsia in October.

²² Apollod. iii. 15. 1. 5. Hence, probably, the epithet "ολοοφρων," applied to Minos. *Odyss.* xi. 322. Comp. Nitzsch. ad loc. with Müller, "Ares," p. 65.

²³ Diod. v. 55, 56. Joseph. Apion. i. 22. Höeck, Kreta, ii. 331. 363. Plut. de Defect. ch. xxi.

²⁴ Above, p. 300, n. 3, and comp. Paus. vii. 3. 1 and 4.

be said to have received laws from Zeus. His name denotes both the seemingly inexplicable combinations of physical nature (Pasiphæe and the Minotaur), and also the lessons of civilization supposed to have been communicated within the same mysterious caverns²⁵ which had once been the scene of a hateful superstition. Minos is an incarnation of his father Zeus. His second father, Asterius, is a commentary on the astronomical nature of his first. He marries a repetition of the lunar bride of his parent (Pasiphæe), a daughter, as it would seem, from the explanation of the logographers, of the Colchian dynasty of the Sun, or what amounts to nearly the same thing under another form, the island itself (Creta), personified as daughter of Asterius. As father of Deucalion he is another Prometheus, connecting human genealogy with an antique race of gods, and his death plausibly fills up the chasm between the ancient Nature-God and his father's immortality. In the development of the idea, the higher or more divine characteristics were reserved to Zeus, while the heroic or human proceedings together with the superseded symbols of nature-worship were reserved to Minos, or, for the purpose of greater distinctness, still further subdivided between a superior and a secondary Minos. These symbols and stories are a condensed record of the mythic renown and peculiarities of Crete. Here, in an otherwise unrecorded struggle between races and opinions, may be supposed to have occurred one of those battles of Gods with Titans, which afterwards became the general dramatic emblem of a mental revolution, and the poetical machine through which theogonists endeavoured to bridge over the chasm between older creeds and new. Here is said to have occurred the celebrated substitution of the stone, the fetichistic relic which men

²⁵ The Labyrinth of Gnossus, considered as a building, was probably only an ideal transference to Crete of the Egyptian symbol, the transfer being founded on cosmological theory connected with the consecrated grottos of Mount Ida (comp. Höeck, Kreta, i. 56. 64. 447, sq.), and the notion of the recovery of the year (by Theseus) from the caverns of the under world.

continued to marvel at in Arcadia or at Delphi²⁶, and, unwilling to acknowledge the object to have itself been the symbolical God of antiquity, quaintly imagined it to be a trick by which beneficent Nature had exposed a mere block, instead of her own undying power, to be the victim demanded by her inevitable vicissitudes²⁷. It was here that Cronus was driven from his ancient throne, or, in other words, that the Mino-tauric Asterion²⁸ of Asia, periodically fed like his Greek representative Cronus on human victims, was made to resign his attributes, and in part his name, to the new ascendancy of Minos-Zeus, who usurped his Phœnician bride, and by conquering the oriental intruders into the Grecian seas became paramount among the maritime races of the *Ægean*²⁹. Of the latter, the most powerful had been the Carians, who, though generally considered by the Greeks as barbarous or foreign, were probably part of the same Thracian or Pelasgic stock, a race widely spread not only through the islands but over the Asiatic continent, and speaking a language common to Mysians, Mæonians, Caunians and Lycians³⁰. Before connected

²⁶ Paus. vii. 22; viii. 36. Hes. Theog. 500.

²⁷ Lycophr. Cassandr. 400. 1201. Cronus, son of Uranus, is himself the Uranid Bætylus, *i. e.* Battus, or Hermes "lithinus," the stone he was supposed in his sovereign capacity to have swallowed. The assignment of the name Bætylus to this stone by Hesychius may be supposed to point to the Semitic origin of the legend. Mount Lebanon was famous for its Bætylia, respecting which many marvellous stories were told. (Photius, p. 1047. 1063.) The ancient Hebrew God El was the "stone of Israel" (Genes. xlix. 24. Comp. Deut. xxxii. 18. 20. Dan. ii. 34, 35. 1 Cor. x. 4), and the periodical drying of a river, the Nahr-el-Kelb, near Bairoot, was attributed to the thirst of the wintry giant after swallowing the stone. (Comp. Movers, Phœnizier, 262. 305. Nonni Dionys. 41. 72.) Zeus had probably been worshipped under the form of a stone (Lactant. Inst. i. 20, p. 111), and the legend may be a device to account for the conceptional chasm between the fetish and the God. Höeck, Kreta, i. 168, 169.

²⁸ "Ἀστῆριον τὸν κληθέντα Μινωταυρον." Apollod. iii. 1.

²⁹ Herod. i. 171. Thucyd. i. 4.

³⁰ Car was brother of Mysus and Lydus. Herod. i. 171. 173. Comp. Thucyd. i. 8. Höeck, Kreta, ii. 7. 216. 218. 248. 302. 350. Comp. Herod. ii. 61. 152. 154, and Wilkinson's Observations on the "Shairetana," Egypt, i. 366. Winer, R. W. B. 1, art. "Crethi." Movers, die Phœnizier, p. 17, 18.

with Phœnicians, they now became allied with Minos³¹, forming, in conjunction with the Cretans³², a powerful maritime confederacy, whose influence extended not only over the Cyclades, but to Athens, Megara, and Ægina³³, along the Asiatic shores from Lycia³⁴ to Troas³⁵, and through the Mediterranean to Sicily³⁶.

In those days a seafaring life was almost invariably a piratical one; and, notwithstanding the Greek claim to the empire of Minos as Hellenic³⁷, it is probable that the practice of the united Cretans and Carians was in accordance with the predatory habits which preceded and followed their supremacy³⁸. The Minos who, according to Thucydides, drove the Carians and Leleges out of the islands, must have been the Dorians and Ionians³⁹ under the Cretan symbol; and though, in the ancient or "Minoan" times properly so called, the elements of civil polity may really have been better understood in Crete than on the neighbouring coasts of Greece, the renown of Cretan legislation was practically verified only in its later development⁴⁰, when Dorian institutions were referred to the

³¹ They were not tributary, but manned the ships of Minos. Herod. i. 171.

³² "Προσλαβόντων Κρητών." Strabo, xii. 573.

³³ Strabo, viii. 237. 248, Tch. Paus. i. 19 and 39.

³⁴ Paus. vii. 2.

³⁵ Höeck, ii. p. 286, sq. This fact, co-operating with certain identities of names and religious forms (Strabo, x. 472 (206, Tch.)), and the general disposition to make the Crete the author of races and institutions, may have given rise to the story of the Cretan origin of the Teucrians, which many, including Virgil (*Æneid*, iii. 105), adopted after the elegiac poet Callinus. (Strabo, xiii. 604 (364, Tch.)).

³⁶ Herod. vii. 170. Comp. Schol. Pind. Nem. iv. 95. Aristot. Polit. ii. 8. 52. The adventurous race who sailed to Thrace, Phœnicia, and Egypt (*Odyss.* xiv. 246, sq.), may with equal probability be conceived to have reached Sicily, where they had been preceded by Phœnicians and Taphians. Höeck, ii. 372. 379. *Odyss.* i. 184; xv. 427; xxiv. 307.

³⁷ Paus. vii. 3. 1.

³⁸ The Cretans of later times had the character of liars, robbers, and intriguers. Polyb. iv. 8; vi. 46. Höeck, ii. 210.

³⁹ Strabo, xiv. 661.

⁴⁰ The traces of the so-called laws of Rhadamanthus indicate the habits of rude antiquity, the *lex talionis* (Aristot. Eth. Nic. v. 5. 3), the justification of homicide

local theocracy, and engrafted upon the venerated traditions of Minos and Zeus⁴¹. The first Minos, like the first Zeus, belonged to an age of barbarism⁴²; yet the same age gave birth to conceptions connecting it with what followed, and which, personified⁴³, might be called the nurses or protectors of Zeus, as representing the earliest forms of his worship. The basis of the power of Minos was the maritime force and the spirit of the heroic age locally emblazoned in his name. The story of the brazen race was not a mere figment, for the Curetes, the legendary link between the Cronian dynasties and the Hellenic, actually bore that title as the “*χαλκασπίδες προγονοί*” of the actual race⁴⁴, clothed in armour furnished by their ancestors the Idæi Dactyli⁴⁵ or from the forges of Chalcis⁴⁶, and becoming the type of those brazen men, the Hoplitæ of later times, who in the course of their half commercial, half piratical expeditions⁴⁷ appeared to rise from the sea to the assistance of Psammetichus⁴⁸. It was significantly said that Zeus, the son of Cronus, made the brazen and heroic races after the silver had been destroyed⁴⁹. The brazen age may in part represent the heroic age celebrated by Homer; a tribe of warriors with feudal privileges, wearing armour usually of foreign manufacture which they carried in peace as well as war⁵⁰, and referring to Zeus as arbiter of their combats, and author of their race⁵¹. The moral character of the God so named reflected that of the

(Apollod. ii. 4. 9), the swearing by animals. Schol. Aristoph. Aves, 521. Porphyry. de Abst. 249.

⁴¹ Plato, Laws, i. 1, p. 624.

⁴² Herod. i. 173.

⁴³ As Curetes.

⁴⁴ Pind. Ol. ix. 50. Strabo, x. 472. Apollon. Rh. iv. 1641. Tzetzes to Hesiod, Works, 142.

⁴⁵ Brass having been generally used before iron. Völker, Japetus, p. 278. Paus. iii. 3. 6.

⁴⁶ Comp. Strabo, x. 446. 465. 467 (23. 149. 161, Tch.). Welcker, Trilogie, 194. Müller, Orchom. 125. The Curetes were said to have first donned their armour in Eubœa. Strabo, x. 472. Steph. Byz. voc. *Αἰδηψός*.

⁴⁷ Müller, ib. 105.

⁴⁸ Herod. ii. 152. Comp. Thucyd. i. 6.

⁴⁹ Hesiod. Op. 144. 158.

⁵⁰ Thucyd. i. 5, 6.

⁵¹ Comp. Plass, Urgeschichte der Hellenen, i. 202.

people who fought under his banner. The Carians, hated for their restless habits by the Greeks⁵², worshipped the god of armies (Zeus-Stratios), carrying the battle-axe, and the kindred nature of the original Cretan deity, a Cronus more properly than a Zeus, is indicated by the martial equipment of his attendants⁵³. The empire of Minos was physical as well as political, a religious symbol rather than a distinct historical recollection⁵⁴, and the limits of its extent seemed by a curious accident to have coincided with those of the sun⁵⁵. Minos was a general personification of Zeus whose sceptre he bore⁵⁶, and his sons established in the Cyclades represented the pantheon of which his father was head. The issue of the sun and moon (Zeus and Europa) is himself a solar symbol; his herds pasture with those of Helios⁵⁷, among them being the celebrated bull, the guarantee and symbol of his power⁵⁸, the avenger (as the Minotaur) of Androgeos, whom itself had destroyed; or, again, he is the pursuer of the moon (Dictynna), or of the mechanician of the starry dances (Dædalus),⁵⁹ whom he sought in those western regions⁶⁰ from whence there is no return but through the shades⁶¹. His physical and earliest symbols are repeated in the brazen wardour Talus, by some called also Taurus⁶², who scared the Argonauts from the cruel shores

⁵² Strabo, xiv. 661.

⁵³ Höeck, ii. 325. The Salian priests of Rome too were servants of Mars; "Χορεύται τινες των ενοπλιων Θεων." Dion. H. 2, ch. lxx. p. 384.

⁵⁴ Herod. iii. 122 "Της δε ανθρωπηνης λεγομενης γενεης Πολυκρατης εστι πρωτος," &c.

⁵⁵ Herod. vii. 170. Simonidis Fragn. Gaisf. 180. Minos, according to the legend, had been received with deceitful professions of amity by Cocalus in Sicily, but met with the fate of Pelias, Agamemnon, Hylas, &c., being killed while bathing.

⁵⁶ Hesiod. in pseud. Plat. Minos, 320. Fragn. Götting, 112.

⁵⁷ Apollod. iii. 1. 3, s. ii. Serv. to Virg. Eclog. vi. 60.

⁵⁸ Apollod. ib.

⁵⁹ Comp. Iliad, xviii. 590. Eurip. Electra, 467. Fragn. Sisyphus, i. 34.

⁶⁰ Herod. vii. 170.

⁶¹ Hence, probably, it is that Rhadamanthus alone, as Minos, or Sol-inferus, is heard of as returning from west to east in Phæacian vessels. Odyss. vii. 323.

⁶² Apollod. i. 9. 26.

which he stained with the blood of strangers, circling round the island daily, or thrice in correspondence with the three seasons of the year⁶³. Zeus, too, issues in the spring from the caverns of Ida as presiding genius of the year⁶⁴ under the bull-symbol, as husband of the ox-eyed Juno, ravisher of Europa, father by Io of the bull Apis or Epaphus, and by Semele of the ox-footed Dionysus. It was in this sense that he was fabled to be unnerved by Typhon, to be father of the Horæ, to pay an annual visit to the Æthiopians, and to lead the astronomical revolutions of the Gods in the Phædrus of Plato⁶⁵. It is well known that Crete pretended to show the sepulchre of its deity⁶⁶, a report which the Greeks naturally refused to accept in reference to the name of Zeus, and their refusal has been as decidedly reiterated by moderns⁶⁷. Yet the elements of Zeus-worship are admitted to have been nature-worship, derivative⁶⁸, probably, from the nature-worship of Phrygia, whose deity was worshipped in the grave⁶⁹, and attended with dirges of woe as well as orgies of rejoicing. But the idea which to the Greeks seemed revolting as applied to Zeus they readily accepted in regard to Iasius, to Dionysus, or to Zagreus. Iasius, who had as many homes as there were settlements of Pelasgi⁷⁰, was that son of Zeus and Electra of whom Demeter became enamoured at the great cosmical marriage feast of Cadmus and Harmonia. In Crete, the humanised genius⁷¹ naturally appeared a son of Minos, instead of a son

⁶³ Ps. Plato, *Minos*, p. 320. Höeck, ii. 71.

⁶⁴ Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί." *Iliad*, ii. 134. *Arati Phœn.* 34. *Plutarch*, *Qu. Rom.* 76.

⁶⁵ Macrobius discusses at length (*Sat.* i. 23) the identity of Zeus with the Sun.

⁶⁶ The grave of Zeus continued to be an object of religious worship for some centuries after Christ (*Min. Felix*, ch. xxii.), and is still shown to travellers in the neighbourhood of Cnossus, on Mount Juktas, near Arkhânes. *Pashley's Crete*, i. 213.

⁶⁷ Höeck, *Kreta*, i. 241; but see the contradiction, *ib.* iii. 331.

⁶⁸ *Minos*, too, is called a foreigner. *Ephorus* in *Diod.* v. 64, *supr.* p. 312.

⁶⁹ Atys, for example, buried at Pessinus.

⁷⁰ Höeck, i. 330; iii. 312.

⁷¹ Ἡρώς, *Hesiod. Theog.* 962.

of Zeus⁷², and having there begot the world's wealth (Plutus, or Pluto), by the great goddess (Demeter) whose mysteries he founded⁷³, his death, according to ancient precedent, seemed to have been a punishment for the temerity of his love. Iasius was in Crete reputed one of the Idæi Dactyli, or Curetes⁷⁴; that is, he was a divinity appertaining to the Cretan mysteries, of which the chief theme was the preservation, education, and entombment of Zeus⁷⁵. Crete, however, had also its Dionysus⁷⁶, whose separate worship may have been immediately derived from the Thracian settlement of Naxos⁷⁷, or possibly from the Argive home of the Amythaonids connected with Crete in the strongly Bacchic story of Glaucus and Polyidus⁷⁸, but whose affinity with Zeus was not peculiar to Bœotia, and whose reception, facilitated by the kindred nature of the Thracian and Cretan deities, was rather that of a new name than of a new idea. Orpheus became, as it were, a disciple of the Idæi Dactyli⁷⁹, probably in the same sense in which he was made a pupil of Rhadamanthus and of Egypt. The races and rites of Thrace and Phrygia intimately resembled each other⁸⁰, the resemblance being the natural result of an original identity⁸¹. Hence Strabo says that the same orgiastic worship which the generality of the Greeks offered to Dionysus assumed in Crete the special form of mysteries of Zeus⁸². The Naxian sacred marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne was the counterpart of the Cretan⁸³ alliance of Zeus and Hère⁸⁴. Through the legendary analogy, the

⁷² Schol. Theocrit. iii. 50.

⁷³ Diod. v. 48, 49.

⁷⁴ Paus. v. 7. 4. Serv. to Æneid, iii. 111.

⁷⁵ Lactant. Inst. i. 21, p. 123.

⁷⁶ Paus. ii. 23. 7. Diod. v. 75.

⁷⁷ Höeck, Kreta, ii. 150, sq.; iii. 179. Comp. Diod. v. 50.

⁷⁸ Höeck, ib. iii. 294. 296. The marine dæmon, Glaucus, seems to unite Hermes, Dionysus, and Poseidon. Athenæ. vii. 726.

⁷⁹ Diod. S. v. 64.

⁸⁰ Strabo, x. 470.

⁸¹ Ib. 471.

⁸² Strabo, x. 468. "Οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ πλεῖστοι τῷ Διονύσῳ—ἐν δὲ τῇ Κρήτῃ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερά ἰδίῳς ἐπιτελεῖτο."

⁸³ Paus. i. 18. Höeck, iii. 312. Diod. v. 72.

⁸⁴ Diod. v. 72.

Naxian adventures and personality of Dionysus were occasionally transferred to Crete⁸⁵, as, on the other hand, Zeus took refuge from Cronus at Naxos⁸⁶, and conferred upon Ariadne the immortality⁸⁷ which in her own island she probably received from her consort⁸⁸. To the Chthonian aspect of the Cretan God (Rhadamanthus⁸⁹) were referred, in the capacity of deputies or "sons," those analogous personifications in the Cyclades who, in Greek language, would have been sons of Dionysus⁹⁰. Through this coalition, the Zagreus, whom in Bacchic legend either the Titans or some analogous personifications of the warring elements were supposed to tear in pieces⁹¹, replaced the infant Zeus, protected by the Curetan dance; and when a learned writer⁹² compares the rites of Dionysus, "*ωμᾶδιος*," with those of Moloch, rites in which the votary mimicked the fancied sufferings of the God⁹³, he only makes a more specific adjustment between the attributes represented by Dionysus and those of the Zeus-Cronus supposed to have been Phœnician. The Cretan God might therefore be correctly addressed as

"Igneous, pure parent of Time, immortal Zeus,"⁹⁴

⁸⁵ Hyg. P. Ast. ii. 5, p. 367. Comp., in regard to the fusion of Dionysus with Zeus-worship, the expression *Κουρητων βακχος*." Eurip. Cretenses, Frag. 2, and Bacchæ, 122.

⁸⁶ Eratosth. Catast. 30, referred to by Laur. Lyd. de Mens., p. 228, Rother.

⁸⁷ Hes. Theog. 949.

⁸⁸ Quinti Posthomerica, iv. 387. Propert. iii. 15. 8.

⁸⁹ Hence Rhadamanthus was said, after the death of Amphitryon, to have been married to Alcmena, when both bride and bridegroom were in the grave. Plutarch, vit. Lysander, 28. Tzetzes to Lycophr. 50.

⁹⁰ Such as Anius, Staphylus, Cœnopion, Thoas, and the Carian deity Athymbros, or Atymnius. Etym. M. voc. *Αναρα*.

⁹¹ Terpander, in Laur. Lydus, p. 82. Clem. Alex. Potteri, p. 15. Höeck, Kreta, i. 173; iii. 183, sq.

⁹² Ghillany, Menschenopfer der Hebräer, p. 224. 353. 435ⁿ 4, 528ⁿ 1.

⁹³ Jul. Firmicus, ib. p. 14, "Omnia per ordinem facientes quæ puer moriens aut fecit aut passus est." Voss, in his Mythologische Forschungen, iii. 31, would make the bull symbol of the Phrygian Sabazius a derivative from the Jehovah of Jeroboam!

⁹⁴ Orph. H. vii. 13.

and likewise as

“Dionysus Zeus, father of sea and land, all-generating Sun.”⁹⁵

In this latter character, too, he might as readily coalesce with the Sun-god Apollo, whose original worship brought to Delphi from “the ancient gardens of Phœbus beyond the confines of night and the inverted slope of heaven,”⁹⁶ was by the Dorians subsequently imported into Crete⁹⁷. The Greeks spoke of foreign religions after the analogy of their own, confounding the local gods of their colonies with the nearest Homeric approximation. Many Asiatic deities were thus absorbed in Greek equivalents; Mopsus is son of Apollo, as Sarpedon and Rhadamanthus of Zeus, and Branchus, whose mother was pregnant of the sun, and who suddenly disappeared from among men⁹⁸, is to be identified with the eventual occupant of the Didymæan temple only as the Hyacinthus of Amyclæ or Delphic Dionysus⁹⁹ could blend with the immortal whose effigy was placed beside their tombs. The arrangement of gods thus became a process of synthesis as well as analysis; and as in reference to their ultimate significancy they may be said to approximate like branches of a single root, or like many streams springing from one sky and flowing to the same sea, in another view they fall asunder in regard to the local worships which they were individually made to absorb, each deity being the Hellenic class-name for a separate head of assortment and reference. When by this process the attributes of earlier gods had been respectively absorbed in Zeus and in Apollo, these two personifications threatened in turn to absorb each other, when the natal city of Zeus came under the concurrent dominion of the god of the Dorians¹⁰⁰, and the two powers were said to have contended for the sovereignty of the island¹⁰¹.

⁹⁵ Orph. Frag. 7.

⁹⁶ Soph. ap. Strabon. vii. 295, *i. e.* the Hyperboreans.

⁹⁷ Müller, Dor.

⁹⁸ Schol. Stat. Theb. viii. 198.

⁹⁹ Philochorus, Frag. 22, p. 387. Didot. Höeck, Kreta, iii. 188.

¹⁰⁰ Müller, Dor. i. 227.

¹⁰¹ Cicero, de N. D. iii. 23, p. 615, Creuz.

The competition may represent the similarity of the gods as well as the rivalry of their respective worshippers. The "fardarting" lynx-eyed god¹⁰², the "Triophthalmic" leader of the returning Heraclidæ is nearly related to the wide beholding husband of Europa¹⁰³; both are fathers of the Graces¹⁰⁴, both wield the Ægis and the thunderbolt¹⁰⁵. The seeming rivalry of the two conceptions was amicably adjusted by associating them together as father and son, and according to a custom often observable of attempting to explain, as it were, a foreign pantheic symbol to the eye by an accumulation of several Homeric analogues, their worship was frequently united. It was, for instance, impossible to say which of the two was original owner of the sanctuary of the Branchidæ¹⁰⁶, whether the Clarian oracle might not have once more properly belonged to Dionysus¹⁰⁷ or Zeus¹⁰⁸, whether even the Mouse-God of "Chryse" might not have had a more general meaning than that implied in the common rendering of the Homeric Smintheus¹⁰⁹. There was an Argive¹¹⁰, an Arcadian Apollo¹¹¹ before the Dorians, and the Cretan lover of Acacallis who passed under the same name¹¹² may have been a local divinity associated with Brito-

¹⁰² Oxylyus, Apollod. ii. 8. 3, 4.

¹⁰³ "Zeus ευρυοπτα."

¹⁰⁴ Hes. Theog. 907. Paus. ix. 351.

¹⁰⁵ Iliad, xv. 320. Apollod. ix. 26. 2. Uschold, Vorhalle, i. 299, remarks that equivalent personifications of the Uranian Deity are identified by the possession of the Ægis.

¹⁰⁶ Steph. Byz. "Didyma." Müller, Dor. i. 270. Callimachi Fragm. Blomf. 36, p. 182.

¹⁰⁷ Mopsus, Apollod. iii. 7. Paus. vii. 3. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Zeus-Clarius. Eustathius to Dionys. p. 444.

¹⁰⁹ Comp. 1 Sam. vi. 18, and the notion connecting the god of the underworld (Chryses-Pluto or Plutus) with the idea of wealth. Plutarch, Sympos. iv. 5. 2. 5. Fragm. Tagenist. 445. Aristoph. Plut. 727. When Chryses, son of Apollo Smintheus and Chryseis, claims brotherhood with Orestes, his father becomes paralleled with Agamemnon, *i. e.* the Carian or Achæan Zeus.

¹¹⁰ Paus. ii. 19. 3.

¹¹¹ Ib. viii. 38. 6. Comp. the instances collected by Müller to prove that Apollo was exclusively Dorian. Dor. i. p. 220 note.

¹¹² Paus. x. 16. 3

martis, and corresponding perhaps more nearly with the Pelasgian consort of Penelope or Persephone¹¹³. Crete, however, was properly the isle of Zeus¹¹⁴, as Delos and Delphi the favoured seats of Apollo. The place of the Cretan Apollo had originally been filled by Zeus. But when Crete as well as Peloponnesus had been occupied by "Heraclidæ," these Dorian worshippers of Apollo carried with them the religion inherited from their fastnesses on Parnassus¹¹⁵, yet without displacing the more ancient traditions of the island. Zeus was already a Greek conception which in Crete had preserved a more imposing breadth only perhaps in consequence of its local isolation, and Minos, if not properly Hellenic, had at least the reputation of having wrested the empire of the seas from foreigners, and vested it in a race of Pelasgic affinity. The conquest effected by the Dorians was attended with political results similar to those consequent on their permanent settlement in Greece. The former inhabitants were reduced to vassalage, but were allowed to continue their ancient customs so far as they were not unfavourable to the usurpation of the new settlers¹¹⁶. The distinctions of privilege and caste commonly resulting from conquest, and which Ionians had established in Attica, and Achæans in Peloponnesus, may have already prevailed to some extent in Crete before the more rigid demarcations of the Dorians¹¹⁷; but the notion of Dorian polity being wholly derivative from the Cretan¹¹⁸, arose from the absurdity of attributing the abrupt origination of that polity to Lycurgus, *i. e.* the human personage so named who was sixth in descent from Procles¹¹⁹, in defiance of the wise saying of the lawgiver who, when complimented upon having established a

¹¹³ Hermes. Paus. viii. 53. 2.

¹¹⁴ Virg. *Æneid*, iii. 104. Dionys. P. v. 501. Comp. Diod. v. 77, where the historian discovers an Artemis "Cresia," but no Cretan Apollo.

¹¹⁵ Strabo, ix. 417. Eustathius, Schol. to *Odys.* xix. 176, p. 1861, line 19.

¹¹⁶ Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 8^b.

¹¹⁷ Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 8; vii. 9.

¹¹⁸ Strabo, x. 281. 284. Tch.

¹¹⁹ The father of the first Cretan colonist having been the contemporary of Procles.

perfect system of laws, replied, "I may know perhaps what are best, but I proposed only those which were possible."¹²⁰ In connecting their institutions with the local authority of Minos, the Dorians only subscribed to the general feeling that all law is of divine appointment, and in the desire to adopt this time-honoured name into their own genealogies without infringing his relationship to Zeus, they now, probably for the first time, invented the story of an ancient Dorian colonist¹²¹, as appropriate author of Doric institutions, who in bygone times had migrated from the cradle¹²² of the Pelasgic and Doric races, and adopted the astronomical gods of Crete for his children and successors¹²³. Minos and Zeus henceforth became Dorian, the birth of the latter was transferred from Cnossus to the Dorian metropolis, Lyctus, and a second Minos, son for a similar reason of Lyctus or Lycastus, holding, like Pelops, the sceptre of Zeus, became inheritor of all the better aspects of the first, who in his periodical communications with the Deity was made to observe the ancient Doric cycle perpetuated among the customs of the Spartan kings¹²⁴. But in all their

¹²⁰ Procl. in Timæ. 25^d.

¹²¹ "Teutamus or Tecsaphus, son of Dorus." Andron in Steph. Byz. voc. Δωριον.

¹²² Thessaly.

¹²³ Höeck, Kreta, ii. 36. sq. But though the tradition in the sense of a Dorian colony may be fictitious, it does not follow that it should be wholly a gratuitous invention, since some such movement of Pelasgians may very possibly have occurred in ante-historic times. Comp. Herod. vii. 171. Diod. v. 80. The name Teutamios given by Diodorus (iv. 60), otherwise written Tecsaphus or Cercaphus (Eustathius to Odys. xix. 172, p. 1861), was Pelasgian. Iliad, ii. 843. Apollod. ii. 4. 4. Hellanicus in Dionys. i. 28. Sturz. Fragm. 76, p. 108.

¹²⁴ On the word "εννεατος," Odys. xix. 179, comp. Schol. Ambros. to Od. iii. 267. Höeck, Kreta, i. 248; ii. 120, sq. Müller, Orchom. 215. Plutarch, Life of Agis, and de Defect. 14. 21. Censorin. de D. N. ch. 18. It seems, however, that the lunar-solar Ennäeteris commemorated not only in the mythi of Apollo, but in those of the Aloidæ, and particularly of the pursuit of Britomartis (the moon) by Minos, (Höeck, i. 246. Callim. H. Dian. 193), was by no means peculiar to the Dorians, but to be found also among the Ionians (comp. Hymn Apoll. Del. 104) and the northern tribes generally. Comp. Gesenius to Isaiah, ii. p. 222.

wanderings the Dorians looked back from their distant settlements to Delphi as the metropolis of their state and their religion¹²⁵; there Lycurgus procured for his laws the divine sanction given in Crete by Zeus to Minos¹²⁶, the Delphian or Delphinian god accompanied their colonies, and without any real contest became associated in Crete with Zeus. It is possible that in the old times of Cretan maritime ascendancy a foundation¹²⁷ may have been laid for the tradition that the first Olympic games were instituted by "Curetes" out of Crete, and that the precedent of all succeeding contests was there enacted in the struggle of Zeus against Cronus¹²⁸, and in a repetition of his victory over the Titans, the "πρωτεροι θεοι," upon Grecian soil. But the legend which brought a colony of Cretans to preside as priests over the Delphic oracle in all probability arose out of the pilgrimages and sacred missions to the central Apollinic sanctuary prevalent among all Dorian colonies, and partly from a reactionary influence of the Cretan priestly order of "Curetes," constituting, it would seem, down to late times a priestly incorporation skilled in the lore of lustrations and atonement, and of which Epimenides and Thaletas were members¹²⁹. It was probably the fusion of the old Zeus-religion with that of Dionysus¹³⁰ and Apollo among these later Curetes which gave rise to the story about Orpheus being a pupil of the Idæi Dactyli¹³¹ or of Rhadamanthus, and about Pythagoras and Onomacritus being personally initiated in the

¹²⁵ Pind. Isthm. vii. 18. Herod. vii. 169. Paus. iii. 1. 5; iii. 2. 4.

¹²⁶ Minos being *Zeus-νομοθετης*, and Lycurgus Apollo. Nemesius de N. H. ch. 39. Plato, Laws, i. 1.

¹²⁷ Comp. on the ancient connection between Crete and Peloponnesus, Iliad, iii. 232. Odys. xiii. 274; xvii. 523; xix. 191. H. Apollo, Pyth. 292.

¹²⁸ Paus. v. 7; viii. 2.

¹²⁹ Plutarch, Vit. Solon. 12. Diog. Laert. i. 115. Eurip. Bacchæ, 120. Cretenses, Fr. 2. There seems also to have been a Curetan college at Ephesus. Strabo, xiv. 640.

¹³⁰ Eurip. Bacchæ, 122. Frag. Cretenses, 2.

¹³¹ Diod. v. 64. The Idæi Dactyli being often confounded with Curetes. Porphy. vit. Pyth. p. 17 (32, Kiessling). Höeck, iii. 297. 299. 325.

Idæan grotto. It was they from whom proceeded the oracular voice attributed to Polyidus¹³², and in whose hands the old orgiastic worship of Zeus assumed the forms of mysteries¹³³, but whose more open and undisguised treatment of the forms of Nature-worship combined with the local claim to all the descendants of the father of the gods¹³⁴ systematised in voluminous treatises, prepared the way for the profane applications of the Euhemerists¹³⁵. The earliest Delphic religion seems to have been a sun-worship, founded at the Corycian cave by Coretas; the sanctuary grew from a rude hut into a symbolical vault of brass¹³⁶, and ultimately became a fabric of stone reared by the divine architects descended from Apollo or Zeus¹³⁷. Themis, or Titanic Earth, mother of Nature and of the gods¹³⁸, first presided over the oracle which she afterwards consigned to the son of Latona¹³⁹, who in the Homeric hymn takes possession of it by way of the Athenian theoris through CEnöe¹⁴⁰. Delphi, revered by Ionians as well as Dorians, might be said when Crete became its religious dependent¹⁴¹, to be the national sanctuary of Greece, the principal depository of its standard mythi. There Apollo destroyed the dragon, and it was there too that Cronus was forced by Zeus to reproduce what he had concealed, and first of all, the antiquated symbol of his own worship¹⁴². Recognising in the countries they successively visited a repetition of ideas like their own, the Greeks

¹³² Apollod. iii. 3. Hence the proverb, *Κουρητων στομα*, meaning the gift of prophecy.

¹³³ Hence the idea of Zeus dancing. Athenæ. i. 19.

¹³⁴ Diod. S. v. 77. Höeck, iii. 307.

¹³⁵ Creuz. S. i. 115; iii. 143.

¹³⁶ “*Χαλκεος ουρανός*.” Pausanias, x. 5, compares with it the temple of M. Chalcæa, or vault of Danäi at Sparta. Comp. Iliad, i. 426.

¹³⁷ Hymn. Apoll. 296. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 508. Steph. voc. Delphi. Paus. ix. 37. 8; i. 11. Strabo, ix. 421.

¹³⁸ Pind. Nem. vi. 3. Hes. Theog. 117. Soph. Antig. 338.

¹³⁹ Æschyl. Eum. 7. Paus. viii. 5; x. 6. Nitzsch to Odyss. ii. 68, p. 77.

¹⁴⁰ Strabo, ix. 3.

¹⁴¹ Plutarch, Theseus, 16. Quæst. Græc. 35.

¹⁴² Hes. Theog.

seem to have treated Crete as they afterwards did Egypt. They were disposed in their admiration to consider the newly discovered as aboriginal, the old as derivative; they adopted Minos, as they had already in Peloponnesus adopted Æacus and Agamemnon¹⁴³, and in the tradition which received at Delphi reappears in Hesiod, Zeus receives his birth in a Dorian town. Cretan religion thus became a conjoint worship of Apollo and of Zeus, or rather of the supreme power represented by the sun, and under this symbol comprehending the chief attributes of both¹⁴⁴. Apollo was the sun, and the sun was Zeus¹⁴⁵. One of the earliest Delphian temples was composed of the spoils of those bees who nourished the sovereign of heaven in the Dictæan cavern¹⁴⁶, and the Curetes, the children of Apollo, guarded the infant Zeus through the hazards of his Cretan birth¹⁴⁷. The original triad of the Muses, daughters of Uranus or Zeus¹⁴⁸, and presided over by Apollo, are the "Διος Ἀρμονία," the sacred chorus of his father, and his prophetic office is only a deputed ministration which he holds as dispenser of the oracles of Zeus¹⁴⁹, the ultimate source of Delphic inspiration. Zeus when thus established at Delphi in the person of his son, might be said to have married his second wife in its presidential Themis, the mother of the Muses or Horæ¹⁵⁰, as in numberless other alliances he was made under the symbol of parentage to embrace every aspect of nature.

¹⁴³ Pind. Ol. viii. 40.

¹⁴⁴ The presence of the Deity being everywhere compared to a manifestation of the source of light. Æschyl. Choëph. 948.

¹⁴⁵ Orphic H. vii. 13; xxxiii. 8. 21; Frag. 28. 10. Procl. in Timæ. vi. 12, p. 376.

¹⁴⁶ Virg. Georg. iv. 151. Paus. x. 5.

¹⁴⁷ Schol. Lycophr. v. 78.

¹⁴⁸ Paus. ix. 29.

¹⁴⁹ "πανομφαίος." Æschyl. Eumenid. xvii. 554. 558. Bothe. Serv. ad Æn. iii. 251. Schol. Soph. Œd. R. 151. 498. Creuz. S. iii. 193ⁿ. Æschyl. Frag. Sat. i. 2. Those oracles which were as dark by day as by night. Æschyl. Choëph. 802.

¹⁵⁰ Hes. Theog. 901. Comp. Paus. ix. 29. Diod. i. 16. Plut. de Defect. 21. Æschyl. Suppl. Bothe. 331.

The attribute of prophecy which he deputed to Apollo was not founded solely on his representing the "all-seeing, all-hearing sun," but upon the higher notion of Pantheistic omniscience, which may have been inherited from the forests of Epirus or transplanted from the shores of Asia. Poetry and philosophy served only to give different forms of expression to the same immemorial sentiment which, through the treatment of art receding from its universality, lost in intellectual compass what it gained in distinctness. The comprehensiveness of the original feeling was preserved only in the most ancient symbols, such as the scarabæus pointing out the "great Dodonæan parent and artificer,"¹⁵¹ as the all-generating ungenerated cause¹⁵², and the triform or triophthalmic statues of Argolis and Corinth¹⁵³, exhibiting his triple dominion over time and space. And if Zeus was Triopian or Triophthalmic, so also was his son or correlative Apollo¹⁵⁴. Apollo again was akin to the Nomian Pan¹⁵⁵, the "*παρεδρος* of Rhea," and foster-brother of Zeus¹⁵⁶. In the person of Zeus every element and every deity are united¹⁵⁷; his mythical brethren, the autocrats of the sea and shades, were felt to be repetitions of himself¹⁵⁸. It was not without reason that Arcadia and many other places¹⁵⁹ disputed with Crete the honour of his birth¹⁶⁰, for the seemingly new deity was only a reproduction of the Pelasgian or Lycæan Pantheism under a new form. When the starry Atlas is placed under his feet upon the blue parapet surrounding the base of

¹⁵¹ Pind. Fragm. Incert. 19. Creuz. S. iii. 197.

¹⁵² Philostrate. Heroic. ii. 19. Creuz. S. i. 23.

¹⁵³ Pausan. ii. 2 and 24; viii. 46. 2. Müller, Dor. i. 68. Comp. Iliad, xv. 189.

¹⁵⁴ Herod. i. 144. Hymn, Apollo, P. 33.

¹⁵⁵ Soph. Œd. T. 1100. Schol. Æschyl. Agam. 56.

¹⁵⁶ Schol. Pind. Pyth. iii. 139. Eratosth. 27.

¹⁵⁷ Æschyl. Frag. Inc. 36 or 345.

¹⁵⁸ Æschyl. Suppl. 228. 728. Bothe. Soph. Œd. Colon. 1606. Paus. ii. 24. 5; vii. 21. 3. Creuz. Symb. iii. 259, 260.

¹⁵⁹ As Thebes (Tzetzes to Lycophr. 1194), Messenia, the Troad, Lydia, &c.

¹⁶⁰ Paus. iv. 33; viii. 38. Comp. Schol. Apollon. iii. 134. Schol. Pind. Ol. v. 42.

his Olympian statue¹⁶¹, we are reminded that in his allotment of supremacy he only retained the æthereal dominion which he originally possessed as Homeric parent of Aphrodite, who in Hesiod is daughter of Uranus. Athene shared with him the office of thunderer, which he continued to hold as æthereal¹⁶², and even deities most unlike him in their conventional personality betray incidental affinities inevitable supposing their ultimate parallelism. Dionysus is βρομιος, ("Zeus, ἐπιβρομιος), the thunderer, "God the Supreme, inferior to none,"¹⁶³ the old oracular Silenus, father of Apollo, and leader of the Muses¹⁶⁴. The fire which earth received or stole from heaven belonged not only to Hephæstus but to Zeus¹⁶⁵, and the long line of the Achæan descendants of Hermes was referred to the same source¹⁶⁶. The fiction which made the subordinate gods, such as Apollo and Dionysus, his children¹⁶⁷, was a poetical expression of the real metaphysical connexion between these derivatives and himself. If Pausanias saw in Arcadia¹⁶⁸ the statue of Zeus by Polycletus invested with the thyrsus and other Bacchic attributes, the tauriform god ushered into existence by the thunder showers of spring¹⁶⁹, nursed by the Dodonæan nymphs¹⁷⁰, and recovering his reason at the oracular shrine of his father¹⁷¹, is only a specific form of the prolific genius of humidity, the vernal Zeus of Juvenal¹⁷², wedded either to Maia, or Dione¹⁷³, whose riches were represented in Cadmean genealogy by the kindred name of Polydorus and in Thesprotia by the horn of the bull-god Achelous. When Ennius¹⁷⁴

¹⁶¹ Paus. v. 11. 2.

¹⁶² Welcker, Tril. 279. Æschyl. Eum. 825.

¹⁶³ Eurip. Bacchæ, 766.

¹⁶⁴ Guignaut, R. iii. 237. Eurip. v. supr. 1072. 1078.

¹⁶⁵ Hes. Works, 51. Iliad, i. 593.

¹⁶⁶ Iliad, ii. 102.

¹⁶⁷ Æschyl. Choëph. 773.

¹⁶⁸ viii. 31. 2.

¹⁶⁹ Ζεὺς καταιβάτης.

¹⁷⁰ Pherecyd. Sturz. 109. 111. Creuz. iii. 78. 96.

¹⁷¹ Hyg. P. A. ii. 23.

¹⁷² Sat. v. 78. Paus. v. ch. 22. 4.

¹⁷³ Volcker, U. S. 82.

¹⁷⁴ Cic. N. D. ii. 25, p. 306, Creuz.

and Euripides¹⁷⁵, and, earlier than either, Pherecydes, speak of Zeus as the all-encircling æther, an idea which passed into a common phrase¹⁷⁶, the epic son of Cronus is correctly felt to be one with the mystic "son of heaven,"¹⁷⁷ or rather himself to be the firmament or Uranus of the ancient Persian¹⁷⁸, represented under a symbol borrowed perhaps from Scythian habits¹⁷⁹, and insensibly becoming separated from what was eventually discovered to be only his envelopment or dwelling. And when in the celebrated verses sagaciously referred by Plutarch to the Theologers who preceded Thales¹⁸⁰, Zeus is described as the "*πηγη πηγων*," the source of sources, the pantheistic aggregate of nature, the beginning, middle, and end, the androgynous principle of whom sun and moon are members, as well as the historical or mythical deities poetically but not really distinguished from him¹⁸¹, it might be urged that this enlarged conception was a late refinement upon the heroic or Homeric, if Homer himself had not given unquestionable evidence of its antiquity by occasionally himself withdrawing the veil of humanising imagery which hides the father of all gods "greater even than Oceanus,"¹⁸² whom the combined powers of nature are unable to displace¹⁸³. But the process through which the pantheistic god had been transformed into the personal was attended with inevitable contradictions, and the wish to recombine the unravelled attributes of Deity into one sublime whole was thwarted by the coarse physical imagery with which it had become connected. Hence the Zeus of Homer, like that of Hesiod, is an array of antitheses, combining strength with weakness, wisdom with folly, universal

¹⁷⁵ Frag. Incert. 1.

¹⁷⁶ "Sub Jove frigido," or "Malus Jupiter," for bad weather.

¹⁷⁷ Cic. N.D. iii. 21. Æschyl. Frag. 31.

¹⁷⁸ Herod. vii. 8.

¹⁷⁹ Comp. Herod. iv. 23. Pherecyd. Sturz. p. 46.

¹⁸⁰ De Defect. Orac. ch. 48, and called by Plato, Laws, iv. 716^a, a "*παλαιος λογος*." Müller, Mythol. p. 316.

¹⁸¹ Aristotle de Mundo, 7. Orph. H. 7 and 11. Frag. 6, 7.

¹⁸² Iliad, xxi. 195.

¹⁸³ Iliad, viii. 20. 450.

parentage with narrow family limitation, omnipotent control over events with submission to a superior destiny¹⁸⁴, destiny, a name by means of which the theological problem was cast back into the original obscurity out of which the powers of the human mind have proved themselves as incapable of rescuing it, as the efforts of a fly caught in a spider's web to do more than increase its entanglement.

§ 26.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

The great aim of reason is to generalise; to discover unity in multiplicity, order in apparent confusion; to separate from the accidental and transitory the stable and universal. We are said to understand a thing when we can account for it: that is, when we can refer it to some intelligible standard, or see in it the working of some principle through which it blends with what we knew before. In the contemplation of nature, and the vague but almost intuitive perception of a general uniformity of plan among endless varieties of operation and form, arise those solemn and reverential feelings which, if accompanied by intellectual activity, may eventually ripen into philosophy. The inductive philosophy is but an attempt to make this general uniformity intelligible by dissecting it, and by reducing each of its elementary constituents to some principle which, when discovered, takes its place in science as an empirical or ultimate law. But the idea of the universal preceded the recognition of any system for its explanation; it was felt rather than understood, and it was long before the grand conception on which all philosophy rests, received through deliberate investigation that analytical development which might properly entitle it to the name. The

¹⁸⁴ Müller, *Mythol. Trans.* p. 187; *Iliad*, i. 534; viii. 69; xv. 197; xxii. 209. *Creuz. S.* iii. 100.

sentiment, when first observed by the self-conscious mind, was, like all things unaccountable and remote, ascribed to inspiration. "It was a divine gift communicated to mankind by some Prometheus, or by those ancients who lived nearer to the Gods than our degenerate selves."¹ The endeavour to grapple with the aggregate uniformity without decomposing it, or to decompose it solely through the imagination, produced not philosophy but religious poetry. Eager to unlock the universe by a master-key, and to embrace all varieties of phenomena in one comprehensive generalisation, the mind deduced from its first experiences the notion of a general cause or antecedent, which it called Zeus, or God. This inference, however important a step towards the elevation of man's moral being, amounted intellectually only to the statement of a theorem which was obscure in proportion to its generality. It explained all things but itself; it was a *vera causa*, but an incomprehensible one. Ages had to pass before the nature of the theorem could be rightly appreciated, and before men acknowledging the first cause to be an object of faith rather than science, were contented to confine their researches to those nearer relations of existence and succession which are really within the reach of their faculties. The newly awakened intellect, elated with its own powers and discoveries, deserted the real for a hastily formed ideal world, and the imagination usurped the place of reason in attempting to put a construction on the most general and indefinite of conceptions, by transmuting its symbols into realities, and by substantialising it under a thousand arbitrary forms. When these forms had become permanently fixed as creations of art, they were already, in great measure, separated from the faith or reverential feeling in which they originated. The old problem had to be resumed, but the resumption was, in many respects, only a repetition of the old procedure. The same feeling which, in earlier times, had given birth to the idea of Zeus, first as a pantheistic mys-

¹ Plato, Phileb. 16.

tery, afterwards as a personified individual, again produced the notionalities of transcendental philosophy, clothed, indeed, in more argumentative forms of language, but equally claiming superstitious deference, and reposing ultimately on views of nature scarcely more profound than those revealed to the earliest symbolists. The poetical religion of Greece had been an aftergrowth of its hieratic thoughts; and to the same source may be traced the philosophy with which the poetical creations eventually came into collision. Poetry reposed on the same basis as philosophy; it was a feeling of the one in many; an attempt to grasp the universal, which, though overlooking important differences in the pleasure of contemplating a superficial class of resemblances, seemed, through the irresistible tendency to dramatise and personify², to have deliberately abandoned the unity it sought. In the poetry of Homer, a world built, as it were, out of the fragments and ruins of another, the idea of divine unity had become, as in nature, obscured by a multifarious symbolism. The feeling to which his personifications owed their origin had been forgotten; and so complete was the confusion, that the poet was popularly regarded as the founder of religion, although the artificial character of his creations, for instance in Deimos, Phobus, Hypnos, &c., like the usurping God Dinus of comedy³, must have often been obvious to himself. Yet the idea of unity was obscured rather than extinguished, and Xenophanes appeared as an enemy of Homer, only because he more emphatically insisted on the monotheistic element, which in poetry has been comparatively overlooked. Philosophy, the eventual rival of poetry, was, if not its offspring, at least its twin-brother, collaterally descended from the hieratic systems out of which poetry and mythology arose. Hence the saying that the priests were the predecessors

² Poetry is analysis as well as synthesis; "it may at pleasure join what nature has severed, and sever that which nature hath joined; and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things." Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, Book ii.

³ Aristoph. *Clouds*, 826.

of the philosophers⁴; for it has generally happened, in the intellectual development of the world, that the first thinkers have been theological mystics⁵. Of the three forms of religious discipline distinguished by Scævolo or Varro⁶, the physical, the poetical or mythic, and the established or political, and which are assigned respectively to philosophers, to poets, and to legislators, the first or natural system belongs equally to the theologian and to the philosopher; for the first philosophy was only a return to the theology of Nature, in which argument, in some measure, took place of mere imagery, but whose premises and data were of the most superficial kind. Both in their turn claimed to be oracles of pure truth, rather than effusions of imagination, and both signally failed in realising the boast. It is difficult to appreciate correctly the measure of that appeal to the reason which conferred a distinct character in the infancy of philosophy. Reason, in its first professed efforts, attempted like theology the hardest problems; and in trying to emulate the rapidity of the imagination, it unconsciously became its dupe. Like poetry, it began with an examination of the divine, but gave to it a different expression⁷. It was, however, only a slight difference of treatment through which the religious dogmas of antiquity were made to assume the guise and name of a philosophy. A feeble attempt at originality, a superficial appeal from traditional dog-

⁴ "Πρεσβυτατοι φιλοσοφων θεολογοι." Plut. de Anim. Procr. in Timæ. xxxviii. p. 1080. Heraclites was said to have borrowed from Orpheus, and Anaxagoras from Linus. Brandis, i. p. 38.

⁵ Even Parmenides is ranked by Plato with Hesiod, as a theologer, or cosmogonist. Karsten's Parmen. pp. 20, 21. Plato, Symp. p. 195. Plutarch, Pyth. Orac. 18. Diog. L. ix. 3. 3.

⁶ Plutarch de Plac. 6. Amatorius, p. 763. Augustin de Civit. iv. 27. Gieseler's Church Hist. Introd. i. s. 13, n. 11, 12.

⁷ Yet the Ionian epos and hymn might be said to have, in some respects, furnished the formal precedent as well as the text of the earliest Ionian physics, and the Dorian lyric and gnomic muse to have been the commencement of ethics and dialectics. The Attic drama blended the lyric with epic action, and the three great departments of philosophy were united in the schools of Athens.

mas to fact and nature, was probably sufficient in the person of Thales⁸ to convert the one procedure into the other. Yet the change of denomination was justified by a real revolution in the exercise of independent thought; and the Ionian "sages" were justly deemed to have originated a new intellectual era, because their speculations, however puerile or inconclusive in themselves, offered, through an appeal to the understanding, the means of emancipation from theological restraints, and were an important preparatory training for higher efforts of thought. They adopted, indeed, much from an older wisdom; yet not as dogmas to be received without question, but as suggestions to be examined, and, after a certain fashion, proved. Unnecessary pains have been taken to disconnect the career of the Ionian physiologers from the general history of thought, and to make the commencement of the philosophy of Greece as independent of external parentage as the Autochthones who peopled its soil. But the present is ever the growth and consequence of the past, and the inherent life with which the Ionians endowed their universal element was but the ensouled world of Pantheism, a reunion of the elements which poetry had parted and personified. It was the Eastern dogma, set forth in the argumentative spirit of the West as a physical proposition. The first attempts made to solve argumentatively the problem of the universe, were necessarily under the same sensuous influences as those which had given birth to symbolism; for the mind is slow to learn the necessity of self-examination, and is, of course, limited in the search after causes to the sphere of its own consciousness. All philosophy is an effort to discover reality; and in every school of philosophy, the Ionian as well as Eleatic, was implied a doubt as to

⁸ The origin of philosophy is sometimes attributed to Thales, sometimes to Anaximander. Aristot. Metaph. i. 3. It is hardly necessary to assume any era of commencement, since the first philosophy was so nearly allied to theology. Aristotle enumerates three stages in the almost insensible change; the "mythical poets or theologers," the "*μεμιγμένοι*," and the "*δι' ἀποδείξεως λεγοντες*." Metaph. ii. 4—13. 4.

the efficacy of the senses for the purpose. But the doubt was only the commencement of a task which the mind was as yet impotent to perform. Poetry had lost unity in the attempt to decompose it by the sole aid of the senses and imagination; the first philosophy reasserted unity, but, being unequal to investigate its nature, again resigned it to the world of approximate sensations, and became bewildered in materialism. The "All" was considered as substance, partaking the visible and tangible modifications of substance; yet with this difference, that while all objects of sense have a beginning and an end, the conceptional totality or first element was made some refinement of matter unchangeable in its essence, though subject to mutations of quality and form in an eternal succession of seeming decay and regeneration⁹. This first principle, or "*αρχη*," was compared to water, air, or fire, as each speculator endeavoured to refine upon the doctrine of his predecessor, or was influenced by a different class of theological traditions¹⁰.

§ 27.

SEPARATION OF THE MENTAL FROM THE MATERIAL.

The Greek poets, as well as the early philosophers, had felt the universe to be a compound of the mental with the material; but with the former the life of nature was a blind necessity¹; while the development of its intelligent government came to be referred to a race of personifications in whom the idea of descent replaced that of cause, or of pantheistic evolution².

⁹ Arist. Metaph. i. 3. 3.

¹⁰ Earth was not made an *αρχη*, apparently on account of its inert and gross nature, until it became an "element" in the system of Empedocles. Aristot. Metaph. i. 3. 8; iv. 8; viii. 5.

¹ "*χαος αμεγαλτος αναγκη*." Orph. Argon. 12. Plato, Sympos. 413. 417.

² The notion of generated gods, says Heyne, arose from the difficulty of expressing the abstract idea of cause. Yet a more obvious way of doing this would have been by the words "making" or "forming;" these, however, would have been unsuited to express that aboriginal feeling of natural religion, in which the Deity was always conceived as more or less mixed up or identified with Nature.

In the philosophical systems the divine activity³ was restored without subdivision or reservation to nature's aggregate; at first as a mechanical force or life, afterwards as an all-pervading soul or inherent thought, and, lastly, as an external directing intelligence. But in the first experimental examination of those natural objects which had hitherto, concurrently with the personifications of poetry, been esteemed as gods, it was their substantial and visible composition which attracted notice, rather than the intelligent or living power residing in them; just as the first deified personifications of nature borrowed the form of man, without much aid from an appreciation of his mental faculties. Hence the Ionian revival of pantheism was materialistic; the moving force was inseparable from a material element, a subtle yet visible ingredient⁴. Metaphysics were mixed up with physics⁵; and as theological systems had assumed some favourite element as peculiarly original and divine, so the philosophers continued to seek for the Chaos or genetic Oceanus of poetry among the visible things of nature. Under the form of air or fire, the principle of life was associated with its most obvious material machinery⁶. Everything, it was said, is alive and full of gods⁷; the wonders of the volcano, the magnet, the ebb and flow of the tide, are vital indications, the breathing or moving of the Cosmic Leviathan. The water lives with a divine inherent energy, to which Cicero unguardedly gives the name of "mind,"⁸ but which is in reality only the universal $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, or animal life⁹, supposed by the first physical inquirers to be a sufficient explanation of the phenomena of change and motion. The idea was similar, whether the object was a specific element, or a remote abstraction;

³ δραστηριος αρχη.

⁴ εν ὕλης εἶδει. Aristot. Metaph. i. 3.

⁵ Bacon, De Augment. Scient. L. 3, ch. 4, speaks of the injurious effect of mixing teleology with physics.

⁶ Stob. Eclog. Phys. 56.

⁷ Cic. de Leg. ii. 11. Arist. de Anim. i. 2 and 5. Diog. L. i. 27.

⁸ Cic. N. D. i. 10. Stob. Eclog. Phys. i. 3, p. 54.

⁹ Arist. de Anim. i. 8. Herod. iii. 16.

the imperceptible æther of Anaximenes had no positive quality beyond the atmospheric air with which it was easily confused, and even the "Infinite" of Anaximander, though freed from qualitative or quantitative conditions, was but a refinement on the *ύλη*, an ideal chaos relieved of its coarseness by negations; it was the illimitable storehouse or *pleroma* out of which is evolved the endless circle of phenomenal change, differing from the "*μιγμα*" or "*ὁμοῦ πάντα*" of Anaxagoras only in the initial exclusion of parts or qualities¹⁰, and in containing the power of evolution¹¹ within itself¹². Yet it would be wrong to say that the Ionian physiology was no more than materialism, since it sought the real under the disguise of the seeming, it recognised a moving force in the material¹³, and all that can be affirmed is, that the former was not at first so clearly distinguished from the other as it was afterwards. Nor did its efforts evaporate in mere speculation, for it obtained sound results in inquiries where the data were commensurate with the inferences, as in mathematics and the sciences bearing the relative title of "deductive," those, namely, in which the mind is warranted in proceeding independently or deductively at a comparatively early period. The ideas which are the bases of these sciences, such as space and time, figure and number, so readily attained that they seem intuitive, a portion of the mind rather than suggestions of nature, were employed familiarly long before their real character was understood, and through want of psychological experience, the common forms or properties, which exist only as attributes¹⁴, were treated as substances, or at least as making a substantial connection between

¹⁰ It was not "all things," as Aristotle would have said "*ἐνεργεια*," but only "*δυναμις*." *Metaph.* 11, (12,) 2, 3.

¹¹ "*αἰδίου κινήσεως*."

¹² It is the "mixture," out of whose self-effected development the world arises. *Aristot. ubi s.* Brandis, *Hist. Phil.* i. 128. 132.

¹³ *Aristot. de Anim.* i. 2 and 5. "*Διηκεῖν δια τοῦ στοιχειώδους ὕγρου δύναμιν θείαν κινήτικόν αὐτοῦ*." *Stobæ. Ecl. Phys.* i. 54.

¹⁴ "Ainsi, les choses ont fait place aux conceptions mathématiques, et les termes s'évanouissent dans leurs rapports." Cousin.

the objects to which they belong. All the conditions of material existence were supposed to have been evolved out of the Pythagorean monad¹⁵. It is only by degrees that the mind, by reflecting on its capacity of acting on the external world, becomes able to separate that world from itself, and to make a distinct classification of its powers and ideas. At first, perception is confounded with conception, and every subject of thought is presumed to have a corresponding object in nature. As conceptions multiply a divergence is noticed between sensations and inferences, and the separation thus made becomes the germ of a better idealism. But the first idealism is mystical and realistic; and the attempts of the Eleatic philosophers to separate the inferences of the reason from the deceptive impressions of the ear and eye, partially contributed to confound them. The protest of Xenophanes against the fallacies of the senses ended in an absolute denial of their evidences, of generation, multiplicity, and change. In order to escape from the paradox of the world of experience, philosophy devised the greater paradoxes of metaphysics. In the pride of new discovery, conceptions were treated not only as entities, but as the only entities, and as alone possessing the stability and reality vainly sought among phenomena. The only reality was thought¹⁶. "All real existence," said the Eleatic philosophers, "is mental existence; non-existence being inconceivable, is therefore impossible; existence fills up the whole range of thought, and is inseparable from its exercise; thought and its object are one."¹⁷ The first decomposition of the universe had been seized upon by the fancy, which, dwelling on the many aspects of nature rather than its unity, converted it into the gods and goddesses of poetry. The Ionian reaction reunited the scattered elements pantheistically, but in the resulting

¹⁵ "τον αριθμον ὡς ὑλην τοις οὐσι." Aristot. Metaph. i. 5. 5, and xiii. 3. "τας τουτων,—i. e. των μαθηματων—αρχας των οντων αρχας ωηθησαν." Ibid.

¹⁶ The difference between the Ionians and Eleatæ was this: the former endeavoured to trace an idea among phenomena by aid of observation; the latter evaded the difficulty by dogmatically asserting the objective existence of an idea.

¹⁷ Karsten's Parmenides, v. 93.

aggregate made the constant subordinate to the changeful, the inferences of reason to those of the senses, impliedly though not intentionally merging the moving force which was virtually god¹⁸ in matter. But the motion and change perceived by the senses suggest to the reason a continuing substratum in which the changes arise, or on which they operate. The contradictory positions of the physists could not all be true; and the idealist, in consciousness of the superiority of inward thought to outward impression, pronounced them all alike false. In rivalry with the sensuous dogmas of multiplicity, generation, and change, he overleaped intermediate abstractions to assert the unmoved, eternal, and one¹⁹. He thus produced a permanent and beneficial effect on philosophy by dividing the results of thought into the two classes of the sensational and mental²⁰. But the separation was neither correctly made nor consistently maintained. The physist had made a sudden spring into the antipodes of abstraction, and had yet to learn the relative character of the new region. In some respects the separation was carried too far, in others it was imperfect. Hence the theology of Xenophanes, and the metaphysics of Parmenides appeared to Aristotle and others as a mere form of physiology²¹. The metaphysics of the theological physist were not those of the logician, the method of the one being too vague to satisfy the other²². Xenophanes is said to have used ambiguous language, applicable to the material as well as to the mental, and exclusively appropriate to neither²³. In

¹⁸ *Αρχη κινήσεως*, or "causa efficiens."

¹⁹ *ἡ του οντος ἰδεα*. Plato, *Sophista*, 254^a. Aristot. *de Gen. et Corr.* i. 8.

²⁰ *Τη δοξαστον* and the *νοητον*.

²¹ Comp. Arist. *de Cælo*, iii. 1. 5. Karsten's *Xenophanes*, p. 133^{sq.}. Karsten's *Parmenides*, p. 196^{sq.}. "C'était seulement résoudre la nature dans une existence universelle qui n'en diffère que par l'abstraction, et n'est que la nature même considérée comme une. Aussi le dieu de Xenophane et de Parménide n'est il encore que le monde." Ravaisson, *Metaph. d'Aristote*, tom. ii. p. 3.

²² "*Δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν των αναλυτικων τουτο δρωσι*." Arist. *Metaph.* iii. 3. 5.

²³ "*Της φυσικης ουδετερας (i. e. του κατα λογον ενος και του κατα την υλην), εοικε θιγειν*." Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 5. 12; comp. iii. 5. 16. A similar want of logical

other words, he availed himself of material imagery to illustrate an indefinite meaning; he had not the precision of logic, and though blaming the poets for attributing human forms to the universal being, he yet, in announcing the one, appealed to the heavens as its visible manifestation, giving to it the epithet of sphericity borrowed from the *κοσμος*²⁴. It was in this way that in the hands of Anaxagoras and Euripides, Zeus seemed to end his career as he commenced it among his old worshippers, the Pelasgi, as a personified Uranus or Æther. Parmenides employed similar expedients, comparing his metaphysical deity to a sphere, or to heat, an aggregate or a continuity²⁵, and so involuntarily withdrawing its nominal attributes. Notwithstanding formal protestations, these friends or worshippers of notions²⁶ might therefore seem, in many respects, deserving to be classed with their Ionian predecessors; the very association they endeavoured to avoid when, reserving implicit belief for the conclusions of reason, they published collateral unconnected theories which they confessed to be addressed only to opinion, containing a more hesitating statement of half legendary dogmas and empirical physics. For the transcendental ontology which they professed to keep distinct from mere opinion was rendered obscure by the means used to explain it²⁷, and seemed as mockery to an acute logician²⁸, reconvert- ing philosophy into poetry or religious symbolism.

thought and consistent expression seems to have been the "*αγροικία*" attributed to Melissus. Brandis, H. P. i. 405.

²⁴ Plat. Timæ. 33^b. Karsten's Xenoph. 120. Brandis, i. 362. 369.

²⁵ *ὅλον*, or *συνεχές*.

²⁶ "*τῶν εἰδῶν φίλοι*." Plat.

²⁷ "*οὐδὲν διασαφηνίσιν*," says Aristotle of Xenophanes (Metaph. i. 5), "*διεξέρχεται τοῖς μύθοις*," says Plato (Sophist. p. 242); Xenophanes said God was neither moved nor unmoved, limited nor unlimited; he did not even attempt to express clearly what cannot be conceived clearly; he admitted, says Simplicius, that such speculations were above physics. Karsten's Xenoph. p. 106.

²⁸ Aristot. Metaph. ii. 4. 12, for "*οἱ ἐν σοφοῖς φαυλοὶ παρ' οὐλοῦ μουςικωτέροι λεγέιν*." Eurip. Hippol. 993.

§ 28.

DEIFICATION OF MIND.

Men dealt with the mind as savages with a mirror or picture; the first vague curiosity was afterwards concentrated on the structure of the medium through which impressions had been received. Difficulty begot invention; and a doubt of the possibility of knowledge¹ was the origin of psychology. The separation between the results gradually led to a distinction between the powers of thought; but the latter distinction when made was not so much a contemplated result of inquiry as a conclusion forced on it in the course of dialectical and physical speculation; for it was rather incidentally than directly that Anaxagoras was led to conclusions respecting mind so prolific and original that all other philosophers seemed to have been by comparison asleep². The extreme doctrines of the Eleatics naturally produced reaction. The All might be admitted to be one and unchangeable, yet composed of an infinity of primary parts whose combinations and mutations constitute what appear to be generation and destruction. An effort was accordingly made to mediate between materialism and idealism, to fill up the chasm by explaining unity without wronging the senses, and multiplicity without offence to the reason. This was the scope of the Atomic school, which, taken in its widest extent, may be called an attempt to ascertain the point where appearance ends, and where unity and immutability begin, thence endeavouring to explain the universe on mechanical or empirical principles³. The first Ionians had blended the moving force, which to them was Nature's reality⁴, with matter, as in a living fire or "hylæozoic" water. The Eleatics evaded the explanation of a "causa efficiens" by denying all value to

¹ "ακαταληψία. Comp. Stobæ. Ecl. Eth. 2. 1, p. 157.

² Proclus in Timæ. p. 1.

³ Comp. Nov. Org. 1. Aph. 64.

⁴ "δραστηρίου αρχή" or "αρχή κινήσεως."

the evidence of the senses in the investigation of the real, and so treating not generation and decay alone, but motion of every kind as fantasy or delusive appearance⁵. The Ionians, believing in the reality of motion, endeavoured to discover its cause below the surface of the most obvious appearances. A farther advance in the same direction among the later Ionians produced a more accurate subdivision of the problematical "all" into matter and force⁶; both the matter and the force being however differently conceived and described by different thinkers. By all of them matter was deemed unchangeable in its ultimate constitution, though infinitely variable in its resultant forms. The Atomic school of Leucippus propounded the derivation of all qualitative variety from the quantitative composition of homogeneous atoms⁷; while Anaxagoras and Empedocles maintained the existence of ultimate elementary particles of distinct kinds; these in the system of the latter were only four; in that of the former, they varied in form and quality⁸ as infinitely as the diversified appearances exhibited in their combinations. Anaxagoras was therefore so far a kind of Atomist; his "homœomery" means *similar* or qualitative atomology. But the sequel of the Atomic school in one respect closely adhered to the older Ionian physics; they required no mover or director of the atoms external to themselves; no universal reason⁹, but a mechanical eternal necessity like that of the poets¹⁰. Anaxagoras conformed so far to the tenets of Ionia as not to dispute the evidences of the senses to some extent as even objectively correct; but he had learned from the Italic school to hold their evidence subordinate to that of reason. Probably there never was a time when reason could be said to be entirely asleep, a stranger to its own existence. The earliest

⁵ Arist. Metaph. i. 3. 12; i. 5. 11.

⁶ Aristot. ib.

⁷ "αποια."

⁸ The inconsistency of this theory is pointed out by Aristotle, Metaph. i. 8. 13.

⁹ λογος, or "γνωμη," of Heraclitus.

¹⁰ "αναγκη." Stobæ. Ecl. Phys. Heeren. i. 56. 60. 160. 442. Arist. Metaph. i. 4. 12.

contemplation of the external world which brings it into an imagined association with ourselves, assigns to it either in its totality or its parts the sensation and volition which belongs to our own souls. It was this spreading of mind over the objects it contemplates which from the first gave dignity to the Fetish, and which even makes it doubtful whether this grovelling worship can ever, strictly speaking, be said to have existed. It was this which in a later intellectual state became transformed by poetry into a being or beings acting with human caprice and passion upon a world apart from them, and either represented as a progressive evolution of the more perfect (Zeus) from the less (Cronus, Chaos, &c.), or by an inversion of the real order of mental development carrying back the more finished creations of imaginative intellect to the world's origin¹¹. Philosophy restored to nature what had been separated from it by poetry, and the God-teeming world of Thales¹² was only a more simple expression or analysis of the foundations of polytheism. But in this, as in the earliest deification of nature, the intelligent principle was mixed up with the material, and an effective separation took place only when man distinctly recognised within himself a dualism corresponding to that which seemed to be exhibited around him¹³. Proportioned to the advance of self-consciousness is the necessity of making the power, which is more and more impressively and clearly felt to be its source, take part in the regulation of the universe; and, as man is always inclined to believe his earth, or even his country or city, to be the universal centre, the progress of centralization keeps pace with the widening sphere of self-knowledge, until the pivot of the world is deliberately placed within his own mind. The efforts of philosophy which had already tended to separate the mental from the material had but partially succeeded, since the separation had again become in-

¹¹ Aristot. *Metaph.* xiii. 4. 4.

¹² "παντα πληρη Θεων."

¹³ Aristotle alludes to this change, yet does not account for it. *Metaph.* i. 3, s. 14, 15.

visible through superficial explanations, so that an intellectual idea of the divine was scarcely formed when it was again withdrawn into the bosom of Nature, and the results of psychological reflection became but parts of a material physiology. The aëriform soul of Anaximenes or Diogenes¹⁴ was only a drier statement of the Homeric phantom or exhalation which, escaping through the mouth or from a wound, feebly mimics the form and actions of the body. Heraclitus strove to express with more becoming dignity the principle of all movement and of intelligence¹⁵, but allowed both the human mind and the divine, of which it was part, to fall back into the sphere of the material when he compared it to fire, however the materialism might be disguised by negatives or limitations, such as the invisible nature of the fire affirmed to be like gold, the universal medium of circulation or exchange (“*αμοιβη*,”) giving birth to the visible by its own extinction. Anaxagoras seems to have more distinctly recognised the internal dualism, and to have therefore more clearly seen the impossibility of passing by illustration or definition beyond a reasonable faith or simple negation of immateriality, when he asserted the moving force to be mind; yet he did not altogether desist from the endeavour to illustrate its nature by symbols drawn from those physical considerations which decided him in placing it in a separate category. He considered that whether as human reason, or as the regulating principle in nature, it was different from all other things in character and effect, and must therefore also differ in its essential or “homœomeric” constitution. It was neither matter, nor a force conjoined with matter or homogeneous with it, but independent and generically distinct; distinct in this remarkable particular, that whereas all other things in nature are infinitely complex by the intermingling of their elements, their specific qualities and character being determined only by the predominance of a certain kind of homœo-

¹⁴ Stobæ. Ecl. Phys. i. 796.

¹⁵ “*γνωμη*,” Brandis, Handbuch, i. 174.

meric atoms in each¹⁶, mind, the source of all motion, separation, and cognition, is something entirely unique, pure, and unmixed, and being so unhindered by any interfering influence limiting its independence of individual action, obtains supreme empire over all things, over the vortex of worlds as well as over all that live in them. Yet mind, though in nature unique and uncompounded¹⁷, is in its energy most penetrating and powerful¹⁸, mixing with other things though no other thing mixes with it, exercising universal control and cognition¹⁹, and including the cosmical necessity or world mechanism of poetry²⁰, as well as the independent power of thought which we experience within ourselves. It is, in short, both these conceptions united; the self-conscious power of thought extended to the universe, and exalted into the supreme external mind which sees, knows, and directs all things²¹. By this hypothesis pantheism as well as materialism was avoided, and matter, though as infinitely varied as the senses represent it, was held in a bond of unity transferred to a ruling power apart from it. The latter could not be prime mover if itself moved, nor all-governing if not apart from the things it governs. Were the arranging principle inherent in matter it would have been impossible to account for the existence of a chaos; but if it were something external, the old Ionian doctrine of a "beginning"²² became more easily conceivable as being the epoch at which the arranging intelligence commenced its operations. These operations

¹⁶ "Εν παντι παντος μοιρα ενεστι πλην νοου"—"εκάστου κατα το επικρατούν χαρακτηριζομένου." Anaxag. Frag. Schaub, vii. 8, pp. 114, 115.

¹⁷ καθαρώτατον.

¹⁸ λεπτοτάτον και ισχυει μεγιστον.

¹⁹ γνωμην περι παντος πασαν ισχει.

²⁰ Comp. Plato, Timæus, p. 56.

²¹ Αποδιδωσι δ' αμφω τη αυτη αρχη, το τε γινωσκειν και το κινειν· λεγων νουν κινήσατο παν.—Aristot. de Anim. i. 2. "παντα εγνω νους."—Simpl. in Arist. Phys. 33^b. Tenneman, Hist. i. 313. 316. "νουν κοσμοποιον τον Θεον."—Stobæ. Ecl. Phys. i. 56. Sext. Empir. Math. ix. 6. Cic. Acad. Q. iv. 37. "νουν δε τις ειπων ενειναι καθαπερ εν ζωοις και τη φύσει, τον αιτιον και του κοσμου και της ταξέως πασης, οίον νηφων εφανη παρ' εικη λεγοντας τους προτερον."—Simpl. in Phys. Arist. 321.

²² "γινεσις."—Arist. de Cælo, iii. 1. 7.

though variously manifested, as in the growth of plants, the discretion of animals, and the movements of the world, are ultimately the same all-pervading power which includes *φρονσις* as well as *κινησις*, and whose universality reduces the idea of Fate or Chance to a mere empty name²³. But the grand idea of an all-governing independent mind which raised the natural philosophy of Anaxagoras above the level of materialism, and rather classed it with the Stoical and Platonic developments than with the Epicurean followers of Democritus and Leucippus, involved difficulties which proved insuperable. Theism introduced a dualism of mind and matter²⁴, which, Diogenes of Apollonia rejecting, was unavoidably carried back into pantheism. Theism again was nearly akin to the idea of a moral governor, a divine personality, a philosophical Zeus²⁵; but Anaxagoras discreetly passed over in silence the inexplicable mysteries of causal intelligence, dwelling as an investigator of physics rather on the visible mechanism of nature than on theological or moral inferences from the details of its constitution. He had indeed theoretically included in "intelligence" not only life and motion, but the moral principle of the noble and the good²⁶; and it was perhaps only from the popular misapplication of the term "God," to which every step in religious advancement gives an apparently new meaning²⁷, that he employed exclusively that of "*νοῦς*," as being less liable to misconstruction, and more specifically marking his idea²⁸. But he was perhaps hardly aware of the psycho-

²³ Comp. Karsten's Xenophanes, p. 183, with Schaubach's Anax. 36. 152. 191.

²⁴ Arist. Metaph. xiii. 4. 6.

²⁵ Hence the first principle of philosophers was often called Zeus, for instance, the fire principle, "*πυρ αἰζων*" of Heraclitus, and the infinite æther of Anaxagoras, Zeus having already absorbed the poetical "*Ἀναγκη*" (Eurip. Alcest. 978), and "*Μοιρα*" (Hes. Theog. 904).

²⁶ Arist. de Anim. i. 2. Metaph. i. 3. 11; ii. 3. 11. 10. 8. Plato, Cratyl. 413^c.

²⁷ Plato, Euthyphro, p. 3. Hence Socrates was called a "maker of gods."

²⁸ Xenophanes used the word *Θεός* for the Universal, and employed it also more vaguely in the plural conformably with common usage (Karsten, p. 114); hence he speaks of God ruling among the gods, and of "the parts of God;" as Empedocles gave the same title to the four elements. (Arist. de Gen. et Corrup. ii. 6. 12. De

logical and religious bearing of his system; or he may have designedly avoided a subject foreign to his immediate design, and which did not at the time admit of satisfactory treatment. He assumed, once for all, that chaos was arranged by mind; and, having done so, he endeavoured to trace phenomena, as far as it was then possible, through secondary causes. The requirements of Socrates in the *Phædo*²⁹ were not to be expected from a physiologist; Socrates looked for moral inferences, Anaxagoras for physical contrivances. The latter could not have derived from his hypothesis the inferences which could have satisfied Socrates, since he was far from having attained that commanding knowledge of the arrangements of the universe which would have enabled either philosopher to read the same moral lessons in its general plan which they might and did obtain from a few familiar instances. Hence the "intelligence" principle remained practically liable to many of the same defects as the "necessity" of the poets. It was the presentiment of a great idea which it was for the time impossible to explain or follow out. The intelligent principle was not yet intelligible, nor was even the road opened through which it might be approached³⁰. Even where we are able to observe causes³¹ it does not follow that we see intentions. In inferring providential design from the action of physical laws, we are liable to be deceived through the difficulty or rather impossibility of seeing particular results in combination with the ge-

Anim. i. 2. 10. Schaubach's *Anaxag.* 154.) Parmenides and Anaxagoras drop the name "God" (Karsten, P. 215); Plato uses it in the general sense of the divine or by way of illustration; his word for "God" is properly "*πατηρ*," or "*δημιουργος των όλων*."

²⁹ Plato, *Phædo*, ch. 46. *Leges*, xii. 696. Aristotle, *Metaph.* i. 4, 5, and xiii. 4. Plutarch, *Defect. Orac.* ch. 47. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 364.

³⁰ Bacon (as above quoted, p. 338), says that the natural philosophy of Democritus and some others, who did not suppose a mind or reason in the frame of things, seems, as far as we have the means of judging, to have been better inquired than that of Aristotle and Plato, and this because the latter intermingled final causes or teleology with physics; the intermixture necessarily intercepting and interrupting the severe and diligent inquiry of real and physical causes.

³¹ *i. e.* "material" or "efficient" causes, or physical antecedents and conditions.

neral plan to which they are subservient. Moral bearings can be adequately appreciated only when physical causes are thoroughly understood. The Socratic objection would have made teleology precede physiology, and, at a time when the latter was in its infancy, would have inferred all the phenomena of the universe deductively from the moral attributes of its author. Happily it is not necessary to have reached so sublime a height in order to believe in divine benevolence, and to justify the moral alliance of "Ananke" with Zeus³². It may be difficult to conceive a perfect will without confounding it with something like mechanism, since language has no name for that combination of the inexorable with the moral which the old poets had separately personified in Ananke or Eimarmene and Zeus. All that we familiarly know of free-will being that capricious exercise of it which we experience in ourselves and other men, the notion of will guided by infallible law seems in danger either of being stripped of the essential quality of freedom, or else of being degraded under the ill name of necessity to something of less moral and intellectual dignity than the fluctuating course even of human operations³³. Education, however, elevates the idea of law above that of partiality or tyranny, nay, discovers that the self-imposed limitations³⁴ of the supreme cause constituting an array of certain alternatives regulating moral choice are the very sources and safeguards of human freedom. Yet the mind which has thus outgrown the idea of a partial god is expected to retract and to submit to vulgar opinion under pain of that reproach of atheism which, though never incurred by barbarians³⁵, is a charge commonly urged against philosophy by those intellectual barbarians who cling like children to the god whom they suppose to feed them, speak to them, and flatter them. Anaxagoras was proscribed because he seemed to have desecrated both the God of nature and the

³² Eurip. *Alcest.* 978.

³³ Plato, *Laws*, xii. 967.

³⁴ By Anaxagoras considered as the eternal conditions of matter.

³⁵ *Ælian*, V. H. ii. 31.

God of poetry; he reduced both to what appeared an irrational mechanism³⁶, without being able to transfer to the new conception the convictions and feelings habitually connected with the old.

§ 29.

DECLINE OF POLYTHEISM AND OF PHILOSOPHY.

The seeming strife between religion and philosophy is rather of form and application than of substance. Each displays an image of truth appreciable by different minds. Each strives to grasp the supra-sensual; but one claims a divine sanction for forms expressing, though but obscurely, the simplest conclusions of reason, the other makes a selection among inferences, and appeals not to authority but evidence. One treats human nature as stationary, the other as progressive; philosophy in the progressive education of mind and thought contemplates an endless career; while religion, which in many respects is but a rudimentary and fettered philosophy, becomes arrested in its march and enslaved to the first forms or symbols it happens to assume. Religion, therefore, is better suited to the masses, while philosophy is confined to the few. For, to the many who shrink from intellectual still more than from physical toil, it is far easier to believe that God has himself furnished a solution of every difficult problem, than to suppose that here as elsewhere nothing really valuable can be gained without labour. The very diffidence of philosophy rendering it improveable and progressive, and so eventually raising it above that which, however unfairly, commonly engrosses the name of religion, makes it seem unsatisfactory to the unintellectual, who on the principle of division of employments not unreasonably expect to be regularly supplied with positive and reliable results, to be spared the difficulty of a choice which they have neither leisure nor power to make, and to be exempted from the

³⁶ “*ἀνοὺν εἶναι τὸν Δία—ἐνθμισ.*” Anaxag. Frag. Schaub. p. 152.

necessity of themselves conducting the government they pay for. They rail against philosophers as slaves against revolutionists, and, suspecting the extra obligations of freedom, stoutly defend against speculative encroachments those accredited forms which in their idea are order and religion itself, the civil being the readiest resource against anarchy, the religious explaining all they wish to know intelligibly and confidently. It was only by slow degrees, and even then but indirectly, that Greek philosophy became opposed to Greek religion. Its first commencements involved little more than a reversion from the Zeus of Homer to something like the mysticism of the Pelasgians. Even when ideas had changed, names were as far as possible preserved, professors endeavouring to accommodate themselves to common language by means of exegesis, and like Pythagoras or Socrates maintaining a decent conformity with existing institutions¹. The drift of philosophy could not, however, fail to be ultimately subversive of an artificial system, especially one so grossly polytheistic. The diminished belief in mythi was indicated by the decreasing fertility in inventing them, and as the devices of symbolism were gradually stripped away in order, if possible, to reach the fundamental conception, the religious feeling habitually connected with it seemed to evaporate under the process. Yet the advocates of monotheism, Xenophanes and Heraclitus, declaimed only against anthropistic forms; they did not attempt to strip nature of its divinity, but rather to recall religious contemplation from an exploded symbolism to a purer one. The philosophers deified nature though not the tinsel of her poetic clothing; they continued the veneration which in the background of poetry has been maintained for sun and stars, the fire or æther². Socrates prostrated himself before the rising

¹ But the Socratic philosophers appear to have really attributed a certain inspiration of truth to mythi, and to have considered religion as generally impossible unless established on a popular foundation.

² Diog. Laert. viii. 1. 17 and 19. Porphyry. De Abst. 168 and 242. Eurip. Frag. Inc. 1.

luminary³, and the eternal spheres which seemed to have shared the religious homage of Xenophanes, retained a secondary and qualified divinity in the schools of the Peripatetics and Stoics⁴. The physical deities were, however, separated from the unseen being or beings revealed only to intellect⁵; the former continued to be received with equal respect, though in a different meaning, by learned and unlearned; while the latter became the theme of philosophy, and their more ancient symbols, if not openly discredited, were passed over with evasive generality as beings respecting whose problematical existence we must be "content with what has been reported by those ancients who, assuming to be their descendants, must therefore be supposed to have been well acquainted with their own ancestors and family connections."⁶ The Anaxagorean theism was more decidedly subversive not only of mythology but of the whole religion of outward nature; it was an appeal from the world without to the consciousness of spiritual dignity within man; a desecration of nature, yet a dangerous rival to art, and the first signal of an avowed separation between reason and imagination. The God of Philosophy, a son of Metis or Wisdom, instead of a new nature-god, or son of Thetis⁷, should now have realised the menace put into the mouth of Prometheus by Æschylus⁸, and have driven Zeus and his compeers into the caverns of the west to share the exile of Cronus. But philosophy is far more rapidly and widely diffused in its negative than its reconstructive effects; and, as savages greedily receive the corruptions of civilization without benefiting by its

³ Plato, *Sympos.* 220. *De Leg.* x. 887 (182). Stalbaum to *Timæ.* 40 (p. 169), and *Proleg.* p. 15.

⁴ Arist. *Metaph.* xi. 8. *Comp.* v. 1. 10. *Eth. Nic.* vi. 6. *De Cælo*, ii. 1. 3.

⁵ Plato, *de Leg.* xi. 264. *Comp.* Apuleius *de Deo Socr.* ch. i. p. 116; and *De Mundo*, 343 (p. 401, Hild.). *Macrob. Sat.* i. 23. *Cæsar, B. G.* vi. 21. *Menag.* to *Diog. Laert.* viii. 27.

⁶ Plato, *Timæus*, p. 40. Zeller. *Phil. d. Gr.* ii. 306.

⁷ Compare Heyne to *Apollod.* i. 3. 6.

⁸ Following, probably, some dogma of traditional or Orphic theology. Ch. Renouvier, *Manuel de Philosophie Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 76.

aids and restraints, so the mass of mankind, too indolent to accompany the march of thought, must either cling fanatically to habitual ideas, or sink into scepticism and indifference. For a time, perhaps, the bond of a common incredulity may supply the place of community of creed, and the task of examining and destroying a discredited system may satisfy the activities of the age without many disturbing thoughts respecting the difficulty of replacing it. Philosophy contemplated the wreck of ancient superstitions either in the spirit of poetical playfulness or of antiquarian examination; endeavouring occasionally to revive in some sort the credit of the idol by explaining and accounting for its meaning. Anaxagoras and Metrodorus resumed the speculations of Theagenes of Rhegium, asserting the gods and heroes to be personifications of the elements⁹; a method generally adopted by the Stoics and new Platonists, who, while in many respects they put a just construction on ancient mythology, were unable to escape that common error of reporters and translators which intermingles their own dogmas with what they would record or explain¹⁰. Such a proceeding, however, presupposed a subversion of faith; the charitable assistance held out to religion implied its subversion. Speculators more careless and irreverend, like Critias the tyrant¹¹, asserted the Gods to have been a mere invention of priests and an expedient of police; while historians, from Hecatæus to Diodorus, or such of them as were enabled by disbelief in mythology to indulge in an unimpassioned examination of it, attempted the "pragmatical," or matter of fact interpretation which treated the Gods as deified mortals, forgetting that if the titles of divinity were to be regarded as a mere exaggeration of grateful feeling to mortal benefactors, the origin of those titles and of the religious sentiment itself from

⁹ Diog. L. ii. 7. 11.

¹⁰ Cic. N. D. i. 13. 15. Menag. ad Diog. L. vii. vol. ii. p. 213, Huebner. Maximus Tyrius (Dissert. 10) attempts to prove that poetry and philosophy speak the same truth. Comp. Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 156.

¹¹ Sext. Empir. Math. 318.

whence they are derived remains as problematical as before¹². For when men first began professedly to record facts, they imputed the same intention to ages unconscious of it, and the anthropism of the poets was but the unwitting commencement of a system more deliberately followed out by historians of treating ideas as facts or persons. Of the latter class the greatest enemy of religion was the Epicurean Euhemerus, who affected to have discovered the genealogical history of the gods in the authentic archives of some remote island, just as a modern novelist finds his materials in an old trunk or among the papers of a deceased friend. The presumed deification of ancient kings was a symptom which, like the actual deification of cotemporaries, indicated either a diminution of religious feeling, or a change in its direction, which left the popular symbols as empty and lifeless forms to be overthrown by the first shock, and supplanted by the first plausible competitor.

§ 30.

THEOSOPHY OF ARISTOTLE.

But amidst the silence or corruption of oracles, the disuse and ruin of temples, when the polytheistic system was treated as a mere engine of state policy¹, or of private jobbing², why, it may be asked, was philosophy unable to fill the vacancy it had created, or to construct a system unassailable by itself? It was not merely because its indecision and the remoteness of its speculations from common thought were inconsistent with extensive popularity, but because it had betrayed its own cause by perversities akin to those of religions. It began to build without an adequate foundation, to philosophise beyond the range of experience, to erect a science where there were data only for faith. It overlooked without sufficiently examining

¹² Sext. Empir. Math. ix. 34.

¹ Strabo, 1, 2, p. 36. Polyb. vi. 56.

² Acts xix. 24.

the problem before which religion had prostrated itself, and became discredited by failure in an impossible attempt. The source of philosophy was doubt, presumption that of its decline. Doubt took refuge in dogmatism; dogmatism reverted to universal doubt, giving rise to astonishing efforts of speculative profundity, but eventually provoking a reaction in which philosophy in despair reverted to its superannuated parent, and appealing to Eastern mysticism sank back into the arms of faith. Scepticism had arisen out of the impossibility of discovering a criterium to arbitrate in the conflict of opinions. Extreme differences in relation to the same things led at last to the conviction that the source of error was not in nature, but in the inadequate preparation, if not incapacity, of the observer. Repelled by the fruitless issue of physical inquiry, Socrates turned his attention exclusively to ethics; he endeavoured to discover the forms of moral truth, not in the solitary resources of a single mind, but in the intercourse of many, and so to extract constancy and certainty out of contradiction and variety. Though admitting the imperfection of all human³ knowledge⁴, he neither despaired nor dogmatised; he could not, indeed, have contemplated its essential subjectivity without falling into the scepticism of the sophists; he believed it to be attainable, and, so far as attainable to be divine⁵, so that his philosophy, based upon internal convictions, if not itself dogmatical, had a tendency to dogmatism, to create an indiscriminate idolatry of the mind rather than to give proper direction to its powers. The assumption of an internal criterium was carried to greater lengths by his followers. Mind cannot advance in metaphysics beyond self-deification; in attempting to transcend this it can only enact the further apotheosis of its own subtle conceptions, and so sink below the simpler ground already taken. The general notions which

³ Comp. Aristot. Eth. Nic. vi. 6.

⁴ Plato, Apol. 21. 23. Phæd. 96. Meno, 98. De Rep. vii. 529. Comp. Brandis, H. P. ii. p. 56. Xen. Mem. iii. 9. 6.

⁵ Meno, p. 81. De Legg. x. 899. Xen. Mem. iv. 3. 14.

Socrates had been contented to accept as divinely revealed⁶, Plato conceived to be real existences of a supra-mundane sphere, the prototypes of creation, accounting for our knowledge of them by supposing it awakened by sensation out of the soul's mysterious reminiscences. The object of Plato was to bring into harmony the worlds of "being" and of "becoming," which, on the respective grounds of the Eleatæ and Heraclitus, seemed hopelessly estranged. His system was an attempt partly analogous to that of the Atomists; it would reconcile to the intellect those difficulties which the Atomist would account for to the senses; it tried to surmount the Eleatic paradox of the "το ον" by decomposing it, so as by a sort of metaphysical mythology⁷ to bring it into more agreement with the diversities of appearance. But the arbitrary union ended in a more decided rupture. The realities which Plato could not recognise in phenomena he discovered within his own mind, and as unhesitatingly as the ancient theosophists installed its creations⁸ among the gods. His "lofty understanding, like a watchman on an eminence, did descry that forms⁹ are the true objects of science, yet lost the fruit of his opinion by considering them as abstracted from matter, not confined and determined by it; and so turning his opinion on theology, wherewith all his natural philosophy is infected."¹⁰ Plato, as most philosophers after Anaxagoras, made the Supreme Being

⁶ "Ου χωριστα." Arist. Metaph. (12), 13. 4, 5.

⁷ "παραπλησιον ποιουντες τοις Θεους μεν ειναι φασκουσιν, ανθρωποειδεις δε." Metaph. ii. 2. 22.

⁸ The αυτοζων, &c.

⁹ "Ειδη." But the *ειδη* of Plato are neither the Baconian forms nor the *ειδη* of Aristotle. The Platonic "forms" are separately existing generalisations apart from, yet mysteriously connected with the visible; the *ειδος* of Aristotle is the "quiddity" or essence determined by the last "difference," the idea of a thing, which, *so far as we know*, is the thing itself; the forms of Bacon are neither logical abstractions nor common experiences, but scientific experience reduced to causes and laws, those uniformities of action and conformation ("process and schematism") which really exist in nature.

¹⁰ Bacon, de Augment. 3, ch. 4.

to be Intelligence¹¹, but, in other respects, left his nature undefined, or rather indefinite through the variety of definitions, a conception floating vaguely between theism and pantheism. Though deprecating the demoralising tendencies of poetry, he was too wise to attempt to replace them by other representations of a positive kind. His language changes with the point of view from which the Deity is contemplated; in the ideal world God is the one existence, the universal generalisation, the head of a metaphysical hierarchy, the “*εἶδος εἰδῶν*,” in the visible world, the remote metaphysical cause comprising, or as it were, producing¹² the *εἰδῆ*, becomes creative intelligence forming the visible after their model¹³; morally, the supreme idea is the supreme good. Plato says justly, that spiritual things can be made intelligible only through figures¹⁴; and the forms of allegorical expression which in a rude age had been adopted unconsciously were designedly chosen by the philosopher as the most appropriate vehicle for theological ideas¹⁵. The language of Aristotle is addressed to the understanding; yet his system, though the noblest effort of antiquity to reunite philosophy with nature, is in the main quite as speculative as Plato's. The method he proposes is that of demonstration founded on induction¹⁶. “Art¹⁷ and science commence when

¹¹ *Philebus*, 28^c.

¹² “*Φυτουργος*.” *Rep.* x. 597^d. The Demiurgus, who makes the generals of which the individual workman constructs the particulars. *Ib.* 596. Comp. Zeller, *Gr. Phil.* ii. 198. 308. Brandis, *Gr. Ph.* 2. 329.

¹³ “*μιμητης των οντων*.”

¹⁴ *Phædo*, 246.

¹⁵ *Timæ.* 28^c. *Aristot. Metaph.* i. 2. 10.

¹⁶ In furtherance of his main object, that of reconciling speculative philosophy with nature, Aristotle was obliged to enlarge the basis of observation, to discuss a wide range of opinions and facts; but, he quickly deserts this task as of inferior importance, in order to indulge in the more sublime one of speculation. Hence, notwithstanding much valuable suggestion as to method (*comp. Anal. Pr.* i. 30. *Post.* i. 18. *Metaph.* i. 9. 33; vi. 17. 6), he becomes a partizan of idealism, and his philosophy, founded on the widest analogies of the phenomenal world, is in its main aspect as transcendental as that which preceded it, a structure magnificent but unreal.

¹⁷ *i. e.* scientific art.

from the multitude of phenomena apprehended by the senses and treasured in the memory (so far constituting experience) are formed through the power of the understanding certain general inferences or axioms embracing all similar cases."¹⁸ The empiric knows the fact, or how to do a thing; the scientific artist knows why or on what principle he does it¹⁹. Experience has shown that the principles of cognition and of existence (*αρχαι* and *αιτιαι*) are reducible to four kinds; matter²⁰, moving force²¹, form²², and final cause²³. The early philosophers investigated these but partially and imperfectly. Some looked for the form of truth in the mere material²⁴; afterwards, when it was felt that the material element could not originate its own changes, the cause was thrown farther back to an independent external principle of motion, an opinion most effectively put forth by Empedocles and Anaxagoras. The study of "forms" was pursued by realistic philosophers from Pythagoras to Plato, who, however, erred in confounding the mere attributes and properties of things with things themselves, and who having assumed the sole real existence to be an unmoved unity, unmoved not only in respect of generation and decay but of all change, were of course spared the trouble of looking for a principle of movement (*causa efficiens*), since movement, and so far, indeed, nature also²⁵, was excluded from their hypotheses. The "*causa finalis*" did not enter into any of these systems as essential, but only incidentally²⁶; and it

¹⁸ Metaph. i. 1. 5. *ἐκ μὲν αἰσθησεως μνημνη, ἐκ δὲ μνημνης ἐμπειρία, ἐκ δ' ἐμπειρίας τεχνῆς ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐπιστημῆς, εἰαν περὶ γενέσιν τεχνῆς, εἰαν δὲ περὶ τὸ οὐ ἐπιστημῆς.* Analyt. Post. ii. 19.

¹⁹ Not only the *ὅτι*, but the *διότι* περὶ ἑκάστων—τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν. Phys. ii. 3.

²⁰ ὕλη.

²¹ *Causa efficiens.*

²² *Causa formalis* or *substantialis*, "*natura naturans.*"

²³ *Τὸ ἀγαθόν*, or *οὐ ἕνεκα*, *causa finalis*. These four are properly "*αιτιαι*," causes. *Αρχή* is a wider expression; every *αιτιον* is an *αρχή*, but there are some *αρχαι* which are not *αιτιαι*.

²⁴ "*ἐν ὕλης εἰδει.*" Metaph. i. 3. 3. Comp. iii. 3.

²⁵ De Cælo, iii. 1. 5.

²⁶ Not *ἅπλως*, but "*τρόπον τινά*" and "*κατὰ συμβεβηκος.*" Metaph. i. 7. 6; ii. 2. 2; xi. 10. 6. Alex. Aphrod. Comment. by Bonitz. p. 47. That is, Aristotle

may be added, that, considering its unavoidable obscurity, (since though we may often glean a moral from nature, we are still far from possessing data wherewith scientifically to moralise the universe,) it is probable that, regarded as mere physical systems, they would have gained rather than lost had the omission been complete²⁷. But since all the four "causes," though diverse in nature, have a common relation²⁸, and are all found combining in a single object, (*e. g.* in the case of a house, the matter is earth and stones, the "form" the plan, the efficient cause the workman's art, the final the utility of the work,) Aristotle thought that all the four, including especially the final cause, belong to one science, and should find their place and explanation in a complete philosophy. Now, in problems respecting production and change, to know is to know the principle of change. Efficient causes, and, to a certain extent, forms, are therefore the objects of physics, since all existence in contemplation of physics is change, and though matter, strictly speaking, is a mere absence of the characters of determinate being, the bare substratum of category²⁹, yet it must be clothed in form, and endowed with a dynamic or static principle of action before it can be "*φυσις*," an object of physical study³⁰. Forms, however, are objects of study in themselves, and belong peculiarly to that science which, in

shows God to be the good to which all things tend; Plato only made the good a predicate of the Creator.

²⁷ Comp. Nov. Org. Bk. 2. Aph. 2. Plato's teleology is exemplified in the *Timæus*, where it is argued that God did so and so because it was best, the fact of his having done so being arbitrarily assumed. See pp. 46^c and 68^e. *Phædo*, p. 97.

²⁸ "*Ου καθ' ἓν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μίαν λεγομένην φύσιν*" (*Alex. Aphrod. to Met. Γ, 2*, p. 197, Bonitz), their point of common direction or convergence being the grand object of metaphysics.

²⁹ *i. e.* The *ύλη πρώτη*, ultimate, not approximate matter (*Metaph. iv. 4. 3*), the "*δυναμει ον*," potential or quasi being, the middle term between form and privation. It is something in itself unperceived, "*αγνωστος καθ' αὐτήν*," but "*ἐπιστητή κατ' αναλογίαν*," a presumption or inference from actual phenomena. *Phys. i. 7. 13. Metaph. iv. 4; vi. 7; vi. 10. 18.*

³⁰ *Phys. ii. 1.* "*ου μονον περι της ύλης δεῖ γνωρίζειν τον φυσικον, ἀλλὰ και (μεχρι του, της ουσιας Phys. ii. 2. 11) της κατα τον λογον, και μαλλον.*" *Metaph. vi. 11. 13.*

consideration of the higher nature of its object³¹, takes precedence of all others, the science of being, or metaphysics³². All science is to Aristotle as to Plato, the application of thought to discover being and its principles³³; and the first science is that which inquires into the nature and principles not of a particular kind of truth or being, but of being in general; being in its abstract form and widest extent³⁴. We are here thrown back upon those Platonic speculations to whose realistic results Aristotle was opposed. Plato reduced all philosophy to metaphysics (*διαλεκτική*), to a work of pure reason. Aristotle made the exertion of the philosophical reason conditional on the acquisition of experience, yet would have held philosophy incomplete if disqualified from expatiating in the domain of pure reason. Here the common processes of induction and demonstration must be admitted to be inefficient³⁵; yet from things which, though but feebly known, are to a certain extent within our reach (*ἡμιν γνωριμα*) we must do our best to arrive at absolute knowledge³⁶; that knowledge which is ever pursued with more avidity in proportion to its remoteness and difficulty, as lovers set a higher value upon a hasty glimpse of what they love than on accurate views

³¹ That of which "*φύσις*" is only part. *Metaph.* iii. 3, 4.

³² *Phys.* i. 9. 6; ii. 2. 11.

³³ *το τι ἐστὶ*. *Anal. Post.* ii. 2. *Metaph.* x. 7. 5. Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.* ii. 366. 378. 386.

³⁴ *το οὐκ ἀπλῶς*, or *ἡ οὐκ*, and *χωριστόν*. *Metaph.* iii. 1; v. 1. The books of the metaphysics are quoted from Bekker's edition.

³⁵ *Ib.* v. 1. 3.

³⁶ *Metaph.* vi. (7,) 4. 3, "*τα φύσει γνωριμα*," or "*τα καθόλου*." *Comp. Analyt. Post.* i. 2. *Metaph.* i. 2. 4. *Ἀελαττον*, i. 3. Nature and the human intellect seem to be at opposite ends of the scale of cognition; that which is most familiar to us is most remote from the reality of nature; that which is nearest to nature is most remote from us. That which appears to us as the "*τέλος*" is nature's "*ἀρχή*;" an *ἀρχή* (*ὅθεν ἡ ἐστὶν, ἡ γινέται, ἡ γινώσκειται*, *Metaph.* iv. 1) is the last acquisition of thought—and the first principle of existence. It is "*πορρωτάτω των αἰσθησεων*," most difficult for man to know, but "*μαλιστα ἐπιστητον*," most characteristic of science, since it is this which makes science possible, and is also the means of its being acquired. "*Δια ταυτα και εκ τουτων τάλλα γνωρίζεται*." *Metaph.* i. 2.

of many other things³⁷. Aristotle's metaphysics, or "philosophia prima," is, as he himself states³⁸, a divine science; it was no new enterprise, but a repetition of the old attempt to solve dogmatically, if not demonstratively, the problem comprising ontology and theology³⁹. The object of the metaphysician's immemorial research, "being," is not to be confounded with the accidental, for this exists only nominally and is no object of science⁴⁰; nor is it the true, for the true has existence only in predication, not as an objective reality, but only as a modification of thought. Neither is primary being any attribute, for attributes are the subordinate categorems, *i. e.* those modes of being which are always secondary to the subject or substance⁴¹. Being, then, is substance; but substance itself requires limitation; it is not the universal, this being but a relation destitute of substantive reality⁴²; nor for a similar reason is it the generic; the central being is the individual independent subject of predication, the object of experience or intuition⁴³. The subject of predication (*ὑποκειμενον*) consists of matter and form; and it would seem at first sight as if matter were the true substance, since it is that alone which remains after abstracting attributes and predicates; yet this cannot be; for substance must have separate individuality, a character belonging rather to form or to the compound of *ὕλη* and *μορφή*⁴⁴ (the "*το συνθετον*" or concrete,) than to the *ὕλη*

³⁷ De Part. An. i. 5.

³⁸ Metaph. i. 2. 12; v. 1. 10; x. 7. 9.

³⁹ "*το παλαι τε και νυν και αι ζητουμενον και αι απορουμενον.*" Metaph. vi. 1. 7. "*Τι Θεος, τι το παν.*" Pin. Fr. Inc. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5, p. 726, Pott.

⁴⁰ It is indeed the opposite of the "*το ον*;" something *εγγυς του μη οντος* (Met. v. 2), that which is neither necessary nor usual.

⁴¹ Not *τοδε* but *τοιονδε*. All the predicables are *συμβεβηκοτα του οντος*, essential accidents.

⁴² Moreover, it is impossible to reduce all genera to one; Soph. Elench. xi. 8; the One being not beyond things—*παρα "τα πολλα"* Anal. Post. i. 11; but in things, "*κατα πολλων.*"

⁴³ *Τοδε*, or *ὑποκειμενον εσχατον και χωριστον, το μη καθ' ὑποκειμενου λεγομενον, αλλα καθ' οὗ τα αλλα.* Metaph. vi. 3. 3; x. 17.

⁴⁴ "*καθ' ἣν ἡδη λεγεται τοδε τι.*" De An. ii. 1.

only⁴⁵. Form may be regarded as the point of the encounter of science and sensation, of thought and nature. In the real world of sensation substance is the concrete; in the reality of thought the title of substance would properly rest with form; for the *ύλη* in becoming substance is transformed through the act of production, and it is by some corresponding transformation that we must account for the seeming paradox of the unity of the object of definition, of which the true essence or *ειδος* is the last difference, the genus acting relatively the part of a logical *ύλη*⁴⁶. Every object comprises in its unity a two-fold complexity; complexity of origin (*ύλη* and *μορφη*) and of definition (genus and difference). Logical unity differs from natural or numerical⁴⁷; one contains more things, the other more ideas; to thought or science the individual is contained in the species, the species in the genus; to nature the genus and species are in the individual. Form is the common limit of the synthesis of nature and of thought; and in the ambiguity of expression which unites the individual and general, the forms of sensation and those of science, we meet the crisis

⁴⁵ Since *ύλη* is nothing, or at least no thing; no actual thing, but only an expression for the abstract possibility of becoming. *Metaph. vii. 1.* “το δ’ *ύλικον* ουδεποτε καθ’ αὐτο λεκτεον.”

⁴⁶ The thing (*τοδε*) is not *ύλη*, but an *ειδος ενυλον*; matter is predicated of it (*εκεινινον*), but is not the thing itself; the statue is not stone, but a statue of stone; position is not secondary to the door-stone, but the latter owes its name and nature to its position. The last form of the *ύλη* is in fact the *μορφη*, or *ειδος* realised. On the other hand, the thing is not the *γενος*, for this is not its essential peculiarity, but what it shares with other things—encompassing a wider sphere of thought as matter a wider range of nature; hence the differentia is the nearest (logical) approach to the actual *τοδε*. The material or last form immediately preceding a given change is “*ύλη εσχατη*,” approximate matter; “*ύλη πρωτη*” is the indecomposable; that which cannot be called *εκεινινος*, (*i. e.* made of,) in regard to any thing prior to itself; that which is “*δυναμει*,” in respect of all other things, but no actuality. Resting upon this ideal analysis, Aristotle overleaps the series of physical differentia between approximate matter and his notional *ύλη πρωτη*, the investigation of which, conducted after a different fashion, is the task of experimental science.

⁴⁷ *αδιαιρετος ειδει* and *αριθμω*.

of the system, which, hastening from material units⁴⁸ to scientific unity, unexpectedly passes by means of forms from the world of things to that of ideas. Form is not *ύλη* and *μορφη*, but genus modified in the differentia, "immaterial substance,"⁴⁹ that is, not the thing, but the notion of it, and Aristotle, postponing chemical analysis to a more sweeping process⁵⁰, proceeds unincumbered to explain the problem of nature by two magic words⁵¹, resolving all her changes into a twofold power, an active and a passive, a "potentiality" and an "energeia."⁵² Each movement or change may be regarded as an *energeia* (*ενεργεια ατελης*)⁵³ on its way towards the realisation of its end or *ειδος*, which realised contains the operative principle, the *ενεργεια*, or act itself. A thing exists "*δυναμει*" when in view of form, but *ενεργεια* or *εντελεχεια*⁵⁴ when arrived at it⁵⁵. Movement is thus determined or notionally suspended by act⁵⁶, which creates as it were a pause or resting-place in the continuity of nature. It may be either as "*κινήσεις προς δυναμιν*," or as "*ουσία προς τινά ύλην*," as the artist's work to the material of which it is made; or the action reflectively and completed in itself⁵⁷. In every case, act is essentially prior to *δυναμεις*; for *δυναμεις* is predicated only in

⁴⁸ "*Όσα αριθμῶ πολλά ύλην έχει.*" But, if matter be got rid of, and matter devoid of form is a mere abstraction, then all things are "*εὐθυς*" one.

⁴⁹ *ουσία ἀνεὺ ύλης.* Metaph. iv. 8, end; vi. 7.

⁵⁰ "*ἀν καθόλου λεγῇ τις.*" Metaph. xi. 4. 1.

⁵¹ The ideal starting-point and end of movement, admitted to be indefinable, and, in fact, to be merely relative notions discoverable only by analogy. Metaph. viii. 6. 3.

⁵² Both are included in the word *δυναμεις*, which in one sense is "*ἀρχὴ μεταβλητικῆς*," or "*κατὰ κινήσιν δυναμεις*;" in another potentiality, the German "*vermögen*." Comp. Metaph. viii. 1. 6.

⁵³ Phys. iii. 2.

⁵⁴ The two are correlative terms which act unites. Entelechy is the fulfilment of potentiality, *ενεργεια* the act of fulfilment. Met. x. 9. 12. Comp. viii. 3. 9; viii. 8. 11.

⁵⁵ Metaph. viii. 8. 10.

⁵⁶ "*ἡ ἐντελεχεια χωρίζει.*"

⁵⁷ "*Πραξις τελεια.*" Ib. viii. 6. 4; viii. 8. 10.

relation to act, and is a conception⁵⁸ which would never have arisen but for the notional decomposition of a real object, *i. e.* its realisation or completion in an *εἶδος*⁵⁹; this realisation is the *τελος*, that end or purpose which is nature's *αρχή*, amidst generation and corruption itself as ungenerated and eternal as the ideas of Plato⁶⁰, and though not in the Platonic sense "separable,"⁶¹ yet in a certain way a house may be said to be made out of a house, health out of health⁶², the product from the conception of the artist, the material from the immaterial. The conceptions attaching to objects thus constituting so large a part, if not the whole of the objects, it was nearly as easy for Aristotle as for Parmenides or Plato to hold being and its principles to be within the reach of science. Every synthetic change is produced in the potential by something prior in act containing the form of the product. Man produces man, an art is learned by practising the art, so that in every case, whether in nature or art, the potential becomes the actual through actuality, and form or essence is identical with act⁶³. In treating of physics, Aristotle had classed the elements of bodies⁶⁴ under three notions or heads, matter, form, and privation. Matter, however, being only a middle term between the two contraries, privation and form, which in act reciprocally exclude each other, matter as representing that which is not, yet may be, stands alone in respect of act or realised form, absorbing the other alternative⁶⁵ under the convenient term "potential." Change and motion would be inconceivable unless there were an end to which motion tends, an unchanging cause of

⁵⁸ "*αγνωστος καθ' αὐτήν.*" Metaph. vi. 10. 18.

⁵⁹ The child precedes the man; yet the man again precedes the child; the hen the egg. The notion of a *ύλη* will be found ultimately to vanish in the totality of God.

⁶⁰ "*το εἶδος οὐ γίγνεται ἀλλὰ προὑπαρχει.*" For the same reason it is entitled to priority, since nothing potential is eternal; it may or may not be.

⁶¹ *χωριστον λογῶν*, but not *ἀπλως*.

⁶² Metaph. vi. 7. 6.

⁶³ Ib. viii. 8. 5.

⁶⁴ *στοιχεῖα, ἀρχαὶ ἐνυπαρχούσαι.*

⁶⁵ "*ἡ στέρησις . . . συμβεβηκος.*" Phys. i. 7. 10.

change⁶⁶. Motion and change are self-evident phenomena, denied only by dreamers. Act implies movement, and movement is the introduction to act. The brass existed before the statue, but was not the statue until the individuality of form was realised in act through movement. The sphere of movement is that of nature and of experience, through which we may rise upwards to its cause, or penetrate downwards to its necessary substratum or condition⁶⁷. It is the road through which nature travels to her end. The end which movement tends to realise is form. Form in each being is the good for which nature has fitted it. All beings have an inherent tendency or "desire"⁶⁸ directed to some end constituting their good. Nature's end is not, like that of art, a production distinct from the producer, but realised internally, that active inherent principle⁶⁹ through which in a progressively ascending series each being is itself, resuming in its own perfection every stage of being precedent to it⁷⁰. Separating in idea the actual being from the conditions out of which it proceeded, we observe the latter under the relative name of potentiality, exhibiting a tendency to reach the more developed and perfect; and so far actuality or form may be identified with the moving principle itself, as instigating and determining movement⁷¹. In inferior beings this principle takes the general name of nature⁷²; in animated nature, and especially in man, it is

⁶⁶ αἱ ἐκτος ἀρχαί. Metaph. i. 3. 1; ii. 2. 2; ii. 4. 4.

⁶⁷ Ἄ ὅλη.

⁶⁸ ἡ κίνησις ὁρμὴς τις ἐστὶν ἡ ἐνεργεία. De Anim. iii. 10.

⁶⁹ "πράξις τελεία"—"ἡς ἡ χρῆσις τοῦ τέλους." Met. viii. 8. 10.

⁷⁰ αἱ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ὑπαρχοῦσι τοῦ προτέρου. De Anim. ii. 3. Elemental compounds are not mixtures but combinations, forms distinct from each of their constituents. Organization is a heterogeneous synthesis of homogeneous compounds, of which the unity is the life (De Part. An. ii. 1); the first form of life is the process of nutrition in the extended line of an alimentary canal; sensation implies lateral expansion, or the second dimension (τοῦ ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν); independent motion in space supposes the third dimension, the solid, by the development of motive members arranged in pairs perpendicular to the axis of the original organization.

⁷¹ Metaph. xi. 4. 8.

⁷² Or necessity. Phys. ii. 9.

called life or soul. The great end of motion and generation is not abstract good, nor is it, as in art, the mere production of lifeless forms; it is the progressive perfecting of nature's self, of the various strings whose combination is to sound her harmonies, she rises from movement to habit, from habit to deliberate self-sustaining action, and her crowning effort is not the most universal⁷³, but, on the contrary, the most individual, the elaboration of a living, acting, thinking being⁷⁴. Matter, being mere potentiality or receptivity, is indefiniteness itself, absolutely destitute of choice; the inorganic is infinitely divisible into homogeneous parts; the plant has more individuality, yet each individual is ready to pass by subdivision into many⁷⁵; with every step in the ascending scale life becomes more heterogeneous and concentrated, dispersion diminishing as intensity increases, until in man nature sums up all she had done before; he not only vegetates and feels, but chooses and thinks; his aspirations are not mechanical but deliberate; and it is in his soul⁷⁶ that act or energy pre-eminently combines the essential properties of an *αρχή*⁷⁷, as being that which is, which moves, and which produces; the good⁷⁸, as constituting the realisation of his nature⁷⁹; the source of cognition, since the potential is discerned only through actuality, for the act and the thought are one⁸⁰. The objects of mental activity are the actualisations of form. Those of sensation differ from sensation and from the sentient mind only through the matter in which they reside. Where matter is not, diversity is not⁸¹. Mind shapes

⁷³ As Plato thought.

⁷⁴ Metaph. viii. 8. 11. "*Τα γενεσει ὕστερα τῇ οὐσίᾳ προτέρα.*"

⁷⁵ De Anim. ii. 2. 9.

⁷⁶ "*νοῦς ἀδιαιρέτος.*" Metaph. xi. 9. 6. De Anim. iii. 4.

⁷⁷ "*ὅθεν ἢ ἐστίν, ἢ γίνεταί, ἢ γινώσκεται.*"

⁷⁸ *το οὐ ἐνεκα.* Evil, as also accident, is only in the alternative contained in the potential, and is "*ὕστερον τῆς δυνάμεως.*" Comp. Schwegler, vol. iv. p. 184.

⁷⁹ *πραξίς τελεία—ἐνεργεία* complete in itself.

⁸⁰ *Τα δυνάμει ὄντα εἰς ἐνεργείαν ἀναγομένα εὐρίσκειται· αἰτίον δ' ὅτι νοήσις ἢ ἐνεργεία· ὥστ' ἐξ ἐνεργείας ἢ δυνάμεις· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες γινώσκουσιν.* Metaph. viii. 9. 3 and 5.

⁸¹ vii. 6. 6.

itself to its object, it receives but forms, which, however, were above shown to be the very things identified by its action with itself. When an idea is presented to us we try to open or analyse it, to discover what is potentially contained or involved in it; the difficulty is cleared up when the analysis is completed, or when the possibilities of the problem have been actualised within the mind. Mind, or rather thought, is nature's masterpiece; not the mere lyre, but the music⁸²; alone in nature it adds to nature, turning blind affinities and instincts to its purposes, and producing the forms of art, science, and virtue. Virtue is the instrument⁸³ through which mind accomplishes its end⁸⁴. It is not itself knowledge, but the habitual conformity of the irrational soul to the rational. Pleasure, the concomitant and prompter of all action in sentient beings, is the attractive force through which the good proportionably to its relative degree of excellence, influences the soul. But it is only when the natural tendencies to the agreeable, called passions and appetites, have been disciplined to the sway of reason, that the soul obtains the fruition of its true end in the free exercise of its energies⁸⁵. Every energy is pleasurable in reference to its kindred habit, to the good man that according to virtue, to the perfect man that conformed to the most perfect virtue, the highest, the most intense, sustained, and independent pleasure being that energy of the soul (*θεωρία*) according to its proper virtue (*σοφία*) which is the last end of its existence, consisting in the contemplation of the pure, necessary, and eternal things akin to its own nature⁸⁶. But the activity of human thought is necessarily interrupted and imperfect. There is always a difficulty to be surmounted, a resistance to overcome. Man is the actualisation of a possibility, a certain form of matter, and all matter is subject to the alternative of being or not being⁸⁷. Nothing so circumstanced can main-

⁸² M. Mor. i. 35. 9.

⁸³ Eth. Nic. vii. 14.

⁸¹ Eth. Eud. vii. 14. 20.

⁸⁵ M. Moral. i. 34.

⁸⁶ Eth. Nic. x. 5.

⁸⁷ Comp. Met. viii. 8. 16 and 18.

tain continuous activity. The motive principle of the soul in its human combination is an effort which cannot last⁸⁸, often requiring repose and doomed to eventual dissolution. But there are bodies celestial as well as terrestrial; the moved and the unmoved, the perishable and the eternal. If all substance were perishable all derivative being would be so also⁸⁹. But the world moves on uninterruptedly, always changing, yet ever the same, like time, the eternal now, knowing neither repose nor death. There is a principle which makes good the failure of identity by multiplying resemblances, the destruction of the individual by an eternal renewal of the form⁹⁰. This Regular Eternal movement implies an eternal mover⁹¹; not an inert eternity such as the Platonic “εἶδος,” but one in act, for otherwise he might never have acted, and the existence of the world would be an accident. Nor can he be partly in act and partly potential, for even so motion would not be eternal but contingent and precarious; he must be therefore wholly in act, a pure untiring activity, and for the same reasons wholly immaterial⁹². Of such a nature was the “Νους” of Anaxagoras and the duplicate forces of Empedocles. A merely potential cause, such as Night or Chaos, could not have fulfilled the conditions of cosmical anteriority; Act was first, and the same universe has existed for ever, one persistent cause directing its continuity. The highest sphere of the heavens, that of the fixed stars, revolves uniformly under the influence of the first cause, who unmoved moves all; or if the tenor of things be considered as broken by generation and decay, and as containing a variety too great to be accounted for by a single cause, we must then suppose other causes as there are also

⁸⁸ Eth. Nic. x. 4.

⁸⁹ Metaph. xi. 6. 1.

⁹⁰ De Anim. ii. 4. Econ. i. 3. De Gen. Anim. ii. 1. 3.

⁹¹ Metaph. x. 2. 5. Motion has no beginning, for the conditions of the first motion would imply a prior motion.

⁹² The δυνάμει ον having been proved to be “ενδεχομενον μη ειναι,” and therefore “φθαρτον.” Metaph. viii. 8, 16.

other spheres⁹³ transverse yet subordinate to the other's uniformity in order to account for phenomenal alternations⁹⁴. Yet if there be such causes (and the supposition is but a momentary concession of Aristotle to ancient opinion, and to that profound sense of a mysterious analogy through nature which is the basis of his metaphysics), they all ultimately merge in the first mover, whose unity follows from his immateriality, and who moving all things must himself be unmoved, since otherwise the series of motions and causes would be infinite⁹⁵. Unmoved and unchangeable himself, the simplest of all movements, that in space, that to which, in the Physics, all other movements had been shown to be reducible, is caused by him; he is necessary; he cannot be otherwise than as he is; and it is only through the necessity of his being that we can account for those necessary eternal relations which make a science of being possible. Aristotle's leaning was seemingly to a personal God; not a being of parts and passions, but a substantial head of all the categories of being⁹⁶, an individuality of intelligence, the dogma of Anaxagoras revived out of a more elaborate and profound analysis of nature. The phenomena of order and movement required a positive cause; "the regulations do not make the General, but the General the regulations;"⁹⁷ the progress of concentration traced in the visible up to man pointed to something still more individual and self-centralised beyond man; and Aristotle, to whom the speculations of the Eleatæ seemed too vague to answer the demand

⁹³ Alluding to the celestial motions in the plane of the ecliptic, supposed to be the cause of generation and decay (Gen. et Corr. ii. 10), in analogy with the mythical notion of the death and revival of nature. Comp. Plato, Timæ. 39^e. ^{sq}. Repub. viii. 546.

⁹⁴ The universe is thus divided into three kinds of substance; *ουσια μεταβλητη φθαρτη*, *ουσια μεταβλητη αιδιος*, or the heavens, and *ουσια αιδιος ακινητος*, or God. The stars being an intermediate nature, *αισθητη* and *μεταβλητη* yet *αιδιος*, Aristotle was obliged to assign to them a certain kind of matter which he calls "*ύλη τοπικη*."

⁹⁵ Comp. Met. A. elatton, 2—xi. 2. 4.

⁹⁶ Met. xi. 7. 3.

⁹⁷ Ib. xi. 10. 2.

of theological metaphysics, was disposed in opposition to certain cotemporary theorists to recall something like that living unambiguous principle which the old poets in advance of the materialistic cosmogonists from night and chaos had discovered in Uranus or Zeus⁹⁸. He quotes the emphatic line—

“Ουκ αγαθον πολυκοιρανιη, εις κοιρανος.”

For the course of induction and of thought is inverse to that of nature, in which the cause of being is not, as Speusippus thought, the germ, but the perfect being anterior to the germ. Soon, however, the vision of personality is withdrawn; we have, in fact, reached that culminating point of thought where the real blends with the ideal⁹⁹; moral action and objective thought as well as material body are excluded; the divine action on the world retains its veil of impenetrable mystery, and to the utmost ingenuity of research presents but a contradiction. The series of efficient causes resolves itself at this extreme into final. That which moves, itself unmoved, can only be the immobility of thought or form¹⁰⁰. Form is the ideal which nature presses on to realise. Nature is ever striving after something better¹⁰¹, and the Divinity moves the world as the object of love or rational desire moves the individual; he is, in fact, the first object of desire and intelligence (*πρωτον ορεκτον και νοητον*), both these being coincident and one¹⁰². The true object of choice is not seeming, but real good; the object creates the desire not the desire the object; our rational preferences are consequences of our judgments rather than our judgments of our preferences; desire implies a *νοησις* or act of the understanding; the *νοησις* depends on a

⁹⁸ Ib. xiii. 4. 4.

⁹⁹ *υσια νοητη ανευ υλης.*

¹⁰⁰ Phys. ii. 7.

¹⁰¹ De Gen. et Corr. ii. 10, 11.

¹⁰² The *ορεξις* of nature is mechanical or instinctive; in man it becomes deliberate—*βουλη* or *προαιρεσις* as opposed to *επιθυμια*, or animal propensity, (De Anim. iii. 9. Eth. Nic. i. 13) yet often in practice at variance with his intelligence; in the highest sphere the *ορεκτον* and *νοητον* are one absolutely, “*τουτων τα πρωτα τα αυτα.*” Metaph. xi. 7. 2.

νοητον, and the whole order of positive forms or of the good¹⁰³ is νοητον καθ' αὐτο, discoverable not mediately but immediately¹⁰⁴, especially the essence, and of all essences more especially the simple and actual¹⁰⁵. God is therefore both formal, efficient, and final cause; he is the one form comprising all forms, the one good including all good, the goal of the longing of the universe. And since of final causes there are two kinds, one external, as a work of art, the other internal or self-realised¹⁰⁶, it is in this latter way that the unmoved Being is the final cause; he is not like the ends pursued by the discursive reason, but his own οὐ ἐνεκα, having no end beyond himself. He is, therefore, no moral agent, for, if he were, he would be but an instrument for producing something still higher and greater¹⁰⁷. Πραξις, and of course ποιησις, being excluded, there remains but one sort of act to be assigned to him who is at once all act yet all repose, activity of mind or thought¹⁰⁸. His existence is unbroken enjoyment of that which is most excellent among men, but which with us is only momentary. For that which we call our pleasure or our highest pleasure, which distinguishes wakefulness and sensation, and which gives a reflected charm to hope and memory¹⁰⁹, is with him perpetual. The divine quality of active yet tranquil self-contemplation characterising intelligence is

¹⁰³ ἡ ἑτέρα συστοιχία.

¹⁰⁴ Not like things consisting in negation or privation, discoverable only through their opposites.

¹⁰⁵ Supr.

¹⁰⁶ As sight, life, thought. Comp. Met. viii. 8, 9.

¹⁰⁷ "ἡ πραξις αἰεὶ ἐστὶν ἐν δυνάμει." De Cælo, ii. 12. 9. Comp. Metaph. viii. 8. Phys. ii. 2. 9. Eth. Nic. x. 6. Eth. Eud. vii. 15. 15.

¹⁰⁸ ἐνεργεῖα ψυχῆς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀριστὴν ἐν βίῃ τελείῃ. (Eth. Nic. vii. 13; x. 4.) Νοησις is said to be rather rest than movement (De Anim. i. 3. Phys. vii. 3); nature is all movement, thought all repose; the supreme happiness of life (speculation) is in the tranquillity obtained through a successful struggle against the passions. Yet does not the very essence of thought consist in its mobility and power of transference from object to object?

¹⁰⁹ Comp. Rhet. i. 6. 15; i. 11. 6. Poet. vi. 12.

pre-eminently possessed by the divine mind, his thought, which is his existence, being, unlike ours, unconditional and wholly act. And if God is worthy of our admiration as enjoying eternally what with us is only transitory, he is still more so, if, as is really the case, his happiness is greater in degree as well as in duration. The object of the absolute thought is the absolute good; in contemplating it the supreme Finality can but contemplate itself¹¹⁰; its immutable action is as the uniform self-circling revolution of the stellar heavens¹¹¹; and, as all *νοησις* consists in contact or combination with *νοητα*, so all material interference being here excluded¹¹², the distinction of subject and object vanishes in complete identification, and the divine "thought is the thinking of thought." The energy of mind is life, and God is that energy in its purity and perfection; he is therefore life itself, eternal and perfect¹¹³; this indeed sums up all that is meant by the term God.

Such, says Aristotle, is the principle in which nature and the world depend. If it be asked how these transcendentalisms came to be a part of a professedly empirical philosophy, or whence our knowledge of them, he replies¹¹⁴, that there is a faculty in the soul bearing the same relation to its proper objects (*νοητα* or *νουμενα*) as sensation does to phenomena¹¹⁵,

¹¹⁰ The "*πρωτον ορεκτον*."—Man's good is beyond himself; not so God's. *ἡμιν μὲν το εὐ καὶ ἕτερον, ἐκεῖν δὲ αὐτός αὐτός*. Eth. Eud. vii. 12. 17. The eternal act which produces the world's life is the eternal desire of good.

¹¹¹ The movement of *νοῦς* is compared to *κυκλοφορία*. De Anim. i. 3.

¹¹² *Εν τοῖς ἀνεὺ ὕλης το αὐτο ἐστὶ το νοῦν καὶ το νοουμένον*. (De Anim. iii. 4. 12.) Sensation is an imperfect blending of subject and object; understanding (the *νοῦς δυναμει* or *διανοία*) a more perfect—the *νοῦς ενεργεια* or *νοησις* complete identification.

¹¹³ The *βίος τελείος*.

¹¹⁴ Metaph. viii. 10. Anal. Post. ii. 15. Eth. Nicom. vi. 5 and 9. De Anim. iii. 6.

¹¹⁵ De Anim. iii. 4. 3. The mental processes form a circle; after *αἰσθησις*, including "*ἰδία αἰσθησις*" and "*κοινή*," come *φαντασία*, *μνήμη*, *διανοία*, with the results *δόξα* and *ἐπιστήμη*, the latter (demonstrative science) being mediately based on immediate apprehensions; the intuition of *νοῦς* closing the round brings us back to *αἰσθησις*, for *νοῦς* belongs to both ends of the mental scale, ("*τῶν ἐσχατῶν ἐπ'*

a faculty through which we recognise the object with certainty, if indeed we recognise it at all. Truth and falsehood are not in things but in our opinions and affirmations about them; truth is when we correctly join things really united, falsehood when we incorrectly join things or separate them. Falsehood is not in the sensation, but in the inference¹¹⁶; and in the case of “αἰσθητά,” which are always compound or concrete, there is always a possibility of error. But in things simple and necessary¹¹⁷, there is a difference both as to truth and as to being. Here truth has a different meaning; it is simply perception (θιγείν or νοεῖν); its contrary being non-perception, “ἀγνοεῖν.” I recognise a diagonal; I have a conception of it—express its existence; (φαναι) but I cannot pronounce an affirmation about it admitting truth or falsehood (καταφασις) without connecting it with something else. So in all cases of simple apprehension, whether through the senses or reason, the first conveyance of an impression is always correct; and if, as in simple νοούμενα, the cause of inferential error¹¹⁸ be removed, then falsehood is impossible; whatever is conceived is true. The first axioms of science are neither common notions¹¹⁹ nor formal demonstrations¹²⁰; they come self-recommended and approved, their only demonstration being intuition. Aristotle did not keep his great principle of experience steadily in view; his strong sense was repelled by the paradoxes of the ideal theory, but had not sufficiently explored the sources of those fallacies, or the procedure which was eventually to replace them. His practice, therefore, vacillates with his principles; the inductive reasoner who proclaims the relativity of knowledge¹²¹, and

αμφοτέρω,”) it supplies both major and minor premiss, it is ἀρχὴ and τέλος. “Ἐν τοῖς εἰδεσι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητὰ ἐστίν.” De Anim. iii. 8. Anal. Post. ii. 19. Eth. Nic. vi. 6 and 9.

¹¹⁶ Οὐδ’ ἡ αἰσθησις ψευδὴς περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἡ φαντασία οὐ ταῦτον τῇ αἰσθησει. Metaph. iii. 5. 23. Anal. Post. ii. 2 and 19. De Anim. iii. 3, s. 3, 4.

¹¹⁷ τὰ μὴ συνθετὰ—οὐσίαι ἀνευ ὕλης.

¹¹⁸ The ὕλη.

¹¹⁹ δόξαι. Top. i. 14.

¹²⁰ Metaph. ii. 2. 14 and 19; iii. 4. 2; iii. 6. 2; x. 7. 2.

¹²¹ Metaph. iii. 6. 4.

carefully keeping within the limits of observation professes to wait for further experience¹²², suddenly becomes the bold speculator making theology the very source and foundation of all science, the infallible authority which no inferior science should dare to contradict¹²³. From the time of Parmenides the great difficulty had been to put a right construction on those general ideas or "forms"¹²⁴ which the mind in view of phenomena elaborates within itself. In the pride of infant knowledge they were assumed as true, true objectively, and true exclusively. The failure of the theory in its original application made Socrates only the more resolute in turning to moral science the baffled resources of the physists, his whole life being devoted to securing the accuracy of definitions and the demonstrative force of general propositions by dialectical discussion. He sought the true essence¹²⁵ by collecting its scattered elements¹²⁶, by carefully weeding out fallacy, by probing the correctness of analogies, by superstitiously exploring the intuitional wisdom supposed to be contained in words or mythic traditions¹²⁷, until the result appeared not the mere precarious judgment of the individual, but an echo of the universe, a spark of eternal truth elicited in the collision of mind with mind¹²⁸. The feeling which had animated the forms of Phidias obtained a more enduring expression in the language of Plato. But the ideals of philosophy, like those of art, become delusive when arbitrarily estranged from the living forms which suggested them. The ideal theory in which thoughts usurped the place of things crumbled to pieces in the hands of a logician. The type of generality became more

¹²² De Gen. An. iii. 10. De Cælo, ii. 5.

¹²³ Metaph. ii. 2. 7. Comp. i. 2; x. 3 and 7.

¹²⁴ "γνωριμωτερα κατὰ τον λογον." Phys. i. 5. 7.

¹²⁵ "τι εστι," or "την του οντος ιδεαν." Metaph. xii. 4. 4. Plat. Sophist. 254^a.

¹²⁶ Phædr. 265^d.

¹²⁷ Phileb. 16^d. Timæ. 40^e.

¹²⁸ Plat. de Repub. iv. 435^a.

hollow¹²⁹ and unreal in the ascent to higher genera, until the last "idea" was undistinguishable from nonentity, since the real resides not in generals, but in peculiarities and differences. However the dialectician may multiply his questions or extend his views, the truth he can attain is only more or less of the probable¹³⁰. The farther he goes the farther he recedes from the real. He obtains but a nominal unity barren of result, and at last absorbs into an idea the essence or reality he seeks. Hence the subordinate rank of dialectics with Aristotle. With him they are but the prelude to real science, the review of its history, the discussion of its terms, or the positing its problems¹³¹. They are inferior to solitary thought, because more under the influence of opinion, while the other is a communication with things¹³². They seem to stand in much the same relation to sophistry as medical practice to empiricism, a less degree of the same sort of thing. The office of a scientific organon was therefore transferred to Analytics. Analytics are the science of demonstration. They do not interrogate but assume; their object is not the discussion of the probable but the demonstration of the true¹³³. Such a procedure, however, implies the existence of some other science or source through which the fundamental assumptions are to be acquired and justified. One such source is sensational experience and induction. Logical analysis does not widen the knowledge of facts; it only serves to bring out more clearly what is already contained in general propositions. But the general propositions obtained by induction to be conclusive should be founded on a complete knowledge of all particulars. To make good the deficiencies of this fundamental process, Aristotle, in default of

¹²⁹ "διαλεκτικῶς καὶ κενῶς." De Anim. i. 1. 9.

¹³⁰ "ληψὶς τοῦ φαινομένου καὶ ἐνδοξοῦ." Anal. Pr. i. 1. 4.

¹³¹ "ἀπορίαι," "διαπορηματά," &c. Sciences of mere observation, too, are rather the dialectical preparation of philosophy than philosophy itself.

¹³² Sophist. El. vii. 3. Comp. Eth. Nic. x. 5.

¹³³ Anal. Pr. i. 1. Post. i. 2. Metaph. ii. 2.

other means of verification, is obliged to go back to the resources of dialectics, to the probable, the generally admitted, the dicta of the wise, even proverbs or quotations from the poets¹³⁴. This, however, is not enough, nor is Aristotle himself satisfied with these sources. The variable and contingent cannot constitute science. Science is of being, not the phenomenal, but the real which the phenomenal hides. Doubtless it is to phenomena that we must first appeal. Reserved sensations become "forms" or "phantasms" in the mind or memory, among which the reasoning faculty (*διάνοια*) discovering a principle of union¹³⁵ pursues it up to the highest limits of generalisation¹³⁶. In this way may be gained the indemonstrable "majors," or peculiar principles of which each science makes a thesis in reference to its own "*γενος*," or kind of being¹³⁷. But beyond the principles proper to each science are the general axioms and laws of thought applicable to all being, the proportions or relations encircling all genera¹³⁸. These belong to the first philosophy, the science of first principles and of universal being. Mathematics measure phenomena; physics, less abstract, (the "second philosophy,") rise nearer to their causes; but "wisdom" is the science of sciences¹³⁹, the last arrived at (Metaphysics) yet first in importance¹⁴⁰, that which Plato made the whole of philosophy, and which Aristotle, though more regardful of the world of experience, still considered as the chief part of it. Of all sciences it is the most exact and perfect, as containing both *νους* and *επιστημη*, not

¹³⁴ *τα δοκουντα πασιν ἢ τοις πλειστοις ἢ τοις σοφοις.* Topic. i. 1 and 2. *ὁ πασι δοκει τουτ' ειναι φαμεν.* Eth. Nic. vi. 10; x. 2.

¹³⁵ *το αδιαφορον - ὁ αν ἀπασιν ἐν ἐνῃ ἐκεινοις το αὐτο.*

¹³⁶ *το αμερες*, the ideal unit. Anal. Post. ii. 19.

¹³⁷ "*τας αρχας περι ἐκαστον ἐμπειριας ἐστι παραδουναι.*" Anal. Pr. i. 30.

¹³⁸ Including in a manner (*πως*) all *ὑποκειμενα*. Metaph. i. 2. 4 and 6.

¹³⁹ Wisdom or "Sophia," is properly the intellectual virtue or habit of Theoria; but see Metaph. i. 1. 17.

¹⁴⁰ "First philosophy," "*ὥσπερ κεφαλὴν ἔχουσα ἐπιστήμη των τιμιωτάτων*," i. e. of the *Αρχαι*, or God himself. Eth. Nic. vi. 6. Metaph. i. 2. 14; v. 1. 10. "*ἡ σοφία περὶ το αἰδιον και θειον.*" M. Moral. i. 35.

only the inferences from principles, but the truth of principles themselves¹⁴¹. These principles are not inductions, but the essential habits of the intellect. "Is it then," asks Aristotle¹⁴², "to be supposed that science must precede science; that we already possess within us the most exalted of the sciences without being aware of it?" No, these habits of the soul require experience to develop them; we possess them potentially, but not in act¹⁴³; they are not, however, *slow results of ordinary induction*, the characters, though invisible, are already traced, and are rapidly called forth by experience, so that in acquiring them it would seem as if the soul was not learning, but as Plato said, *remembering*¹⁴⁴. In its first condition the soul is as it were asleep, requiring to be awakened in order to enter into possession of its inherent right¹⁴⁵. By conversing with the outward world, by receiving and incorporating the νοητα contained in the αισθητα, it at length learns to resume and recognise its own being¹⁴⁶, to identify itself with the universal thought surrounding it¹⁴⁷. Its powers, which before were as colours awaiting their brilliancy from the sun¹⁴⁸, becoming actualised by an influence from without¹⁴⁹, form that "active intellect" which alone is separable, imperishable, and divine. Here we reach the well-head of science¹⁵⁰ viewed,

¹⁴¹ "ἐπιστημη των αμεισων αναποδεικτος." Eth. Nic. vi. 6. Anal. Post. i. 3. 2. Metaph. x. 7. 10.

¹⁴² Metaph. i. 9. 34. Anal. Post. ii. 19.

¹⁴³ De Anim. iii. 4. Metaph. xii. 10. 8.

¹⁴⁴ Anal. Pr. ii. 21.

¹⁴⁵ Phys. vii. 3.

¹⁴⁶ ὁ λεγομενος της ψυχης νους — ουθεν εστιν ενεργεια των οντων πριν νοειν — και αὐτος δε αὐτον ποτε δυναται νοειν. De Anim. iii. 4. 3 and 7.

¹⁴⁷ Comp. Metaph. xi. 9. 5.

¹⁴⁸ De Anim. iii. 5.

¹⁴⁹ "θυραθεν"—"κινει γαρ πως παντα το εν ἡμιν Θειον." Eth. Eud. vii. 14. De Gen. An. ii. 3. 10. Comp. Cic. Acad. Qu. i. 8. Resembling an emanation from the sphere of the "moving moved," the æthereal or fifth element. Met. xi. 2. 4. Diog. L. v. 32.

¹⁵⁰ "νους επιστημης αρχη." Anal. Post. ii. 19. 7. ενεργει δε εχων. Met. xi. 7, 8.

according to the tendencies of the Socratic method, as an internal revelation, an emanation from the oracles of mind, not so much a progressive conquest as a habitual self-realised possession, tranquil like the supreme tranquillity it contemplates¹⁵¹. To Aristotle, as to Plato, science was in generalisation; neither of them, however, could satisfactorily generalise the world without taking a *locus standi* beyond it. Science reigns supreme in the region of abstraction, where in proportion to the absence of reality demonstration becomes absolute and conclusive. All reasoning depends on propositions; all propositions on a thesis of their terms. The terms are suggestions of experience. The energies of the discursive reason inversely corresponding to nature's movements embrace only the medial world of phenomena. Here both things and the notions of them are complex, susceptible of subdivision and definition. Nothing is definable which does not belong to those determinable media, having both genus and difference; essence is beyond definition; the highest genus and the last individuality alike escape its power. The last essence of a thing is not the abstract notion of it, nor the compound of elements or ideas; it is the individuality constituted by act, and act is reached only by intuition¹⁵². Intuition is the beginning and end of science; on one side the intuition of the senses gleaned dim perceptions of being amidst the complicity of the concrete¹⁵³; on the other that in which the pure energy of intellect encounters in itself the principle and form of being, the absolute individuality, the instrument and object of cognition. The invisible thread by which Aristotle's world was suspended over idealism is here broken; the conception of a *ἰδιον* vanishes; in the sphere of intellect alone is discovered the reconciliation of science with substance, of the universal and the individual;

¹⁵¹ Hence the wise man is as it were the law and measure of truth. Eth. Nic. iii. 4; vi. 9; x. 7. Eth. Eud. vii. 15.

¹⁵² Met. vi. 10. 17.

¹⁵³ Met. vi. 4. 3.

nature is explained on the principle of *ignotum per ignotius*, and like the talisman of Oromasdes in the Persian tale, the problem of metaphysics is referred to the extreme limit where infinity and unity, existence and thought, blend unconditionally in God.

NOTION OF GOD, MORALLY.

“Philosophiæ objectum triplex. Deus, Natura, homo; et triplex itidem radius rerum; Natura enim percutit intellectum radio directo; Deus autem propter medium inæquale (creaturas scilicet) radio refracto; homo vero sibi ipsi monstratus et exhibitus, radio reflexo.”—BACON, DE AUGMENT. SCIENT. bk. 3, ch. 1.

“I do remember well the hour which burst
My spirit's sleep”——

SHELLEY.

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NOTION OF GOD, MORALLY.

§ 1.

MORAL IDEA OF GOD.

“WHENCE, and who am I?” are the first questions supposed to occur to Brahmâ, in Hindoo theology at once the Creator and the created, when he awakens to conscious being amidst the expanse of waters¹. In truth, however, the great problem of human nature presents itself to the mind only in the progress of its more advanced development. Mental self-consciousness is the gradual result of a long course of objective thought. Milton more naturally makes Adam first “turn his wondering eyes to Heaven” and to the smiling scenes of earth, in whose fragrance and joy his heart for a while contentedly reposes², until he slowly reverts to the “perusal of himself,” and to the question, “How came I thus, how here?” Man learns to feel before he reasons; he enjoys the world as a picture instead of questioning it as a problem; and of all problems, that which Socrates justly deemed the most important of any, is usually the last which engages his attention. To his earliest perceptions nature is as part of himself; as a parent from whose universal life his own being is scarcely as yet severed and individualised, and probably he might never have been led to ask the reason or object of his existence if all the tendencies of his nature had been continuously and completely satisfied. Reason is aroused to the necessity of self-examina-

¹ Creuz. S. i. 404.

² Par. Lost, viii. 267.

tion only when man has become in some degree estranged from nature; when he has been disappointed and thwarted, when his preferences have been misplaced and his means miscalculated, when he has become familiar with pain and want, limitation and "evil."

So long as man was a mere creature of instinct, if such a state may for illustration's sake be assumed, in which he moved in unconscious sympathy with Nature's order, there could be no distinction of good or evil, neither morality nor intelligence; and in proportion to the completeness of this hypothetical dependence would be his exemption from care and responsibility. Freedom and responsibility are inseparably connected with the exercise of thought. Man assumes his proper rank as a moral agent when, with a sense of the limitations of his nature arises the consciousness of freedom and of the obligations accompanying its exercise; the sense of duty, and the capacity of experience. But the rule of duty and the materials of experience must be derived from an acquaintance with the conditions of the external world in which the faculties are exerted. Thus does the problem of man involve that of Nature and of God. Our freedom is determined by an agency external to us; our happiness is intimately dependent on the relations of the outward world, and on the moral character of its ruler.

The God of Nature has been shown to be one, and his character had never been suspected as other than good. Whence then came the evil, the consciousness of which seems invariably to have preceded or accompanied man's moral development? Upon this subject human opinion seems to have ebbed and flowed between two contradictory extremes, of which the one is inconsistent with God's omnipotence, the other with his beneficence. If God, it was said, is perfectly wise and good, evil must arise from some independent and hostile principle; if, on the other hand, all agencies are subordinate to one, it is difficult, if evil does indeed exist, to avoid the impiety of making the Almighty the author of it.

The recognition of a moral and physical dualism in Nature was adverse to monotheism. Many of the ancients thought it absurd to imagine one supreme being, like Homer's Jove, distributing good and evil out of two urns³; they, therefore, substituted the doctrine of two distinct and eternal principles; some making the cause of evil to be the inherent imperfection of matter and the flesh; while others personified the required agency, and fancifully invented a dæmon⁴, the question of whose origin indeed involved all the difficulty of the original problem, but whose existence, if once taken for granted, was sufficient as a popular solution of the mystery⁵.

The simpler, and probably older notion, treated the one only God as author of all things. "I form the light," says Jehovah, "and create darkness; I cause prosperity and create evil; I, the Lord, do all these things."⁶ "All mankind," says Maximus Tyrius⁷, "are agreed that there exists one only universal King and Father, and that the many gods are his children." There is nothing improbable in the supposition of a primitive monotheism; a vague sense of Nature's unity blended with a dim perception of an all-pervading spiritual essence has been remarked among the earliest manifestations of the human mind⁸. The first conceptions of Deity borrowed their moral

³ Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. 45.

⁴ Diog. Laert. Proëm. 8.

⁵ Plato, Laws, x. 896. 906. There were several opinions among the Jews as to the origin of Devils. One that they were the progeny of the sons of God by the daughters of men; another that they were angels, who fell through envy of mankind; a third, that matter and the flesh is the tool of Satan, forming an independent kingdom over which he rules, and constituting his title to be called "the Prince" and "the God of this World." (2 Corinth. iv. 4. John xii. 31. Ephes. vi. 12. Matthew iv. 9; xii. 26.

⁶ Isaiah xlv. 7. Job ii. 10. Amos v. 8. Micah i. 12. Pind. Frag. Incert. 98.

"οὐ τι ἀτις θεῶν
γίγνεται ἀνθρώποις οὐτ' ἀγαθ', οὐτε κακὰ.
οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὐτ' ὀλβίος, οὐτε πενίχρως,
οὐτε κακὸς νοσφιν δαίμονος, οὐτ' ἀγαθός."

Theognis. v. 166. Comp. Plato, Rep. ii. 379.

⁷ xvii. 5.

⁸ Humboldt, Cosmos, p. 15.

as their metaphysical form from an earthly pattern; men made their god a copy of themselves, and invested him with the monocratic sway immemorial in the East. But this oriental oneness of authority as opposed to the “πολυκοιρανική”⁹ which in human government Homer stigmatises as improper, does not imply the monotheism of philosophy. The idea of Deity when exalted by philosophy becomes proportionately vague and evanescent; in order to be popular it must condescend to the mean and childish conceptions of rude men. The popular god is not the God of the Universe, but of a peculiar and favoured race with whom he holds familiar intercourse, appearing personally among them to listen, to act, or to command, and “walking in the garden in the cool of the day.” Gods and men are of kindred origin¹⁰; both are alike children of Earth, or of an earlier Titanic race; and Japetus, ancestor of mankind, is brother of Cronus¹¹, father of Gods. When Zeus first established his empire he found man already in existence, and in a state which it required some skill to reduce to due submission; for in the golden age, when beasts spoke with human voices, men and gods had been companions and friends¹². The gods of early poetry take the form and character of men; and the epithet of godlike which Plato spiritualises¹³, is to be literally understood of Homer’s heroes in the humbler sense of physical resemblance¹⁴. The Olympian gods are undistinguished in moral character from mortals. They deceive both men and each other; surpassing men in strength they exceed them also in craft and crime. While beings of so questionable a nature were esteemed divine, it was unnecessary to devise a distinct principle of evil. The stern and revengeful Deity of the Old Testament who commissions evil and lying spirits to men, and who is acknowledged author

⁹ Mastery of many.

¹⁰ Hesiod, Works, 108.

¹¹ Hom. Hymn, Apoll. 157. Pind. Nem. 6. Lucret. ii. 990. Plato, Protag. sec. 30, p. 320. Schömanns Prom. p. 111.

¹² Babrii Fabulæ, Proëm.

¹³ De Repub. vi. 476.

¹⁴ “αθανάτοισι θεοῖς εἰς ὥπα εἰκέν.”

of evil as well as good¹⁵, is in many respects similar to the arbitrary monarch of Olympus, guarded by the children of Styx, Force, and Jealousy¹⁶, and parent of Ate, the genius of infatuation and its direful results¹⁷. The Hebrew god awards his favour with an apparently unaccountable partiality; he accepts Abel, but rejects Cain; he loves Jacob, but hates Esau; he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy; but, on the other hand, he hardens Pharaoh's heart, and visits the iniquity of the parent on the child, of the individual sinner on the whole people. In estimating the enigmatical character of a Nature god, curses are more impressive than blessings; men fear before they learn to love, and fear is the parent of cruelty and superstition. The early Hebrew God is "a consuming fire;"¹⁸ his apparition is disastrous, no one can see him and live¹⁹; even his ark scatters destruction on friend and foe; he sends his angel, lest himself should break out upon the people and consume them²⁰. This rude conception of sternness predominating over mercy can alone account for the immolations purposed, if not executed, by Jephthah and by Abraham. In short, men recognise the existence of God long before they form any becoming estimate of his moral dignity. The causes of both good and ill are referred to a mysterious centre whose attributes they judge only by the rude standard of savage life. A deity partaking human passions was supposed to resent any presumptuous advances on the part of man, any invasion of his own prerogatives. Hence the notion common in antiquity of the divine "envy,"²¹ as instanced in the fall of Capaneus and Salmoneus; in the provocation given by the healing skill of Esculapius, and the humane theft of Prometheus²². The very spirit of Nature personified in Orpheus, Tantalus or

¹⁵ Job ii. 10. Iliad, xxiv. 525. Amos, iii. 6.

¹⁶ Hes. Theog. 384.

¹⁷ Iliad, ix. 511, and xix. 91. 126.

¹⁸ Exod. xxiv. 17. Deut. iv. 24. 33; v. 5; ix. 3. Hebr. xii. 29.

¹⁹ Exod. xix. 21. 24; xx. 19; xxiv. 11.

²⁰ Exod. xxxii. 34; xxxiii. 5. Comp. Ezek. xx. 25.

²¹ Exod. xxxiv. 14.

²² Probably kindred or identical beings. Paus. x. 4. 3.

Phineus²³, was supposed to have been killed, confined, or blinded for having too freely divulged the divine mysteries to mankind. This divine envy, an idea still existing under a modified form²⁴, varies according to circumstances. In poetical legend, as in Hesiod, it appears in the lowest type of human malignity. In the God of Moses, it is jealousy of the infringement of autocratic power, the check to political treason. In Herodotus and other writers it assumes a more philosophical shape, as a strict adherence to a moral equilibrium in the government of the world. The Deity, says Artabanus to Xerxes²⁵, permits no one to be proudly lifted up (*μεγα φρονεειν*) except himself; he loves to cut down all that exalts itself on high; he is the severe punisher of insolent pretensions²⁶. Excessive prosperity is said to be dangerous and deceitful; wealth produces arrogance (*υβρις*), and *υβρις ατη* (ruin)²⁷. Moderately good fortune, therefore²⁸, is safest and best²⁹. So common was the notion, that *φθονος* became a general term for blame, merited as well as unmerited, and particularly for the divine *νεμεσις* or retribution. Thus Camillus³⁰ prays to heaven that if the general prosperity should appear excessive to God or man, that "cause of envy" might be expiated by his own private loss rather than by any public misfortune³¹.

²³ Pausan. ix. 30. Pindar, Oly. i. 98.

²⁴ As when we speak of an "infliction of Divine Providence;" or say that "Providence has been pleased to visit us," &c.

²⁵ Herod. vii. 46.

²⁶ Æschyl. Persæ, 813. 824. 779.

²⁷ Solonis Frag. v. 75.

²⁸ *αφθονος ολβος*. Æschyl. Agam. 456, Bl.

²⁹ "*παντι μισω κρατος θεος ωπασεν*." Æschyl. Eum. 475, Bot. Comp. Plutarch, vit. Solon. 85^d. Sympos. ii. 10. 643. Wessel. to Herod. i. 32. Valckn. to the same, iii. 40. Olearius to Philostr. Vit. Soph. 575ⁿ.

³⁰ Livy, v. 21.

³¹ Comp. Livy, x. 13. One of the most curious instances of the kind is that in the story of Polycrates (Herod. iii. 39), and the apprehension expressed by Agamemnon in Æschylus of the overstrained courtesies of Clytæmnestra. Agam. 897, Bl.

§ 2.

THE GOLDEN AGE AND THE FALL.

Yet it should not be imagined that in any of these instances evil was knowingly charged upon the Deity. Evil ascribed to God is not understood as evil, or rather is so called not as being in itself unbecoming or unjust, but merely because felt by man to be painful or inconvenient. Men are rarely shocked at witnessing in others what is usual among themselves. The immorality of the heathen gods may be partly explained on the same principle as that of Machiavelli's "Prince;" dissimulation cast no slur on the character of Solon, or the elder Brutus, and the primitive Greek, with whom piracy was honourable, would not be scandalised at the knavery of the gods. The same imperfect sense of moral obligation which thoughtlessly ascribed unbecoming attributes to the gods may account for the supposed felicity of man in that rude age celebrated by poets as paradisiacal, but which was more correctly described by philosophers as one of ignorant and miserable barbarism¹. The contradiction is only apparent, for the poetical truth of the golden age is not inconsistent with a state of real degradation. The golden age is the fairer half of a complex conception; the retrospect of uncivilised life appears to the refined speculator under a doubtful or twofold aspect; the Saturnian times may have been an age of golden simplicity, or a reign of terror and of Moloch; and while the primæval "friends and neighbours" of the gods considered as exempt from the vices of civilization might be as blameless Phæacians, their destitution and ignorance of its aids and graces would convert them into Cyclops or Giants². The intellectual retrospect is as equivocal as the moral; for as a child may now mechanically become acquainted with things

¹ Æschyl. Prom. 435. Stobæ. Eclog. Phys. i. 3. 38, p. 240. Heer. Diod. S. 1. 8. Plato, Protag. 321^c.

² Odyss. vii. 205.

unknown to Plato or Newton, so the men of the olden time were both our masters and our inferiors; they might be higher in powers, but they were inferior in attainments. To the imaginations of the Greeks the wild inhabitants of Scythia appeared in this ambiguous light; and though tradition seems to indicate the real existence of certain Scythian tribes like the Abii, "justest of men,"³ who, like the Mandans of America, were comparatively civilised, yet Strabo prefers to account for the panegyric of Homer upon the general ground of the rude simplicity of savages and their exemption from the vices as well as the advantages of refinement. Many of the evils attendant on an advanced state of society have in reality no existence at its commencement; the infancy of the human race resembles that of the individual, and knows no evil because incapable of discernment⁴. The men of the golden age lived on the spontaneous fruits of the earth untroubled with thought⁵; and the silver age continued to maintain the privileges of the golden only during its long childhood of a hundred years⁶. Conscience uneducated can scarcely be said to exist; remorse implies knowledge, and assuming the existence of a time when human action was determined solely by pleasurable or painful emotion, the time might be called golden, since the evil which existed was unfelt. Vice has been said to lose a great part of its evil with its grossness; and the coarse freedom of language inherited from unsophisticated antiquity so often met with in Aristophanes and other Greek writers⁷, proves not so much the corruption of manners as the continued absence of that conventional refinement which would have made the indelicacy apparent and offensive⁸. Even the atrocities of savages lose

³ Iliad, v. 6. Strabo, vii. 300. Curtius, vii. 6. Ammianus Marcel. 23. 25. Steph. Byz. art. Abii. Ritter, Vorhalle, p. 263, sq.

⁴ The Bible describes children as those who "discern not between good and evil," or who "discern not the right hand from the left."

⁵ "ἀκηδεια θυμὸν ἔχοντες." Hes. Works, 112.

⁶ "μεγάλη νηπιὸς," or "big children," v. 131, ib.

⁷ Iliad, iii. 441. Soph. Antig. 567. Eur. Med. 679.

⁸ Comp. Thucyd. i. 6.

their enormity because perpetrated unconsciously⁹. To a savage an act of homicide may be less morally corrupting than deliberate crimes of a milder stamp in civilised society. And not only moral, but many physical evils may be said to be virtually non-existent where they are unsuspected and unfelt.

“Poor and content, is rich, and rich enough”—

Insensibility to pain may be said to destroy the reality of a bruise, and the beast of the forest is as exempt from poverty as from sickness. The starving Lydians indemnified themselves for the want of food by diverting games¹⁰, and the Cynic or Gymnosophist was in reality as happy as Aristippus or Scopas¹¹.

While evil was as yet unfelt it was unnecessary to devise any supernatural cause for it, nor was there any impiety in ascribing all things without exception to God. The gods of primitive humanity were feared rather than loved, yet they were in their way emphatically “*δωτηρες εαων*”—“givers of good things;”¹² they were heaven and earth, those divine parents who with lavish abundance nourished their guileless children, unsuspected of acts really inconsistent with beneficence. It was therefore scarcely by a poetical fiction that a wiser but less blessed age attributed to the children and friends of heaven those golden privileges of which they fancied themselves possessed. But in the interval which elapsed between the age of bliss and its poetical celebration, a great change had taken place; there had been a “Fall,” or revolution of the soul; all nature seemed to have degenerated in sympathy with the mental crisis; heaven appeared to be removed to an incalculable distance, and earth, once so liberal to the savage, was on a sudden grown sullen

⁹ Comp. St. Paul’s arguments respecting the connection of sin with the law. Rom. iii. 20; vii. 7. 1 Cor. xv. 56.

¹⁰ Herod. i. 94.

¹¹ “A good excuse,” says Caleb, in the *Bride of Lammermuir*, “is better than the things themselves; for these maun be consumed by time, whereas a good come off providently and creditably hoarded may serve a nobleman and his family heaven knows how long.”

¹² Hesiod, Th. 46. 111. Lucian, *Prometheus*, 18, vol. i. p. 201.

and parsimonious, overgrown with weeds and briars, and cursed with sterility. All things remained the same, yet all things were changed. An indescribable sadness

“Deepened the murmur of the falling floods,”

and the disappointment was as when scenes admired in infancy are revisited in after life. In both cases the change is not in nature, but in ourselves; it is the dawn of the power of reflection and comparison. Men are become not worse, but wiser; their nature has been exalted; they are raised into superior beings, called by oriental exaggeration “gods, knowing good from evil.” A sense of evil implies an appreciation of good, a fall the possibility of elevation. Motives now begin to be weighed and results calculated, in other words, action has ceased to be automatus, and has been in some degree subjected to the power of thought. Thought suggests deficiencies and wants both physical and intellectual, and language which expresses the present impressions of the mind rather than the realities of nature represents these wants as losses, the kindling of ambition as the restlessness of discontent. And as we continue to say the sun rises and sets, these earliest impressions of the senses having become irrevocably fixed in language, so we continue to talk of the “fall of man,” although the very apprehension of a fall is in itself intrinsic evidence of intellectual advancement¹³. Themistocles fell, in his own esteem, when he heard of the triumphs of Miltiades; the depth of his despondency was but a pledge of the loftiness of his pretensions. “Our sorrow is the inverted image of our nobleness; the depth of our despair measures the height and capability of our hopes.”¹⁴ The sunny and thoughtless pride of Grecian intellect was not perhaps so morally grand as the dejection of oriental asceticism. “We grant that human life is mean, but

¹³ The “Fall” is the conscience-struck remorseful self-accusation of human nature, in itself implying no more moral evil than pain, or the external symptom of an effort to regain health, is to be identified with physical evil. Every reform is a “Fall,” inasmuch as it is the acknowledgment of error, but it is never called so except where despondency prevails over the hope of improvement.

¹⁴ Carlyle.

how did we find out that it is mean; whence this uneasiness of ours, this old discontent?"¹⁵ Why measuring his actual position by the standard of the fancy and senses does man still imagine himself a fallen being, notwithstanding those advantages which even by church authority¹⁶ have been pronounced to be more than an indemnity for the loss of Eden, and which by ennobling his reason have exalted him almost to a god?¹⁷ The fall is the first painful impression of light and knowledge upon man, "the child born at midnight," ignorant alike of yesterday and to-morrow¹⁸. To be born is said to be more painful than to die, and still greater perhaps is the pang of spiritual regeneration. If the "fear of the Lord" be the beginning of wisdom¹⁹, it is equally true conversely that the beginnings of knowledge are full of perplexity and anxiety²⁰. When the eyes are opened, the "mind is darkened" with melancholy, because it is suddenly and painfully made aware both of its power and its weakness. Men wake like the pedlar in the tale from visionary splendour to the plain prose of life; the loss of ignorance is accompanied by the loss of a portion of content and self-respect; or, as it is more beautifully expressed in Genesis, "they know that they are naked." The individual may be said to fall, nay, but for some counteracting influence, to fall more and more, in proportion as he becomes more able to contemplate the universal; to feel his comparative condition, how weak in reference to infinite strength, how imperfect in reference to infinite good. Reason could not go on in its development until the feelings of imperfection and want had given motives for exertion. But in the first crisis of enlightenment, the painful sense of want or inferiority which is identical with "the Fall" was distinct and complete; while the long

¹⁵ Emerson.

¹⁶ See Shuttleworth on the "Analogy of Religion."

¹⁷ Genesis iii. 22.

¹⁸ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, by Abel-Remusat, vol. 1.

¹⁹ Prov. i. 7. Ecclus. i. 14. 20.

²⁰ Ecclus. iv. 17.

progress of redemption and civilization, which, could it have been foreseen, might have supplied a different name to the whole of the phenomena, could then only for the first time commence its operations. Vainly would we accuse the parents of mankind, or deplore the hard penalty entailed by their thoughtlessness on after generations. Every individual passes through a paradise of his own, and in his turn tastes of the tree of knowledge, a crisis which no one can meet without anxiety, and whose approach cast a shade of awe over even the joyous brow of Undine²¹. Even though it were impossible to fix in recollection any definite moment when man can be said for the first time to feel and to reflect, the Fall would be no less a psychological reality. There is always a season of seriousness and disquietude, when the problem of human destiny forces itself more or less suddenly into notice, and together with it, unless the tranquillising opiate of religions has succeeded in wholly stupefying the intellect, an anxiety as to the tendencies of Nature and of Providence. Providence had been assumed to be beneficent and good, as infancy had been innocent and happy; man must therefore have been created perfect, and his new disquietude naturally received the denomination of "a Fall." But Providence, hitherto unsuspected, now began to assume an ambiguous aspect, and nature a disguise of harshness and deformity. Their meaning and purposes were imperfectly understood; the formation of a rational faith was a task yet to be commenced; want has been felt, but there had been no sufficient experience of its civilizing power; and impatient and perplexed at the outset of his arduous career, man turned dejectedly from the almost hopeless problem, hastily concluding that all is vanity; that he disquieteth himself in vain; that he is the plaything of the Almighty, who capriciously governs, or even forsakes the world²²; "Why," exclaims Job,

²¹ "Nur der Irrthum ist das leben,
Und das Wissen ist der Tod."

²² Plato, *Laws*, i. 644; vii. 803. *Politicus*, 269. *Creuzer*, *Symb.* i. 399. *V. Bohlen*, *Ind.* i. 160.

“died I not from the womb; why is light given to him that is in misery, to man whose way is hid, and whom God hath hedged in?”²³

§ 3.

THEORY OF PARADISE.

The story of “the Fall” poetically represents a philosophical truth. The imagination requires a fixed period of time for the commencement of man’s moral state as for that of his physical existence; and the light of experience has its peculiar optical delusions, creating a day of universal judgment among the phantasms of the future, and a “fall” as the moral terminus of the unknown past. The Hebrew annals are contrived to show the history of human nature according to the perspective of a comparatively modern age of literature; increasing in distinctness, circumstantiality, and probability of detail as they approach the period from which the events may be supposed to have been contemplated¹. So in the Hindoo mythical series of four ages, one of those widely spread legends which are too peculiar to be entirely independent, yet too varied to have been directly borrowed by one nation from another², the last, or actual age, (Cali-Yug) is the point of departure in the ideal calculation. The estimate of degeneracy is from below upwards. The third age in order of time is called the second (Duapara Yug), and the second, the third (Treta Yug)³. The duration of human

²³ Job iii. 11. 20. 23. It were better, says Theognis (v. 425), for man not to have been born at all, or, if born, the next best alternative is to go as soon as possible to the gates of Hades. Cic. Tusc. Qu. i. 47, 48. Plut. Consol. ad Apollon. 27. Zeus himself, in the Iliad, pronounces man to be the most wretched of all creatures on the face of the earth. xvii. 446. Æschyl. Agam. 1213, Bothe.

¹ Thus beginning with the Universe, the record first confines itself to the posterity of Seth, and narrowing as it descends, successively to that of Noah, of Shem, and of Abraham, until finally limited to the annals of the Hebrews, it begins to narrate in full detail the history of Jacob.

² Lassen, Ind. A. 529. Bohlen, Ind. i. 140.

³ Ewald, Geschichte, 307ⁿ.

life assumed as 100 years in round numbers for the actual age, multiplied by four, gives the 400 years of Menu⁴ for the first, or Crita-Yug⁵. The unknown intervals of antiquity were thus filled up with imagery suggested by the present. Every successive acquisition accumulated by human effort during the course of ages, was thrown back to an imaginary epoch, and made to contribute to the glowing picture of an age of innocence. Man was then not only morally better but intellectually wiser⁶; he was godlike in act and in discernment⁷; his ancient and proverbial communion with the heavenly⁸ implied both a moral similitude, and a mental or religious inspiration. Yet the real age of innocence was one with that of fiction; men seemed to know more when they believed more, as to be good when they knew not evil. The feeling of diffidence and imperfection constituting "the Fall" found the standard of comparison really supplied by his hopes reflected in his imaginary recollections, and the wants of immediate experience suggested the fanciful materials of an age of happiness past and to come. The theoretic happiness consisted in the enjoyment of all the good desiderated, and in an exemption from all the evils felt in the actualities of the present. The dry sands of Syria or of Attica were then abundantly watered⁹; the peacefully disposed enjoyed wealth in tranquillity¹⁰, and warlike tribes looked back to ancestors possessed of greater longevity and more formidable strength¹¹. But the aspect of antiquity is double and equivocal; though less corrupt and artificial, it is more rugged and ferocious. The luxurious ease of the Phæacians represents the milder and more attractive side of the old Achæan life; and an intimation of their moral as well as physical proximity to gods may

⁴ i. 83.

⁵ See calculations of the mundane year, Voss. to Virg. Eclog. iv. 5. 7.

⁶ Plato, Phileb. 16.

⁷ Cicero, Tusc. ix. 1. 12. Senec. Epist. xc. 44.

⁸ ἐμφυτος ἀρχαία πρὸς οὐρανὸν κοινωνία. Clem. Alex. Protrep. 21. Cic. de Leg. ii. 11. 27.

⁹ Plato, Critias, p. 111.

¹⁰ Ælian, V. H. iii. 18.

¹¹ Iliad, i. 262.

perhaps be comprehended in the words of the disguised Athene, when she says¹² that the house of Alcinous, "radiant like the sun or moon"¹³, stood near her own father's. On the other hand the Giants, Cyclopes, Phlegyans, were fierce and insolent¹⁴, careless of the gods and ultimately destroyed by them. These two apparently inconsistent aspects of antiquity were conceptionally divided, and distinguished to the mind in mythus by being placed apart in two imaginary periods of time, an age of gold and an age of brass; the transition from one to the other being either through the sudden operation of a Fall, or through the progressive degeneracy of ages, during which the virtues as well as acquisitions of the good Autochthones were forgotten¹⁵. The rude aboriginal savages, poetically called "earthborn" giants, were in this view only a remnant of a more illustrious race of whom they had preserved but a dim reminiscence; they were in reality the brazen age¹⁶, destroyed either by their own internal feuds, like the Sparti of Cadmus, or by the flood of Deucalion. Upon their destruction would naturally have commenced the actual race; but Hesiod, in deference to popular traditions and genealogies, is obliged to introduce here the heroic age as a sort of repetition of the golden, serving at once to give the existing race a more dignified origin, and to satisfy in every minute detail the popular presumption of human degeneracy. The simple theoretical subdivision of past and present would have been satisfied with an age of gold and an age of iron; the latter beginning with the still existing descendants of Deucalion and Pyrrha, the former comprising every type of former excellence according to the cotemporary standard of perfection. But the standard which the poet had to satisfy by corresponding imagery, evidently consisted of two distinct classes of ideas; the notion of primæval innocence, of idle in-

¹² Odyss. vii. 29.

¹³ v. 85.

¹⁴ ὑπερηφανοὶ and ὑβριστᾶι. Hymn, Apollo. 278. Odyss. vii. 59. Comp. Schol. Apollon. iv. 992.

¹⁵ Plato, Critias, 109. Timæus, 23.

¹⁶ χαλκεῖον γένος τοὺς γιγαντας λεγεί. Schol. Hesiod, Works, 442.

dulgence, and the inconsistent and dissimilar one of the prowess of the heroes of song. The latter could not have been the peaceful men of the age of gold, neither could they be the brazen race whose daring was barbarous or impious. The latter might indeed correspond with the unfavourable aspect of antiquity supposed to be represented in the giants¹⁷; but a difficulty was felt because the romantic and patriotic associations handed down by song demanded for those chivalrous and almost historical personages who fell at Thebes or Troy¹⁸, a mythological place immediately preceding the present. Thus the golden age was twice repeated, first as a state of peace, and again as a state of war; but however numerous the links of intermediate connection, the glories of the past, whether simultaneous or successive, were at an end when the evils of immediate experience began. The appearance of the all-accomplished Pandora, and the sacrifice of Prometheus, seemed to herald the commencement of human evils and the end of the golden age, because luxury and a settled form of religious worship appeared to have been coincident with the rise of knowledge and the close of the period of innocence. In the same way, the three sons of Lamech, Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal denote the concurrent epoch of the invention of arts and the advance of corruption¹⁹. But misfortune is never without hope, which was therefore significantly left within Pandora's vessel of evils²⁰. The consciousness of undeveloped capabilities is inseparable from an impression of degeneracy; and if the aspect of an angry Deity is seen in the sombre hues of the

¹⁷ The Giants, says Völcker, were not the brazen age, because they died without a name; "*ναννυμοί*" (Japetus, p. 271), but this namelessness may have been meant comparatively with the two former ages whose population had been honoured with a sort of deification after death; though of course it is not to be presumed that two mythical creations such as those in question, however near, should exactly coincide.

¹⁸ Hes. Works, 158.

¹⁹ Comp. Genesis iv. 22 with v. 29; vi. 12. Ewald, Geschichte, 315. 322. The subversion of the empire of Uranus by the sickle of Cronus is similarly marked by the cotemporary invention of iron attributed to the Idæi Dactyli. Hesiod, Theog. 161. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i. 1129. Strabo, x. 472; xiv. 654.

²⁰ Hes. Op. 96.

declining year, more consolatory views of Providence are suggested by the prospect of its renewal. Noah, or "new commencement"²¹, also a son of Lamech, steps forth from the ark at the commencement of a new year to be the "comfort"²² of a desolated world. The object of the traditional flood seemed to have been to wash out the foul blots of moral corruption²³; after that Augean cleansing or baptismal regeneration²⁴, an age of righteousness and peace heralded by the dove would ensue²⁵.

§ 4.

MYTHICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PARADISE.

The moral impressions of ancient Nature religion were in correspondence with physical ones. The ideas of the end as of the commencement of all things was taken from the phenomena of the year, the renewal of nature after the winter rains, or scorching heats¹; sorrow and joy followed close upon each other as sunshine to showers, and on the very day of the Egyptian mourning for Osiris, the daughter of Mycerinus was brought forth to enjoy her annual revelation of life and light². Men have always felt their condition to be greatly inferior to

²¹ Genes. v. 29. Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. p. 318. He is probably not unconnected with Henoch, Janus, or Oannes. Comp. Ewald, *ib.* 314. Creuzer, *Symbol.* i. 59.

²² Gen. v. 29.

²³ 2 Peter ii. 5. Matt. xxiv. 37.

²⁴ 1 Corin. x. 1, 2. Rev. xxi. 1.

²⁵ Noah may be the Hebrew Inachus. His wife is the womb of the ark, bringing forth all creatures. He is the father of three sons corresponding with the three seasons, and, as in the Zoroastrian Creation, days are expanded to thousands of years, in the mythus of Noah they are centuries; he enters the ark in his six hundredth year (Genes. vii. 11), and lives after quitting it a number of years corresponding with the lunar year. (Genes. ix. 28.) At the completion of the lunar year he begins to expect to see the earth dried, but is obliged to remain within the ark until the conclusion of the solar. (Ideler *Lehrbuch*, p. 198.)

¹ The general conflagration, or general deluge.

² Herod. ii. 132. Comp. Isis and Osiris, ch. 39.

what it might be; they see in the present only a striking contrast to the perfection which the fancy suggests as possible. Hence the prospective renewal of original innocence and bliss. Man has ever imagined himself in an unhappy medium between two happy periods, a past and a future paradise. Hesiod exclaims, "would that I had never been born among the people of the fifth race, but that I had either died earlier, or lived later."³ He expresses the universal hope of mankind, the belief in a great future restoration of all things, the "*ultima ætas Cumæi carminis*"⁴ described by Virgil. But it was necessary that a place as well as time should be assigned to this conceptional felicity, and the locality when discovered was of course found to be remote, for it was as impossible that a state of things so surpassing all ordinary experience should exist among familiar realities, as that Candide's Eldorado should turn up in homely Westphalia. Homer's Elysium, an idea supposed to have received its form from exaggerated reports of navigators⁵, is at the extremities of the earth⁶; the justice and piety so rarely seen among the familiar haunts of men were still supposed to survive among the Issedones⁷, or the Hyperboreans, unvisited and inaccessible to mortal footsteps;⁸ they had fled to the distant Indians⁹, to the "blameless" Æthiopians¹⁰, or to the imaginary population of Atlantis¹¹. When a matter-of-fact age wished to fix this fabled realm to some certain locality, its site, like the labours of Hercules, or the voyage of Argo, became more and more remote in propor-

³ Works, 175.

⁴ Virg. Eclog. 4.

⁵ Strabo, i. 2, 3. Herod. i. 163. According to Justin (ad Græc. 27), Homer in his description of the gardens of Alcinous imitated Moses. Od. vii. 114.

⁶ "*πειρατα γαιης*." Odyss. iv. 563.

⁷ Herod. iv. 26.

⁸ Pind. Pyth. x. 48. Ælian, V. H. iii. 18. 221.

⁹ Baehr's Ctesias, Ind. 8.

¹⁰ "*αμυμονες*" and "*εσχατοι ανδρων*." Bothe's Homer, i. 423. Herod. iii. 20.

¹¹ Ælian, V. H. iii. 18. These notions were, however, partly connected with the optical deception which makes the horizon, or extremity of the earth, appear nearest to heaven. Uckert, Geogr. iii. 1, p. 237. Comp. Völcker's Japetus, 311. 313.

tion to the extension of geographical knowledge. The islands of the blest, at first placed vaguely in Ocean, were successively identified with Sardinia¹², the extremities of Mauritania¹³, the Canaries¹⁴, or even another world¹⁵. The Hebrew Eden (land of delight) is vaguely placed near the remote sources of the rivers of Central Asia, in regions eastward of Palestine¹⁶, from whence, according to tradition, originated the ancestors of the race. In the same quarter the Greeks of the age of Alexander obtained intimations of a civilization anterior even to that of India and Egypt. Aristotle spoke of the Magi as older than the Egyptians, and his scholar Clearchus declared the Indian gymnosophists to be their descendants¹⁷. Another disciple of Aristotle, Eudemus¹⁸, identified these Magi and the doctrines of Zoroaster with the Arii, a general name for the races covering the table-land of Iran¹⁹, and extending northwards over Bactriana and Sogdiana²⁰. Pausanias speaks of "Indian Magi,"²¹ and it was supposed by some that even Judaism itself originated from among these ancient sages²². The Jews of the captivity were eager to welcome their Deliverer in the person of Cyrus, whom they called "Righteousness from the East," and "Executor of Jehovah's decrees," thus in a manner identifying the Persian religion and their own²³; and Gesenius²⁴ and others have been induced to suspect a relationship or

¹² Aristot. Phys. iv. 11.

¹³ Strabo, i. p. 5; iii. 104. 150. Tzetzes in Lyc. 648.

¹⁴ Pliny, N. H. vi. 32 or 37.

¹⁵ Virg. Æn. vi. 640. Cicero, Somn. Scip. 3. Diod. S. iii. 67. Mela. iii. 10.

¹⁶ Genes. ii. 8; iii. 24; xi. 2.

¹⁷ Diog. Laert. Prœm. 8, 9.

¹⁸ Damascius, de Principiis, Kopp. p. 384. The word Magi is said to mean "Priests," or wise men. Porphy. de Abstin. iv. 16. Apuleius Apol. vel. de Magiâ, ch. 25.

¹⁹ Strabo, xv. 720. 723; ii. 130.

²⁰ Ib. 724.

²¹ iv. 32.

²² Diog. Laert. Pr. 9. Tacitus, Hist. iv. 2.

²³ Conf. Is. xli. 2. 25; xlv. 11.

²⁴ Is. xli. 2. Vol. iv. p. 48.

connection in unrecorded times²⁵ as the only way of accounting for many curious resemblances both in legend and in doctrine between the early religion of the Hebrews and that of other Asiatics.

The word Eden means something excellent and delightful; the trees of Eden, like the ships of Tarshish, denote the finest and most excellent of their kind²⁶. Saul clothed the daughters of Israel in Edens, or delights²⁷; and to be in Eden was to enjoy the greatest luxury and pleasure²⁸. Any fertile country²⁹, and in particular the expected restoration of the Hebrew kingdom was compared to Eden, the garden of the Lord³⁰. Among the places locally distinguished by the name of Eden was a hill district of Northern Assyria or Media, called Eden in Thelassar³¹. This Thelassar or Ellasar³² is conterminous with Ptolemy's "Arrapachitis,"³³ and with the plain of the ancient city Rages or Ragan³⁴, where the Assyrian monarch overcame the Median king Arphaxad. Rai in several Asiatic tongues was a name for Paradise³⁵, and both Rai and Arphaxad or Arrapachitis occur in the personal genealogy of Heber³⁶. It has been ingeniously surmised that the genealogy from Shem to Abraham³⁷ is in part significant of geographical localities,

²⁵ Comp. Lassen's Ind. Ant. i. p. 529.

²⁶ Ezek. xxxi. 9. 16. 18.

²⁷ 2 Sam. i. 24.

²⁸ Ezek. xxviii. 13.

²⁹ Gen. xiii. 10.

³⁰ Joel ii. 3. Is. li. 3. Ezek. xxxvi. 5.

³¹ 2 Kings xix. 12. Ezek. xxvii. 23. Gesen. Lex. p. 60. 1117. Winer, R. W. B. i. 380; ii. 704.

³² Gen. 141.

³³ Meaning either "Chaldæan fortress," Ewald, Geschichte, i. 333; or, "Ary-apakschata," bordering on Arya, or Iran. V. Bohlen. Genesis, 137.

³⁴ Judith i. 6. 15.

³⁵ Von Bohlen. Genes. p. 27.

³⁶ Reu is Ragan in the Septuagint.

³⁷ Shem, the name of the father of a circle of nations extending from the Persian gulf to north and west, means literally "Elevation" (Ewald Geschichte, i. 329. Buttmann, Myth. i. 221), or "Heaven," equivalent to the Phœnician Baal-Samen, or Lord of Heaven. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10. 34^c. Guigniaut, ii. 20. Lassen, Ind. Antiq. 519. Arndt, Europäische Sprache, 157, 158.

or successive stations occupied by the Hebrews in the progress of migration from some point in the north east of Asia, from which tradition extended itself in a divergent circle as from the mythical Eerieya of the Zendavesta³⁸. In Hebrew tradition, as in that of the Indians and Persians, this region was immemoriably sacred³⁹; the Israelite referred to it the site of his imaginary Eden, as the Persian idealised the garden of Ormuzd in a transcendental conception of Irân⁴⁰. Eden is admitted to have disappeared from the visible earth. We should no more seek the geographical position of the Eden of Genesis than search the map for the summit of Merou⁴¹. Not only the nature of the flowers of Paradise, the flavour of its wine, the milk and honey of its rivers, &c., but its very existence on earth was already a matter of controversy among the fathers of the church⁴²; it became the celestial paradise or place for departed spirits⁴³; and as Ambrose rationally observes⁴⁴, if Paul, who alone of Adam's sons was enabled to see Paradise, was yet incapable of describing what he saw⁴⁵, how could he or any man be expected to describe what he had never been permitted to witness? The best authorities consider Eden as a hypothetical idea whose terms correspond in general with the highlands of Northern Irân⁴⁶;

³⁸ Ewald, *Hist. Israel*, 316. 333. 336.

³⁹ Job xxxvii. 22. Ezek. i. 4. Is. xiv. 13. Zech. vi. 8. Rosenmuller, *Alterthum*, i. 154. Lassen, 511.

⁴⁰ A temple of Jupiter (Ormuzd) stood on the top of the horticultural mount of Baghistan. Diod. S. ii. 13.

⁴¹ Reported, however, by Bishop Heber as standing within the actual limits of British territory.

⁴² Conf. Theophilus ad Autol. 2. Tertullian, ap. c. 47, describes it as "*maceria quædam igneæ illius zonæ à notitiâ orbis communis segregatum*"—and Origen (in Cels. vii. 29, p. 714), calls it *καθαρον εν καθαρω ουρανω γην*. Justin Martyr, on the other hand, holds the doctrine of a "*παράδεισος αισθητος*." Confer. Basil. p. 348. Ephraim Syrus. ap. Uhlman in Illgen's *Zeitschrift*, *Hist. Th.*

⁴³ Bereshith. Rab. xxi. 7.

⁴⁴ De Paradiso, ch. 11.

⁴⁵ 2 Corinth. xii. 2.

⁴⁶ Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 528. V. Hammer, in the *Wiener Jahrbuch der Litteratur* for 1820, vol. ix. p. 25, says the original Airya land of the

and that all evidence and investigation both of language, mythology, and tradition, both Zend and Indian⁴⁷, point with singular uniformity towards the same upland districts lately explored by Lieutenant Wood, the "Eerieya" of the Zend books, as the source of the divergent population which originally colonised a large portion of the earth⁴⁸.

§ 5.

ON THE USE OF APOLOGUE.

Narrative and fable were the earliest and most appropriate vehicles of instruction. It was ever customary in the East to give an historical or narrative form to ideas and reasonings which would now be enunciated as abstract propositions. They told a pleasant story, and left the moral to be extracted by the ingenuity of the hearer or reader. Truth, says Pindar¹, may

Zend, with its sacred mountain Borj (*i. e.* high mountain) must be sought in the Imaus of the ancients, the Beloor Tag or western slopes of the central mountains of Tartary, generally corresponding with the district of the ancient city Bactra, Balkh, or Zariaspa, said to have been built by Kaiomoraz, and even to this day called "the mother of cities," and "the oldest in the world." Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ii. 498. Heeren, *Ideen*, i. p. 314, 4 Ed. It was not until afterwards that the Median Elburj and the Caucasus to the West became the sacred mountains of the Persian religion, after Magian colonies had settled in these countries. E. Burnouf on the *Yashna*, p. 184.

⁴⁷ Indian tradition refers the origin of the higher clans, the Aryia, or nobles, as opposed to the Mlekha, or barbarians, to the country of the North West; the first settlement of the Aryia, and sacred domain of Brahma-varta, was not Ayodhya, but the country near the river Saraswati to the westward, called in the Mahabharata "the place of Sacrifice of the Prajapati," or Creators. The Brahmins esteem the Northern region, called Uttara Kurù, or Airavarta, as a land of the blessed. (Lassen, *Ind. A.* 512. Baehr's *Ctesias*. *Ind.* 8, and conf. the Asiatic Hyperboreans of Herodotus, iv. 13. 32, and the *Excursus* of Baehr.) The Bactrians were esteemed a powerful and important people, and were regarded with superstitious awe. *Diod.* S. ii. 2. 5; xiv. 20, p. 656. Baehr's *Ctesias Pers.* 2. In Arrian. *Alex.* iv. 1, ad fin. Zariaspa is called *μεγιστη πολις*.

⁴⁸ Creuzer, *Symb.* i. 296, &c. Carl. Ritter's *Erdkunde von Asien*. Band. O. vol. 8 of the general work, 2nd Edit. p. 17. Lassen, *Alterthumskunde*.

¹ Nem. v. 30.

be told too plainly; the fictions of mythology are better suited to affect and beguile the mind than the unadorned and literal². The wisdom of antiquity was incorporated in these agreeable narratives³, whose beauty made the monstrous seem credible⁴. To tell tales of fiction with an air of truth was the boast of the Muse of Helicon⁵; even prose compositions, particularly those of a philosophical character, were at first imitations of poetry⁶. The effort to instruct was constrained to have recourse to the most impressive and captivating forms. The earliest histories were little more than compilations of those legends which had been the staple of oral circulation, such as may still be heard among the Lazzaroni of Naples or in the Bazaars of the East. The spirit of apologue is as widely spread as the spirit of poetry. We are often unreasonably disappointed in not finding fidelity as to facts in a narrative primarily intended to be a moral lesson. The epic unity of Herodotus consists in the grouping of his materials for the illustration of one great theory of providential government. One and the same moral pervades his stories of Cræsus, Cyrus, and Polycrates, as well as the final catastrophe of the Persian war; and to enforce his favourite hypothesis he occasionally exaggerates with so much dramatic effect as to induce a suspicion that his object was not so much fidelity as an annalist⁷, as the pleasurable surprise of the denouement, and that “*χαρις*,”⁸ that feeling for the beautiful, which was the great principle of Greek art whether plastic or literary. The same tendency to make the fact subordinate to the moral is seen in many of the so called historical books of the Hebrews. Here too the character of the annalist is merged in that of the speculative theologian, and the narrative is alto-

² Oly. i. 45.

³ Nem. vii. 33.

⁴ Oly. i. 51. *Φιληδονοὶ εἰσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες*, says Dio Chrysostom Or. 11, *ἀ δ' ἀν ακουσωσιν ἡδεως τινος λεγοντος ταυτα καὶ αληθη νομιζουσιν.* Conf. Hom. Od. τ. 203. Theognis, v. 713. Plato, Phædrus, 229^c.

⁵ Hesiod, Th. 27.

⁶ *ὁ πιζος λογος μιμημα του ποιητικου εστιν.* Strabo, i. 18.

⁷ Conf. Baehr's Herod. i. 214, p. 471.

⁸ Pind. Ol. i. 48.

gether subservient to the object of proving the power of Jehovah, his inflexible justice, his foreknowledge of events, and his necessary agency in the production of that train of circumstances by which disobedience is ever discountenanced and punished⁹. "We do not believe," says Strabo, "many of the narratives of even prose writers who adopt the historical form, although they may not themselves acknowledge their mythological character; because it is obvious that they are relating mythi intentionally, not through ignorance of facts, but because they purposely invent impossible things for the sake of exciting pleasure and astonishment;" and Theopompus actually boasts that he will relate "historical fables" more appositely than either Herodotus, Ctesias, or Hellanicus."¹⁰ Yet these mythical narratives, after all, are often in a sense more truthful, as well as more amusing, than the stately pretensions of history; and if even among the intelligent Athenians, those keen speculators in the intellectual market, the Sophists, still continued to find the *μυθος* more in demand than *λογος*¹¹; if even philosophers, as Plato¹², had recourse to fable in order to explain what could not in any other way be made equally intelligible, and substituted verisimilitude for fact, it is not extraordinary that a medium so well adapted for conveying the most clear and forcible yet inoffensive lessons should stand at the head of ancient wisdom, and since men in many respects ever continue children, that it should never have wholly lost its fitness or popularity.

"It is through allegories and fables that we receive the earliest accounts we have of all nations, particularly those of the East¹³. In these days when exactness is so much valued we may perhaps be tempted to deplore this medium as liable to

⁹ 2 Kings xvii. 7.

¹⁰ Strab. i. 115, p. 43.

¹¹ Plato, Protag. 320^c. δοκει—χαρισστερον ειναι μυθον λεγειν.

¹² Phædr. 229^c, and Timæ. 29^d. ὁ φιλοσοφος φιλομυθος ισται, says Aristotle. Met. i. 2.

¹³ Sir John Malcolm's Sketches of Persia, ch. 9.

mislead; but must recollect that if we had not their ancient records in that form, we should have them in none. 'Fiction,' says Bacon, 'gives to mankind what history denies, and in some measure satisfies the mind with shadows where it cannot enjoy the substance.' England herself has benefited largely from these Eastern tales; our best fables came with the sun from that genial clime where nature pours forth her stores with so liberal a hand that she spoils by her indulgence those on whom she bestows her choicest gifts. In that favoured land the imagination of authors grows like their own evergreens, in unpruned luxuriance. But the climate of the East, while it fosters lively imaginations and strong passions, disposes the frame to the enjoyment of that luxurious ease which is adverse to freedom. The fathers of families, the chiefs of tribes, and the sovereigns of kingdoms, are, within their separate circles, alike despotic; their children or subjects are therefore compelled to address these dreaded superiors in apologues and tales, lest the plain truth spoken in plain language should offend; and to avoid this unpleasant result every bird, beast, and fish have received the gift of speech, and been made to represent kings, or courtiers, soldiers, wise men and foolish, old men and little children, in order, as a Persian author says, 'that the ear of authority may be safely approached by the tongue of wisdom.'"

One great object of story was to give plausible and popular explanations of well-known facts. The series of sand banks between India and Ceylon was mythically explained to be the remnant of the bridge of Rama constructed by the monkeys for the use of the victorious hero. Every wonder of nature or art had its legend, connected with the feats of Hercules or the Giants, the spells of Tadmor or Stone-henge. Significant names were explained etymologically, and were supposed to have been originally suggested by an appropriate event. Sometimes a story was invented in illustration of a name or fact; sometimes a real fact was quoted in corroboration of an imaginary story, and like the

tower of Babel, or the gigantic bed of Og the King of Bashan¹⁴, became for ever after a "standing miracle" confirmatory of popular tradition. The ship of Ulysses remained an eternal monument as a Corcyraean rock¹⁵; Ovid "saw" the trees which once had lived in human shape as Baucis and Philemon; the sisters of Phaeton still hung mournfully over their brother's grave as Lombardy poplars, and every year the streams of Palestine and Troas were tinged anew with the blood of Memnon or Adonis¹⁶.

Oriental lore became thus filled with innumerable stories, which however puerile in themselves are interesting as records of opinion, being only a peculiar form of representing a conspicuous fact or deeply-felt truth. They are the first attempts of hypothesis to account for what appeared strange or impressive, and being almost entirely conceptional and unhistorical, mirror with only the greater fidelity the minds through which they circulated. According to the Buddhist legends of Japan, the missionary anchorite Dharma had obtained great credit by extraordinary austerities. Day and night he continued absorbed in that profound meditation which raises the soul into communion with heaven. He even engaged himself in a vow never to sleep, and having been on one occasion overpowered by drowsiness he indignantly cut off his eye-lids. Returning on the following day to the spot where this cruel operation had been performed, he was surprised to find his two eye-lids changed into two shrubs. He tasted some of the leaves, and instantly was thrilled with an enlivening sensation, which cleared the head and invigorated the mind. Charmed with the discovery of this useful restorative, he communicated

¹⁴ Deut. iii. 11.

¹⁵ Pliny, iv. 12, p. 207.

¹⁶ The rock of Pytho was standing evidence of the legend of Cronus and the stone; the cinders in the bed of the Asopus were an eternal monument of the avenging bolt of Zeus. (Apollod. iii. 12. 6.) Fragments of the half-organised clay out of which Prometheus made mankind were to be seen in a temple in Phocis. Pausan. x. 4. 3.

it to his disciples, and the virtues of tea were thenceforth universally recognised, not only as being delightful to the sense, but as favourable to religious meditation.

A similar story was invented as a plausible account of the invention of wine. Jemsheed had reserved a quantity of grapes in a large vessel; when the vessel was opened, the grapes had fermented, and the juice was so unpalatable that it was removed and inscribed with the word poison. It so happened that the favourite Sultana being one day affected with a depression of spirits was desirous of death, and seeing this deadly potion, she drank of the contents, which caused her to fall into a sound sleep. She awoke refreshed, and, delighted with the remedy, repeated the doses so often that the poison was nearly all drunk. Jemsheed, on being made aware of the circumstances, himself partook of the beverage, which continued to maintain its reputation in Persia under the name of Zeher-e-khoosh, or "the delightful poison."¹⁷

In the narrative of the Fall, the object of the writer was to explain the great moral mystery; the origin of evil, and the apparent estrangement from heaven; to account for the presumed connection of increase of knowledge with increase of misery, and, in particular, to reconcile the great penalty of death with divine justice. Subordinate to these greater points were the questions, why is the earth covered with thorns and weeds? whence the origin of clothing, of sexual shame and passion? whence the infliction of labour, and how are we to justify the degraded condition of women in the East, or to account for the loathing so generally felt towards the serpent tribe?

The parabolic form was not a mere expedient to amuse, but a psychological necessity; the ancient sage who proposed to discourse on philosophical subjects was constrained to employ it, not merely in consideration for the limited capacity of his auditors, but from the difficulty felt by himself in devising expressions for abstract ideas. If for instance he wished to explain the origin of human misery as conjectured to arise out

¹⁷ Malcolm's History of Persia, i. 16.

of that spirit of discontent which is ever aspiring to something more perfect and exalted, he could not have conceived far less have expressed these ideas in a form of abstract generality, but would rather have endeavoured to elucidate them by referring to his own experience, and by translating into narrative a page out of his own mental reminiscences. Imagination would then very naturally place him under the trees of a garden, and recall the happy memories of the opening of life. He would see men, as children, happy in ignorance and innocence, without a suspicion or a wish for higher happiness or freedom, pass the early days of a golden age in Paradise. Then he would mournfully reflect on the first steps of the transition by which he remembers to have passed from the happy age of thoughtlessness and peace to that of awakened consciousness, but, at the same time, that of anxiety, uncertainty, and pain. The first development of the intellect would appear in the retrospect as the fountain-head of a long succession of cares and disappointments. They would be identified with the very origin of human suffering, and of all those painful vicissitudes which find at length their appropriate consummation—death compassionately ending the weary trials of a being who might once have claimed and enjoyed an immortality.

§ 6.

THE GARDEN.

The ancient Persians were remarkably fond of gardens. They were indispensable appendages of a royal residence, and the Persian monarch, wherever he might happen to be, could always command one of these pleasant retreats¹. The famous hanging gardens at Babylon were said to have been constructed to please a Persian concubine, who sighed for the mountain

¹ Esther vii. 7. Xenoph. Anab. i. 4. 10. Œcon. iv. 13; xii. 30.

bowers and plantations of her native land²; and luxurious gardens everywhere sprung up along the martial progress of Semiramis³. Xenophon calls these gardens "Paradises," a word of Persian or Sanscrit origin⁴ often used in the later books of the Old Testament⁵, and, in the Septuagint, synonymous with Eden. The Persian "Paradise" was richly provided not only with vegetable productions, but with every sort of animal, bird, beast, and fish, for the king's diversion⁶; and, as the extermination of noxious animals was as much a sacred duty as the rooting up of weeds and briars, the chase became a necessary part of royal education⁷. Cyrus the Great is said when a young man to have been so keen a sportsman, that he destroyed all the animals in his father's Paradise⁸, and speedily became ambitious of following nobler and more dangerous game⁹. The younger Cyrus imitated the divine Jima, or Achæmenes¹⁰; with his own royal hands he laboured in his garden¹¹, and used to hunt for exercise in a large paradise at Celænæ in Phrygia¹². The habits of the Persian king, himself acknowledged to be a god¹³, were formed by the Magi after a divine model; his empire was the terrestrial counterpart of that of Uranus¹⁴, and there can be little doubt that the pleasure grounds and diversions of the Medes, as well as the architecture of their palaces and cities, had a symbolical mean-

² Strabo, xvi. 738. Quint. Curt. v. 1. Diod. ii. 10. Joseph. Ant. x. 11. 1. Contr. Ap. i. 19.

³ Diod. S. ii. 13; comp. xvi. 41.

⁴ "Paradesa," beautiful land. Pollux, Onomast. ix. 3. Gesenii Thesaurus, p. 1124. Creuz. S. i. 213 note.

⁵ Cant. iv. 13. Eccles. ii. 5. Nehem. ii. 8.

⁶ Xen. Hellen. iv. 1. 15. Cyropæd. viii. 1. 38.

⁷ Guigniaut, Rel. i. 334.

⁸ Cyrop. i. 3. 14; iv. 6.

⁹ τῆς ἐξω θήρας.

¹⁰ Djemshid, the inventor of agriculture.

¹¹ Xen. Œc. iv. 22. 24. Æl. H. A. i. 59.

¹² Xen. Anab. i. 2. 7. Philostr. V. Apol. i. 38.

¹³ The "εἰκὼν θεοῦ ἐμψυχόν." Plutarch, in Themistocle. Brissonius, P. P. i. 14, p. 15. Herod. viii. 140. Æschyli Persæ. 134 (157), &c.

¹⁴ Herod. vii. 8.

ing, and were connected with the mysteries of their religion¹⁵. The state of the great king was a mimic representation of the divine majesty, and the royal gardens were emblematic of the original garden of delights which Ormuzd boasts of having planted. "I have created, O Zoroaster, a place of delights and of abundance; no one could make its equal; came not this region of pleasure from me, no being could have created it. It is called Eeriene Vejo¹⁶. It is more beautiful than the whole world, wide as it is. The first habitation of blessedness which I, Ormuzd, created, without any impurity, was Eeriene Vejo; thereupon came Ahriman, pregnant with death, and prepared in the river which watered it the great serpent of winter," &c.

§ 7.

THE RIVER OR RIVERS.

Abundance of water was essential to the existence of a garden in a warm climate¹. A "garden without water" was a type of anything doomed to certain destruction; and the obvious dependence of vegetable life on the presence of moisture suggested to the later Jewish writers the image of the "Dew of Jehovah" as the agent for effecting the resurrection of the dead². Water being therefore the necessary condition of a garden, Eden, the type of all other gardens, possessed also the paragon of rivers, and became the imaginary source of all the waters of the earth. The Brahmins believed that a river issuing from a single source at the feet of Vishnou became divided into four streams on the summit of the holy mountain Merou, and thence flowing down its four sides were distributed

¹⁵ Herod. i. 98. Apuleius de Mundo. ch. 26, 27. Creuz. Symb. ii. 191.

¹⁶ The pure Iran.

¹ Gesen. Is. i. 30; lviii. 11. Ps. i. 3. Jerem. xvii. 8.

² Gesenius, Is. xxvi. 19.

towards the four Dwipas, or regions of the earth. With the Indian Merou corresponds the Alborj of the Zendavesta, and from the divine spring Ardvisour on its summit at the foot of the throne of Ormuzd run all the rivers of the seven Keshwars³. The licence of mythical geography would have no difficulty in referring to a common fountain any rivers however apparently distant their real springs or channels. In Homer and Hesiod the fountains, rivers, and seas being all derivations from Ocean, are poetically called its children⁴; and Virgil seems to have conceived some subterranean receptacle in which all the terrestrial rivers are mysteriously exhibited and connected⁵. The Hebrews, too, entertained the idea common to Indian and Ionian philosophy, that the earth floats as an island upon the surface of a subterranean ocean, or "great deep."⁶ "All the rivers run into the sea," says the Hebrew philosopher⁷, "yet the sea is not full; unto the place whence the rivers come, thither they return again;" and their mysterious sources might fairly be considered to be the legitimate doors of those dark receptacles from whence the whole body of subterranean water was once let loose upon the earth⁸. There were also waters above the firmament of heaven⁹, which was furnished with windows to account for immoderate deluges of rain¹⁰; there was the supposed dwelling-place of Jehovah¹¹, who is consequently "seated upon the floods," and "enthroned among many waters;"¹² who "lays the beams of his chambers in the waters,"¹³ and "treads on the waves of the sea."¹⁴ It was natural therefore that a river should flow through the celestial city¹⁵, a river full of water¹⁶, causing all the earth to

³ Guigniaut, Rel. i. 582. 702.

⁴ Iliad, φ. 195. Hes. Th. 365.

⁵ Georg. iv. 465. Creuz. and Herm. Briefe, p. 18.

⁶ Arist. Metap. i. 3. Ps. xxiv. 2; cxxxvi. 6. Gen. vii. 11; xlix. 25. Ex. xx. 4.

⁷ Eccles. i. 7.

⁸ Job xxxviii. 8. 16.

⁹ Ps. cxlviii. 4.

¹⁰ Gen. vii. 11.

¹¹ Ps. cxliii. 4.

¹² Ps. xxix. 3. 10.

¹³ Ps. civ. 3.

¹⁴ Job ix. 8.

¹⁵ Ps. xlv. 4.

¹⁶ Ps. lxv. 9.

teem with plenteousness; that as a type of the mysterious flow of time and being, rivers often identified with the Divinity himself, as the Ganges, the Achelous, or the Nile, should be deemed the most appropriate places for visions¹⁷ and prayer¹⁸, and that the return of the paradisiacal kingdom should be represented by the same natural symbol of the renewal of life and fertility¹⁹.

Problems of mythical geography must be solved not by the map but by the mind; and though it be as idle to inquire into the real site of the four Paradisiacal rivers as to search for the remains of Noah's Ark on Mount Ararat, or for the palace of Mahadeva on the Himalaya, still it must be supposed that the ideal of the writer was framed after some terrestrial analogy, some mythical conception respecting the constitution of the earth, and the distribution of the principal rivers of central Asia. There can be no doubt about the Euphrates and Tigris; but what two other rivers can be conceived as proceeding from the same sources? "The Pison and Gihon," says Ewald²⁰, "I take to be the Indus and Ganges."²¹ But the Gihon was by the ancients very generally presumed to be the Nile²²; and it becomes a curious question how this supposition can be reconciled with the theory of an Asiatic Paradise. It should be observed that Cush, the father of Nimrod and of several Arab tribes, denotes an Asiatic as well as an African region; a "warm" southern country, with indefinite limits like the Æthiopia of the Greeks²³. It is possible that some authentic information respecting the course of the Astaboras may have led Josephus to remark that "the Geon," flowing through

¹⁷ Dan. viii. 3; x. 12. Ezek. i. 1. Matt. iii. 13.

¹⁸ Acts xvi. 3.

¹⁹ Rev. xxi. 6; xxii. 1. John iv. 10. 14. Prov. x. 4; xiii. 14, &c.

²⁰ Geschichte, i. 331.

²¹ Josephus, Ant. i. 1. 3. Lassen, Ind. Antiq. 529.

²² Gesen. Thesaur. 281. The Geon of Ecclûs. xxiv. 27, is evidently the Nile, and the Septuagint substitutes Geon for Sihor, or "the turbid," another well-known name for the Nile, in Jer. ii. 18. See Gesenius ad voc. שִׁיחֹר.

²³ Herod. iii. 94.

Egypt, denotes "Rising from the East," and is what the Greeks call the Nile."²⁴ The Nile, or the imaginary river most nearly represented by the Nile, was thus supposed to describe a vast circle round Ethiopia and to reappear in Egypt²⁵. Greece, which abounded in subterranean water-courses, was filled with surprising stories of their remote origin. The Asopus was the Asiatic Mæander, and Arethusa in Sicily was the distant Alpheus of the Eleian plain. The Delians asserted a stream of their own to be a branch of the Nile; and the Nile itself was sometimes made one with the Euphrates, which after being lost in a lake, reappeared in Upper Ethiopia²⁶, the same river probably which Æschylus describes as rising near the fountains of the sun, and as finally issuing from the boundary of the Nubian cataract²⁷. It might not then have appeared impossible that the Gihon or Nile might flow from the same region as the Pison or the Euphrates, for it is reported that Alexander on discovering crocodiles in the Indus, imagined he had found the sources of the Nile²⁸. The truth would seem to be that the Nile in sacerdotal geography was confounded with the "ocean stream" supposed by the ancients to flow round the earth²⁹, through which the Argo found a passage of communication from west to east, the access to the current of "refluent" waters being variously explained by different authors, either as some distant part of the

²⁴ Ant. i. 1. 3. The Astaboras is placed by Ælian (H. A. xvii. 40) in India.

²⁵ Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 24. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. "ratio cursus Nili instar circuli est."

²⁶ Paus. ii. 5. 2.

²⁷ Prom. 787. Beyond the bounds of actual observation, the most incompatible things are easily confounded by the imagination; the west was in this way joined to the east, as the modern Syrians believe that the Barrada after flowing south-east from Damascus to the desert, reappears from a fountain in Lebanon, thence running westward to the sea. Kelly's Syria, p. 60.

²⁸ Arrian. Exp. Al. vi. 1, 2.

²⁹ Diod. S. i. ch. 12; xix. 96. A dogma first questioned by Herodotus as an invention of the poets. Her. ii. 21. 23; iii. 115; iv. 8. 36. 45. Odyss. xi. 639. Iliad, xxi. 195; iii. 5. Virg. Georg. iv. 233. Tibull. ii. 5. 59. Comp. Herod. i. 202; iv. 13. 40. 42.

sea, or the most considerable and distant of the rivers flowing into it, such as the Phasis, or the Nile, the Tanais, Ister, or Eridanus³⁰. "The garden of Eden," says Josephus³¹, "was watered by one river, which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four streams." In this way the same hypothesis which accounted for the extraordinary navigation of Hercules or the Argonauts³², was made use of to bring the waters of the Nile from the distant Ararat or Himalaya. But all geographical difficulty was evaded by the view which made Paradise transcendental and celestial. Ephraim Syrus, for example, describes the holy river of Paradise as sinking beneath the cosmical ocean, and as thence transferred by subterranean channels through all the widely-separated fountains and rivers of the human world³³.

§ 8.

THE TREES.

The garden of the Lord, like the paradise of Semiramis, is planted with every pleasant and useful tree; among them is the "tree of life," that obvious symbol met with in almost all mythologies, and familiar in Scandinavia as in India. The tree of life was a common oriental emblem of the Spirit of Nature. The allegorical mantle of Zeus, on which were painted earth and ocean, was said to have been spread over an oak¹,

³⁰ Schol. Apollon. Rh. iv. 259. 284. Plutarch, de Plac. iv. 1, 2. Müller, Orchom. 290. Such, too, is the office of the river Triton. Uckert, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 322.

³¹ Ant. i. 2, 3.

³² Schol. Apoll. Rh. iv. 259.

³³ Uhlman, in Illgen's Zeitschrift. F. Hist. Th. i. 1. Comp. the idea of a subterranean palace of Oceanus, the reservoir of all the rivers of the earth. See Plato's Phædo, p. 87. Wytt. Virg. Georg. iv. 366, Voss.

¹ Pherecyd. Sturz. 46. Max. Tyr. D. x. 4. Müller, Gr. Litt. 241. The oak was "winged," probably in reference to the motion of the sphere. Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 621. 642. Comp. the oak of Pentheus, and the tree of the grove of Mars which bore the golden fleece.

like the "stretched out" heavens of the Hebrew prophet², the true tabernacle, of which Jehovah on his holy mountain was himself the prop³. The tree of life grew also in the midst of the Hindoo paradise upon Meru, and was symbolised by the Lingam, the Lotus, and the Pipala, or *Ficus religiosa*, whose branches, like the creating power from on high, descend into the ground, and for ever vegetate afresh⁴. In the Bagvat-Geeta, God himself is the Aswattha or tree of life⁵, and the Myrtle or Tamarisk which ensepulchres the corpse of Osiris or Adonis is the same Spirit of Nature often worshipped under the figure of a pole or trunk of a tree, or carving of more elaborate design, for which "righteous"⁶ purpose, evergreens, and the more durable woods, were significantly chosen⁷. In the language of apologue, trees and stones seem to have shared between them the honour of being the ancestors of mankind⁸; and Jeremiah ridicules the idolatrous practice that arose out of this idea⁹. In the Eddas and Zendavesta the tree of life is made the parent of the first human pair¹⁰, and the Roman founder, the son of Sylvia, or Ilia¹¹, is suckled at the foot of the *Ficus ruminalis*¹². The tree of life, distinguished in Genesis from the tree of knowledge, is in other mythologies united with it. Wisdom was itself the tree of life¹³; its leaves were the Vedas¹⁴; Hom, the legendary prophet of Iran, unites both symbols as "living word"

² Isaiah xl. 22.

³ Exod. xxvi. 30; xxxiii. 9.

⁴ Creuz. S. i. 444.

⁵ Wilkins, p. 86. Guigniaut, i. p. 209.

⁶ Wisdom xiv. 7.

⁷ Arnob. in Gent. vi. 201. 209. Heyne, Apollod. Frag. 389. Virg. Æn. ii. 714. Gesenius to Isaiah xl. 20, and i. 29.

⁸ Hom. Odyss. xix. 263. Hesych. voc. ὕλας.

⁹ Jerem. ii. 27.

¹⁰ Mone. Nordliches. Heiden. i. 342. 347. Guigniaut, Rel. i. 707.

¹¹ Perhaps from תְּלֵל, the long-lived Terebinth tree of Palestine. Conf. Winer, R. W. B. ii. 689.

¹² So, too, was Buddha; and Adam, when hiding from God, was made by some to be new found at the root of the tree of life. Illgen's Zeitschrift. Adonis springs from a tree. Apollod. iii. 14. 4.

¹³ Prov. iii. 18.

¹⁴ Creuz. S. i. 445.

of Ormuzd, enthroned within a sumptuous palace on the summit of Alborj¹⁵. "Among these," says the Bounhehesch,¹⁶ "is the white, salubrious, and fruitful Hom; it grows by the fountain of Ardvisour, which springs from the throne of Ormuzd. Whoever drinks of the water, or of the sap of this tree, becomes immortal¹⁷; as it is written, the death expelling Hom was given for the raising of the dead to life; it is the king of trees." The fruit which hung upon its branches was the soul of Zoroaster¹⁸. A portion of this tree was supposed to be employed in all sacrifices¹⁹, and it was customary for the Magi to adore the rising sun, holding in the left hand a bundle of tamarisk or myrtle twigs²⁰. In the poetical language of the Hebrews the righteous are said to be "as trees planted by the water-side," and "their fruit a tree of life;"²¹ the Lord himself is the fountain of living waters;²² "the trees of Jehovah are full of sap."²³ Out of these must have been framed that rod of Moses, which, like Neptune's trident²⁴, or the thyrsus of Bacchus, brought the living waters from the rock, and the wood which healed the bitter fountain may not improbably have belonged to the same proverbial tree²⁵ whose fruit was destined to feed the just in Messiah's kingdom²⁶.

¹⁵ Guigniaut, *Rel.* i. 343. 684.

¹⁶ Rosenmüller, *Alterthum.* i. 179, *i. e.* the trees produced from the primordial bull.

¹⁷ A Persian physician went to search after a plant capable of restoring the dead to life; he returned not indeed with that miraculous drug, but with a substitute for it in a Pehlvi version of the Puncta Tantra, the parent stock of the fables of Bidpai. Penny Cyclopæd. art. Bidpai. *Creuz.* S. i. 442.

¹⁸ Malcolm, *Hist. Persia*, i. 192.

¹⁹ Guigniaut, *ubi supr.*

²⁰ Strabo, xv. 733. Winer, *R. W. B.* ii. 560. *Gesen. Lex. Trans.* p. 286. *Ezek.* viii. 17. *Comp. Guigniaut, Rel.* iii. 729.

²¹ *Ps.* i. 2, 3. *Sirach* xxxix. 13. *Isaiah* lxi. 3. *Prov.* xi. 28. 30; xiii. 12.

²² *Ps.* xxxvi. 9. *Jer.* ii. 13.

²³ *Ps.* civ. 16.

²⁴ *Herod.* viii. 55.

²⁵ *Exod.* xv. 25. *Comp. Wisdom* xiv. 7.

²⁶ *Rev.* ii. 7; xxii. 2. 14. In that part of Arabia where Moses is said to have corrected the waters of Marah by means of a tree, no such plant, Niebuhr assures us, is to be found.

§ 9.

THE WOMAN.

Among the many hard things said against woman, none can exceed in bitterness what is implied in the story of the Fall. Not only was woman created for man's sake, but she became the guilty cause of all his sorrows. The condition of Eastern women and their oppressive dependence upon man could only be accounted for on the supposition of some great primitive delinquency. The ancients laid it down as incontrovertible that women are the source of all evil, an unmitigated hindrance to mankind, inflicted on them by the wrath of the gods¹. Simonides compared different sorts of women to different animals; thus we may find among them the characters of the sow, the fox, the female dog, the ass, the monkey, &c., for he says, *Ζεὺς μεγίστον τούτ' ἐποίησεν κακόν—γυναῖκας*². Brahma, the first man of Hindoo cosmogony, is linked to a demon wife, a daughter of Patala; and in Persian as in Hebrew legend the first woman is the first victim to the seductions of Ahriman, the first sacrificer to the Deves³. Women, according to Hesiod⁴, are not fit companions of poverty, but a luxury of the rich; Perses is advised to retain a woman as part of his household furniture, as well as an ox for the plough; the woman, however, is not to be married, but to be employed in following the

¹ Menander, Frag. Inc. 113. 116. 128. 195. Eurip. Med. 410. 420. Euripides suggests a wish that Jupiter could have contrived a different way of continuing the species. Hyp. 612.

² Frag. 230. There are numberless instances in which, under a variety of mythical forms, woman is made the origin of evil—*e. g.* Helena, Pandora, Metanira, Eriphyle, Atalanta, Althæa, Sthenobœa, Hypsipyle, Jocasta, Medea. In Enarete and Deianira the names are significant; Æschylus gives a similar meaning to "Helene." (Agam.)

³ Guigniaut, Rel. i. 707. Tell not all your mind to a woman, says an ancient poet (Odyss. xi. 441. 456), for there is no trusting them.

⁴ Works, 373. 405.

ox. Woman is created by the creator of art, Hephæstus⁵; Aphrodite gives her desire and love of dress, Hermes deceit and impudence⁶; and as the origin of evil was commonly connected with that of luxury and refinement, the symbol of one became naturally associated with that of the other. If the writer be man, woman, in rude times, was sure to be dealt with unfairly—as most exposed to vain or vicious desires, and imprudent curiosity⁷.

§ 10.

THE SERPENT.

The known peculiarities of men and animals were accounted for by being made the result of a fictitious occurrence of the olden time. Such was the story of the horse, who, in his contest with the stag, invoked human aid, and so became for ever the slave of his rider; or the swallow, who, laughed at by the birds, betook herself to the dwellings of man, and was on that account spared and protected by him. The crow in the mysteries of Mithras was emblematic of the priest¹, and legend related how the prattling raven who discovered to Apollo the infidelity of his mistress was rewarded with the black plumage he still possesses. In another story, when Prometheus stole fire to benefit mankind, the latter were so ungrateful as to turn informers, and to denounce the theft to Zeus. Zeus rewarded the information by giving men an antidote against old age. This valuable gift was injudiciously placed on the back of an ass. In the heat of summer the ass wanted to drink at a spring, but was prevented by a serpent. Tortured by thirst, he agreed to exchange the burden he carried for permission to drink. The serpent thus became enabled yearly to renew its

⁵ Theog. 571. Diod. S. v. 74.

⁶ Works, 65. See Volker's Japetus, 35.

⁷ Eccles. vii. 26. 28. Weiske, "Prometheus," p. 387, referring to Isaiah iii.

¹ Porphy. de Abst. iv. 350. Herod. iv. 15. Guigniaut, i. 360.

existence by changing its skin ; man remains without a remedy against advancing years ; and the serpent (the dipsas) still suffers the ass's thirst, and communicates it with its bite².

The narrative of the fall attempts in a similar way to account for the peculiarities of the serpent, and for the aversion generally felt for it. An analogous story was current in India³, and the homicidal serpent was said to have been condemned to wander for ever an unsheltered outcast. The well-known fact gave plausibility to the assumed cause ; and possibly the Hebrew writer may have had in view the collateral object of discrediting, by the same sort of argument, the serpent worship which so long maintained its ground among his countrymen⁴.

The peculiarities of serpents must have soon attracted the attention of mankind. They were viewed with especial awe by the superstitious⁵, and a careful examination of their nature formed part of the far-famed wisdom of Egypt⁶. The symbol thus anxiously studied was well suited to express the mystical and contradictory, its mythological celebrity being derived partly from the good qualities ascribed to it, partly from the noxious ones, and partly from their combination. The property of casting the skin, and thus apparently renewing its youth, made it an emblem of eternity and immortality⁷ ; the women of Syria still employ the serpent as a charm against barrenness⁸, as did the devotees of Mithras and Sabazius. The earth-born civilisers of the early world, Fohi, Cecrops, or Erechtheus, were half man, half serpent, signifying the exuberance of Nature, the earth's origin from water, or man's formation out of the ground ; the snake was the genius loci, or guardian of the Athenian

² Ælian, N. A. vi. 51. Schol. Nicander, Th. 343.

³ Ælian, Hist. A. xii. 32.

⁴ Levit. xi. 43. 45. 2 Kings xviii. 4.

⁵ Theophrast. Charact. 16. Justin. M. Apol. i. 27, p. 71.

⁶ Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10. 41^b.

⁷ Payne Knight, Anct. Art. s. 25. Herod. ii. 74. Horapollo. i. 1. Arnob. v. 19. 21. Sturz. Pherecyd. 54.

⁸ Kelly's Syria, p. 126.

Acropolis⁹. The brazen serpent of the wilderness, perhaps an equivalent of the symbolical staff of the Egyptian Æsculapius or Agathodæmon, became naturalised among the Hebrews as a token of healing power¹⁰; and by some of the early Christian sects the emblem usually appropriated to Satan was used to represent the Saviour¹¹, whose spiritual "gnosis" was typified by its proverbial wisdom¹².

But the serpent was as often a symbol of malevolence and enmity¹³. In this character it appears among the emblems of Siva-Roudra, the power of desolation and death¹⁴; it is the bane of Æpytus, Idmon, Archemorus, and Philoctetes; it gnaws the roots of the tree of life in the Eddas, and bites the heel of unfortunate Eurydice. Generally in Hebrew writers it is a type of evil¹⁵, and is particularly so in the Indian and Persian mythologies. When the sea is churned by Mount Mandar rotating within the coils of the cosmical serpent Vasouki to produce the Amrita, or water of immortality, the serpent vomits a hideous poison, which spreads and infects the universe, but which Vishnou renders harmless by swallowing it¹⁶. Ahriman in serpent form invades the realm of Ormuzd, tainting fire with smoke, and light with darkness; the kingdom of pure light becomes thenceforth shared with night, or divided between good and evil; the destroyer strikes man with disease, and pollutes every part of Nature. The bull, the emblem of life, is wounded and dies: and the ancestors of the human race, tempted by the fruits which Ahriman presents to them,

⁹ Herod. viii. 41; i. 78. Müller, *Mythol. Trans.* 219. Servius to *Æn.* v. 95. Artemidori *Oneir.* ii. 13, and Rigaltius ad loc. p. 101.

¹⁰ *Wisd.* xvi. 6.

¹¹ Bochart. *Hieroz.* xii. p. 425.

¹² Philo de Leg. Alleg. 2. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 12. 81, p. 694, Pott; and vi. 7. 58, p. 769. Matt. x. 16. 1 Cor. xii. 4.

¹³ Artemidori *On.* ii. 13.

¹⁴ Guigniaut, *Rel.* i. 162. 216. *Asiatic Res.* i. 188.

¹⁵ Ps. lviii. 4; cxl. 3. Prov. xxiii. 32. Eccles. x. 8. 11. Sirach xxi. 2; xii. 13.

¹⁶ Guigniaut, *Rel.* i. 184.

are made subject to pain and death¹⁷. It was therefore a religious obligation with every devout follower of Zoroaster to exterminate reptiles, and other "impure" animals, especially serpents¹⁸. A particular season of the year was appointed for the purpose—*ἡ τῶν κακῶν ἀναίρεσις*—this was the seventh month, or harvest time, corresponding with the seventh chiliad, or third age of the world, when, in the chronology of Persian legend, the assault of the Ahriman occurred. In India, too, it was customary at the decline of the year to smear the doors of houses with sacred cow-dung as a charm against venomous reptiles¹⁹. The idea of the four ages was copied from the four seasons; and the commencement of autumn when fruit hung temptingly on the trees, and when the earth teemed with snakes and scorpions, was naturally associated with that imaginary epoch when luxury and sin in fatal connection with each other gave the first indications of decline towards a moral winter²⁰. The moral and astronomical significancy of the serpent was thus connected. It became a maxim of the Zendavesta, that Ahriman, the principle of evil, made the great serpent of winter who assaulted the creation of Ormuzd²¹. Hence the astronomical position of the serpent near to the autumnal constellations; and if the "Eorosch," or eagle²², became the attribute of Jove or of Jehovah²³, it followed that its enemy, the snake or dragon²⁴, should represent his great physical and moral adversary. But the serpent had many varying meanings. A serpent ring was a well-known symbol of time²⁵; and to

¹⁷ Guigniaut, i. 707. 742.

¹⁸ Herod. i. 140.

¹⁹ Von Bohlen. Ind. i. 250, and Genes. p. 49.

²⁰ Pliny, N. H. viii. 29. Aristot. de Mirab. Aug. 27. Malcolm's Sketches of Persia, ch. 14.

²¹ Zend. ii. 299.

²² Guigniaut, i. 721.

²³ Deut. xxxii. 11. Exod. xix. 4.

²⁴ Schol. Antig. Sophoc. v. 126. Aristotle's Hist. An. ix. 2, 3. Ælian, H. A. ii. 26. It is observable that in Stesichorus and Æschylus, Orestes becomes a serpent when he kills Agamemnon. Stes. Frag. Incert. i. 1. Æsch. Chœeph. 490. 865.

²⁵ Macrob. Sat. i. 9. Horapollo, 1.

express dramatically how time preys upon itself, the Egyptian priests fed vipers in a subterranean chamber, as it were in the sun's winter abode, on the fat of bulls or the year's plenteousness. The same symbol includes eternity, time perpetually regenerated and renewed²⁶; generally, however, it is restricted to time's gloomier or hurtful subdivision, presiding over the close of the year, where it guards the approach to the golden fleece of Aries, and the three apples, or seasons of the Hesperides²⁷. It there presents a formidable obstacle to the career of the Sun-God, who sometimes suffers a temporary defeat from it. In the person of Ammon, the golden ram, he is pursued to Mount Casius by the dragon of winter, and his nerves and sinews, concealed under a bear-skin, are deposited in the caverns of Cilicia²⁸. The virgin of the Zodiac pursued by the solar hero Aristæus, an emanation or son of Apollo, is bitten in the heel by Serpens, who, with Scorpio, rises immediately behind her; and as honey, the emblem of purity and salvation²⁹, was thought to be an antidote to the serpent's bite³⁰, so the bees of Aristæus, the emblems of Nature's abundance, are destroyed through the agency of the serpent. But the bees are regenerated within the entrails of the vernal bull³¹;

“Taurus Draconem genuit et Taurum Draco.”

The Sun-God is finally victorious. As Crishna crushes the head of the serpent Calyia³², Apollo destroys Python, and Hercules that Lernæan monster whose poison festered in the foot of Philoctetes, of Mopsus³³, of Chiron, or of Sagittarius³⁴.

²⁶ How varied, says a modern writer, is the symbolism of the serpent; sometimes prolific nature (Cadmus, Erechtheus, &c.); sometimes eternal health or youth (Asclepius); sometimes nature angry and desolate (Python). Müller, Ares, p. 20.

²⁷ Eratosthenes, ch. 3.

²⁸ Ovid, Metam. v. 323. Apollodor. i. 6. 3.

²⁹ Porphy. de Antro. 15.

³⁰ Pliny, N. H. xxii. 24. 50. Pind. Ol. vi. 79. Creuz. S. iii. 390; iv. 348.

³¹ Virg. Georg. iv. 555.

³² Guigniaut, i. 206.

³³ Apollon. Rh. iv. 1519.

³⁴ Eratosthenes, ch. 40. Gen. xlix. 17. Apollodorus says the knee. ii. 5. 4. 6. In Achilles the wound is in the heel.

The first act of the infant Hercules is to destroy the “*ουλομενοι οφεις*,” the pernicious snakes, detested of the gods³⁵; his prowess is repeatedly directed against hydras and dragons, the brood of dark-dwelling Echidna³⁶, whose envenomed spirit barbs the tail of Cerberus. But the serpent is beneficent as well as baleful³⁷; for the destruction of one æra is the commencement of another. The great destroyer of snakes is therefore occasionally married to them; Hercules with the Northern Dragon begets the three ancestors of Scythia³⁸, for the sun seems at one time to rise victorious from the contest with darkness, at another to sink into its embraces. The same emblematic serpent of Time, which encircled the mundane egg in the Egyptian hieroglyphic, was made the astronomical cincture of the universe in the northern constellation Draco, whose sinuosities wind like a river through the wintry bear³⁹, and the hostile inroad of Ahriman was connected with the astronomical conception. The eclipses of the sun and moon were believed by orientals to be caused by the assaults of a dæmon in dragon form⁴⁰, and they endeavoured to scare away the intruder by shouts and menaces. This was the original “Leviathan” or “crooked serpent” of Job⁴¹, transfixed in the olden time by the power of Jehovah⁴², and suspended as a glittering trophy in the sky⁴³, yet also the power of darkness, supposed to be ever in pursuit of sun and moon. When it finally overtakes them, it will entwine them in its folds and prevent their shining⁴⁴. In the last Indian Avatara, as in the Eddas, a serpent vomiting flames is expected to destroy the world⁴⁵.

³⁵ Theocrit. Id. xxiv. 29.

³⁶ Hes. Th. 295. 300.

³⁷ Pind. Ol. vi. 78. Apollod. iii. 3. 6.

³⁸ Herod. iv. 9.

³⁹ Virg. Georg. i. 205. 244. Arati. Phœn. 45.

⁴⁰ Rhode, Heilige Sage, p. 365.

⁴¹ Ch. iii. 8; xxvi. 13. Conf. as to the Leviathan of ch. xl. Gesenius to Isaiah xxvii. 1, and li. 9. Ps. lxviii. 30, &c.

⁴² Job xxvi. 12, 13. Conf. Ewald, p. 232.

⁴³ Hitzig's Job, loc. cit.

⁴⁴ V. Bohlen, A. Indien. ii. 290.

⁴⁵ Guigniaut, i. 190.

The serpent is selected as a fit instrument for the seduction of mankind on account of its characteristic "subtlety," and perhaps also because its bite is a suitable emblem of insidious advice⁴⁶. As a nurse scares a child by threatening it with some noxious monster, so the Bible endeavours to wean us from sin by comparing it to a venomous serpent, or roaring lion⁴⁷. The story is most naturally explained by Josephus, who after premising that in those early days men and brutes spoke the same language, a language, which, as his translator remarks, may be still extant in the organs of certain animals, attributes the proceedings of the tempter to envy⁴⁸; envy of man's happiness, or of his conditional immortality⁴⁹; or it may be, envy of the honours which in the ritual of Jerusalem had been withdrawn from itself to Jehovah⁵⁰. Josephus adds that the serpent was deprived of speech on this particular occasion; and as there was a vulgar notion that he feeds on dust⁵¹, it was as natural to make this degrading diet a part of his punishment, as to imagine sickness, toil, and death to be inflictions of divine vengeance for the sin of man. The serpent of Genesis is not a supernatural being, but a "beast of the field:" to suppose the devil to be referred to, would be to deprive the narrative of all pretension to high antiquity⁵². The early Hebrews thought

⁴⁶ Comp. Ecclûs. xxi. 2. Matt. x. 16.

⁴⁷ Bochart. Hieroz. iii. 5, p. 776.

⁴⁸ Antiq. i. 1. 4. Conf. Justin. M. Cohort. 36.

⁴⁹ Wisd. ii. 24. Horapol. i. 1.

⁵⁰ 2 Kings xviii. 4. Luke iv. 7.

⁵¹ Gesen. Isaiah lxxv. 25. Micah vii. 17. Nicander Theriaca, 372. Silius. Ital. xvii. 499. Bochart, Hierozoic. iii. 246. Ps. cii. 10.

⁵² The serpent is first identified with Satan in Wisdom ii. 24. This is the first undoubted scriptural allusion to the story of the Fall. It is strange that an event upon which all the subsequent moral circumstances of man must have been supposed to depend should never once have been distinctly alluded to until the late age of the Apocrypha, and even then, as it would seem, only in a figurative sense. (Comp. Sirach xiv. 17; xxi. 27.) Phrases such as a tree or well of life or of wisdom are too general to found any inference; so, too, such as that man is dust, or that death is the necessary result of sin (Jer. xxxi. 30. Ezek. iii. 20, 21. Eccles. iii. 20; xii. 7), axioms more resembling the foundation of the story than an allusion to it. The beguiling of the woman by the serpent is a topic not again distinctly

that God himself tempts man—hardens his heart⁵³, and punishes him⁵⁴; and they attributed both good and evil to Jehovah, either with or without the intervention of an angel messenger. In the earliest use of intermediate machinery there is but little distinction of beings into good and evil. The angels are united in Jehovah's retinue, and without distinction of name or office are generally identified with his proceedings⁵⁵. When commissioned on a disastrous errand they are sometimes distinguished as *evil* angels⁵⁶, as the Greeks employed an explanatory epithet⁵⁷ in the same meaning. Yet the Hebrews, like other nations, had a popular notion of goblins and gnomes⁵⁸ to whom they offered sacrifices⁵⁹, and of whom the much disputed Azazel⁶⁰ may possibly have been one. These seem to have resembled the demons of later times who lived in dry and desert places, and being of a thirsty or fiery nature entered into bodies to cool themselves by drinking their blood. They were like the malevolent Genii or Gryphons of Persia⁶¹, who torture the traveller with thirst and simoom in those dry and lonely places, where Ahriman holds undivided empire, like his counterpart the Typhon⁶² of the Libyan wastes. Some such vague notions, such as those of the Satyrs and Warlocks in Isaiah⁶³,

alluded to in the Old Testament. Adam is a collective term for mankind. (Gesen. Lex. Trans. p. 14); comp. the passage in Hosea vi. 7. Job xxxi. 33. The expression in Isaiah (xliii. 27), "thy first forefathers have sinned" (comp. Gesen. iv. p. 76), amounts only to the LXX version—οἱ πατερις ὑμῶν πρωτοί—thy fathers collectively. (Comp. Isai. liii. 6. Josh. xxiv. 2.) It is unlikely that a serpent should have been worshipped or looked to as a healer, if *at that time* identified with the author of evil.

⁵³ Exod. vii. 3. Numb. xxii. 20. 1 Sam. xvi. 14. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. 1 Kings xiii. 18; xxii. 22. 2 Chron. xviii. 22.

⁵⁴ Amos iii. 6. Job ii. 10. Judg. ii. 15. 2 Kings xv. 5.

⁵⁵ Genes. xxxi. 11. 13. Exod. iii. 2. 4; and comp. xiii. 21 with xiv. 19.

⁵⁶ Ps. lxxviii. 49. 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

⁵⁷ δαιμονα κακον. Diog. Laert. Pröem.

⁵⁸ Winer. R. W. B. Art. Gespenster.

⁵⁹ Levit. xvii. 7. Deut. xxxii. 17. 2 Chron. xi. 15.

⁶⁰ Levit. xvi. 10. 26. George, Judischen Feste, p. 297.

⁶¹ Ælian, H. A. iv. 27.

⁶² Moser's Nonnus, p. 181.

⁶³ xiii. 21; xxxiv. 14. δαιμονια in the LXX.

may have afterwards been adopted by theology, and have served as a basis on which a more elaborate system of demonology, in part derived and foreign, may have been engrafted. This occurred at the period of the captivity; and the Jews most probably adopted a portion of their diabolical machinery from the same source from which they took their angels⁶⁴. For notwithstanding their presumed aversion to foreign learning, the Jews insensibly adopted many of the usages, phrases, and superstitions of all the nations with whom they were successively in contact. Although they might not at once transfer Ahriman and his Deves or the seven Amschaspunds of the Zendavesta unaltered into their own mythology, they interwove a great deal of secondary and symbolical imagery, blending it with their own exclusive theory by making the Persian dualism or the starry hosts of the Zabii subordinate to Jehovah's supremacy⁶⁵. The mention of angels, sparingly scattered through the Pentateuch, is much more frequent in the Targumist and other scriptural interpreters; and at length it became a subject of curious speculation at what period they were first created; whether according to Psalms xxxviii. 6, and civ. 4, they were formed as part of the firmament, an unmentioned portion of the air, or divine "spirit;" or whether they were included in some anomalous description of birds⁶⁶. We have already seen⁶⁷ how in Pharisaic theory, the heavenly host was divided into seven regiments or brigades, Massaloth, Ehelim, Legion, Rahaton, &c., commanded by seven angelic chiefs, who like the seven great nobles of the Persian court⁶⁸ formed a sort of staff around their king, and were allowed the privilege of standing in the presence of God⁶⁹. And as the agency of good angels was henceforth

⁶⁴ Dixit Simeon Ben Lachish, "Nomina Angelorum et mensium ascenderunt in domum Israelis ex Babylone." Traktat. Rosch Haschanah, p. 56.

⁶⁵ Isaiah xl. 26; xlv. 7.

⁶⁶ Isaiah vi. 2.

⁶⁷ Supr. p. 126.

⁶⁸ Herod. iii. 70, 71. Esther i. 14.

⁶⁹ Luke i. 19. Rev. i. 4; iii. 1; iv. 5. Tobit xii. 15. Sometimes there are four chiefs of the ministering spirits (Heb. i. 14), who are called "Princes of the Presence," and named Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael. (Enoch. xl. 1.) St.

invariably substituted for the direct interference of Jehovah, evil, both physical and moral, assumed a distinct personal form. It is only after the captivity, or at some period intervening between the books of Samuel and Chronicles, that Satan, or "the Adversary," before only an epithet or quality⁷⁰ occasionally predicated of angels⁷¹, or of Jehovah⁷², became for the first time invested with his well known official character as an accuser⁷³ or instigator to evil⁷⁴. The theological idea of a ghostly adversary or principle of evil had already been developed in the Persian and Egyptian mythologies; and while to the Persian the enemy of all good was physically represented by darkness, to the Egyptian the type of the "Adversary" was the inhospitable desert, personified in Typhon, or his equivalent Antæus or "contrarius."⁷⁵ The Hebrew "adversary" was at first but a vague conception which might be identified with any object of fear or enmity, individual or national⁷⁶. The spiritual influence inimical to mankind when separated from Jehovah's person was still allowed to remain among the "sons of God," or angels in his retinue, and to enact the invidious part of public prosecutor before the divine tribunal⁷⁷. He was afterwards still farther individualised and distinguished as the malevolent author of all calamities which it was no longer permissible to ascribe im-

Paul reckons four classes of spirits. (Coloss. i. 16; comp. Ephes. i. 21.) The seven angels of the presence were also stars, or planets. (Rev. i. 20; iii. 1; iv. 5.)

⁷⁰ When it had become settled that the Almighty had a spiritual adversary, an analogous opposition was devised for his representative the Messiah. Each Messianic type was provided with a special "adversary;" the son of David was to battle with Gog and Magog; the "son of man" in Daniel with the "Prince of this world;" the Mosaic "Prophet" with the arch-impostor Balaam, and the renewed or heavenly Adam with the Devil. Gfrörer, *Urchristenthum*.

⁷¹ Num. xxii. 22. Esther vii. 6. Comp. Ps. cix. 6.

⁷² Exod. xxiii. 22.

⁷³ Job i. 8; ii. 3. Zachar. iii. 1.

⁷⁴ Comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 with 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

⁷⁵ Typhon, left by Osiris in charge of Libya and Ethiopia. Creuzer, ii. 87. Diod. S. i. 21.

⁷⁶ Conf. 1 Kings v. 4; xi. 14. 25. Esther vii. 6. Job xxxi. 35.

⁷⁷ Job i. 8.

mediately to the Almighty⁷⁸; but his agency was still subordinate and permitted, for the strictness of Jewish monotheism prevented him from being, like Ahriman, entirely independent. It seems almost a mental necessity that men should have some external cause or agent to whom they may impute the odium of their own follies or misdeeds; and as Alexander attributed the death of Clitus, whom he killed in a fit of passion, to the anger of Bacchus⁷⁹, following herein the irreverent example of Homer's heroes, the Jews employed Satan for a similar purpose, though the wiser even of themselves were quite aware that in reality man has no spiritual enemy unless himself⁸⁰. The reasons for representing the adversary under the serpent form have already been suggested. The Persian Ahriman was called "the old serpent, the liar from the beginning, the prince of darkness, and the rover up and down."⁸¹ The dragon was a well-known symbol of the waters, and of great rivers⁸²; and it was natural that by pastoral Asiatic tribes the powerful nations of the alluvial plains in their neighbourhood who adored the dragon or fish⁸³, should themselves be symbolised under the form of dragons⁸⁴, and that as being traditionally or prospectively overcome by the superior might of the Hebrew God, they should be represented as monstrous Leviathans maimed and destroyed by him⁸⁵. The mythical dragon apparently cor-

⁷⁸ 1 Peter v. 8.

⁷⁹ Q. Curtius, viii. 2. 6. Plut. Alex.

⁸⁰ Sirach xxi. 27.

⁸¹ Von Colln's Theology, i. p. 350.

⁸² Strabo, ix. 424. Arati, Phœn. 45. Virg. Georg. i. 245. Ps. civ. 26; lxxiv. 13. 15. Nehem. ii. 13. Isaiah xxvii. 1. 2 Esdras vi. 52. Leviathan in Job iii. 8; ix. 13, is "*μεγα κητος*" in the Septuagint. The serpent Python is identified with the sea-monster in Apollon. Rhod. ii. 708. Dionys. Perieg. 442. Heyne to Apollodor. i. 6. 3.

⁸³ Conf. Berosus. Richter, p. 50, &c.

⁸⁴ Ezek. xxix. 3.

⁸⁵ Psalm lxxiv. 14; lxxxvii. 4; lxxxix. 10; xci. 13. Isaiah xxvii. 1; li. 9. The collision of hostile symbols, sometimes only representing natural contrasts or vicissitudes, must occasionally be regarded as memorials of ancient religious rivalries, as in the contest of Marsyas and Apollo, Hercules and Adonis, &c.; and there can be little doubt that the stories of the ensanguined Nile, and of the fish of Jonah,

responding with the obscure name of Rahab⁸⁶, whom Jehovah is said in Job to have transfixed and to have overcome⁸⁷, is the common antithesis to the divine or saving power⁸⁸, and may be compared with the Ophioneus, who in old Greek theology warred against Cronus, and was cast into his proper element the sea⁸⁹. There he is installed as the Sea-god Oannes or Dragon, the Leviathan of the watery half of creation⁹⁰, the dragon who vomited a flood of water after the persecuted woman of the Revelations⁹¹, the monster who threatened to devour Hesione and Andromeda, and who for a time became the grave of Hercules and Jonah. In the spring, the year or Sun-God appears as Mithras or Europa mounted on the bull; but in the opposite half of the Zodiac he rides the emblem of the waters⁹², the winged horse of Nestor or Poseidon⁹³, and the serpent rising heliacally at the autumnal equinox, be-

were moulded for the purpose of displaying the triumphant superiority of the Hebrew God. The symbolic meaning of water is twofold; as a beneficent agent, it is the "dew of Jehovah," the refreshing fountain of Hagar, of the rock in Horeb, and of the jaw-bone of Samson; the water of salvation in the Apocryphal Esther (ch. xi. 10); the same meaning is conveyed in the story of the rescue of Zeus through Briareus or Ægeon, and the escape of Hephestus and Dionysus to the arms of Thetis. (Iliad, vi. 136; xviii. 398. 405.) On the other hand, the "floods and deep waters" are emblems of destruction (2 Sam. xxii. 5. Ps. cxxiv. 4. Canticles viii. 7. Jonah ii. 3), the lacerated fragments of Pelias and of Orpheus are seethed in a cauldron, and the productive power of Uranus and of Osiris cast into the "unfruitful" sea. ("ατρυγετος." Hes. Th. 132. 189.)

⁸⁶ Possibly "King of the waters," as an Indogermanic, not a Semitic name.

⁸⁷ Job ix. 13; xxvi. 12, 13.

⁸⁸ Comp. Isaiah li. 9. Job ii. 2.

⁸⁹ Claudian de Rapt. Proserp. iii. 348. Apollon. Rh. i. 503. Æschyl. Prom. 362, Bloom. Pherecydes, Sturz. p. 45. The "δρακοντα αποστατην" of the LXX. Job xxvi. 13. The Oannes αφρενος, or μυσαρος of Syncellus, the Midgard serpent, which Odin sunk beneath the sea, but which grew to such a size as to encircle the whole earth. The heads of Leviathan or Typhon (Ps. lxxiv. 14) are said to have been one hundred in number by Apollodorus, i. 6. 3. Comp. Origen against Celsus, bk. 6, p. 292. 303, Spencer.

⁹⁰ 2 Esdras vi. 52.

⁹¹ xii. 15.

⁹² Virg. Georg. i. 12. Schol. Pind. Pyth. iv. 246. Paus. vii. 21. 3. Herod. viii. 55.

⁹³ Æschyl. Prom. 395. Dan, "the serpent."

setting with poisonous influence the cold constellation of Sagittarius⁹⁴, is explained as the reptile in the path who "bites the horse's heels so that his rider falls backward." These Asiatic symbols of the contest of the Sun-God with the dragon of darkness and winter, were imported not only into the Zodiac, but into the more homely circle of European legend. Both Thor and Odin fight with dragons⁹⁵; Apollo is their great adversary⁹⁶; the October horse sacrifice of the Campus Martius at Rome was contrasted with the spring symbol of the bull⁹⁷; Achilles wars with the Scamander, and Bellerophon borne on the winged horse whose hoof enacts the part of Neptune's trident⁹⁸, is victorious over the Chimæra through the favour⁹⁹ of the same emanation of divine wisdom who presided over the successes of Hercules. The kings of Assyria were mighty hunters after the fashion of the gods whom they represented¹⁰⁰, and the exploits of the Sun-God Belus with the dragon, like those of his Zodiacal antithesis Ninus¹⁰¹, were probably emblazoned upon the structures of Babylon. Even the problematical Cappadocian prince from whom our patron saint inherits his name and office, may have originally been only a varying form of Mithras, thus connecting the imagery of our sign-posts with those "ancient days," when Jehovah himself is

⁹⁴ Lucan. vi. 393, "gelido sidere."

⁹⁵ V. Bohlen, Genesis, 48.

⁹⁶ Hom. Hymn Apollo. 123. Callim. Apollo. 100. Del. 91. Apollod. i. 4. 1. Hygin. Frag. 140. Macrob. Sat. i. 17. The legend in the Apocryphal book of Esther, ch. xi. 6, &c., where dragons herald "a day of darkness and obscurity," upon which "a little fountain" is changed into rivers of waters, and the light and sun shine forth, is evidently the annual vicissitude symbolised by dove and serpent; a dove being probably placed at the end of the king's golden sceptre as token of mercy. Ch. xv. 11; ch. iv. 11.

⁹⁷ Servius to Æn. i. 435. Georg. iv. 530.

⁹⁸ Herod. viii. 55.

⁹⁹ Apollod. ii. 3. 2. 1. Hesiod, Th. 325. The story of the insect which stung Pegasus, and caused the fall of the rider, completes the parallel with the catastrophe of the bull of Mithras (Schol. Pind. Oly. xiii. 130) stung by Scorpio.

¹⁰⁰ Brissonius, P. P. ch. clxv. p. 231.

¹⁰¹ Diod. Sic. ii. 8. Ælian, V. H. xii. 39.

said to have "cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon."¹⁰² The latter is not only the dragon of the deep waters¹⁰³, the type of earthly desolation, but leader of the banded conspirators of the sky¹⁰⁴, of the rebellious stars, which, according to Enoch, "came not at the right time;"¹⁰⁵ his tail drew a third part of the host of heaven, and cast them to the earth¹⁰⁶. The serpent legend thus became incorporated with the ancient renown of Jehovah, who is described as having "divided the sea by his strength, and broken the heads of the dragons in the waters."¹⁰⁷ When he cleft or dried up the waters of the Red Sea, he at the same time bruised the head of his great adversary Rahab or Leviathan, who like the synonymous constellation encompasseth the whole world, and in a spiritual sense is its deceiver¹⁰⁸. As the "adversary" his name is Satan; as "calumniator" of Job, and of Joshua the high-priest, he is the "Diabolus," or Devil; he was "the old serpent," because it had become customary after the captivity to connect the Ahrimanian reptile with the temptation of Eve¹⁰⁹, although in some accounts, as in Enoch, which St. Peter and St. Jude quote as authoritative on Dæmonology, the evil spirits are the offspring of the sons of God with the daughters of men¹¹⁰, and, consequently, could not have existed until the days of Jared¹¹¹. In Jewish eschatology, as in Persian, the dragon

¹⁰² Isai. li. 9. Creuzer, Symb. i. p. 343. Cappadocia, says Strabo, was a principal seat of the Magian religion. Lib. xv. p. 733. The correctness of the derivation of the name of St. George, as suggested by Creuzer, may be questioned; may it not have the same origin as the country called Georgia, Gurj, Khartoulia, or Gurjistan? Encyc. Metrop. art. Georgia. Dubois, Voyage autour du Caucase, vol. ii. 7. The name of George, as that of the river Kur, or Cyrus (Amos ix. 7. 2 Kings xvi. 9), may be a corruption of the Persian name for the sun, "Khor," which appears in so many names of persons and places in Asia, and even Europe. Supr. pp. 289, 290.

¹⁰³ Psalm xliv. 19.

¹⁰⁴ Job xv. 15; ix. 13.

¹⁰⁵ ch. xviii. 16.

¹⁰⁶ Rev. xii. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Psalm lxxiv. 13.

¹⁰⁸ Rev. xii. 9; xiii. 11. 14; xx. 10. Origen against Celsus, bk. 6, c. 25.

¹⁰⁹ Gfrörer, Jahrhundert des Heils. i. 388. Comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. 6. 2. 26.

¹¹⁰ Gen. vi.

¹¹¹ A. M. 1170.

would in the latter days, the winter of time, enjoy a short period of licensed impunity, which would be a season of the greatest suffering to the inhabitants of the earth¹¹², but would finally be "bound,"¹¹³ or destroyed in the great battle of Messiah¹¹⁴, or else, as seems intimated by the coarse rabbinical figure of being eaten by the faithful¹¹⁵, be, like Ahriman or Vasouki, ultimately absorbed and united with the principle of good.

§ 11.

MORAL MEANING OF THE HEBREW "FALL."

The account of the Fall in Genesis may be understood as an attempt to explain, of course only "loosely and generally,"¹ the difficulties connected with man's moral condition. The creation of the universe is here subordinate to the moral drama. The formation of man precedes that of the other animals; he is gifted with a mingled nature, in part earthly, in part divine²; and the breath of life which dwells in him, though now, alas! transitory like that of the beasts that perish³, was in its origin an "aura divina" essentially different from theirs⁴. In the woman alone, formed out of his own side, and for that reason nearest to his affections and his heart, he recognises a suitable companion; and this peculiar consanguinity of the parents of mankind, like the analogous explanation in Plato⁵, is considered sufficient to account for that marked subordination of filial to conjugal love which exists in their posterity.

Change is the inevitable condition of finite existence; and

¹¹² Rev. xii. 12. Ezek. xxxix. 6. Daniel xii. 1. Matt. xxiv. 21.

¹¹³ Rev. xx. 2.

¹¹⁴ Ib. v. 10 and xvi. 14; xix. 20.

¹¹⁵ Ps. lxxiv. 14. 2 Esdras vi. 52.

¹ Prof. Garbett's Sermon on John ix. 2.

² Eccles. xii. 7. Psalm civ. 29. Job xxxiv. 14; xxvii. 3.

³ Isai. ii. 22. Psalm xlix. 13. 21.

⁴ Eccles. iii. 21.

⁵ Symp. p. 191. comp. Menu 9. 42. 45. "Αἱ πλευραὶ τισιν αἱ γυναῖκες." Artemidori oneirocrit. Tradition made Adam Androgynous.

everything apart from the perfect and infinite is of necessity imperfect and limited. But in the opinion of the Jews, man was originally created "perfect," and conditionally free from pain and death⁶. It was also the prevailing Jewish belief, and the one opinion is intimately connected with the other, that all physical evil is a consequence and punishment of moral evil; that every calamity is a result of some sin⁷; and it was a necessary inference that sin must be the cause of the great calamity, death⁸. In barbarous and tyrannical times a whole family is often involved in the vengeance taken on its chief⁹; hence arose a notion which was rashly transferred to the government of the Almighty; and when it had become a settled dogma that punishment is hereditary, and that the fault of the parent is visited on the child¹⁰, any given misfortune might be referred at pleasure to a cause either immediate or remote¹¹, and the general sin and misery of present time was ascribed to a supposed transgression of the first parents of mankind, thus satisfactorily accounting for the otherwise inexplicable "covenant," "Thou shalt die the death."¹²

The immediate occasion of the "Fall" was this. God is beneficent and just, but does not permit men to aspire to rivalry with himself. The two attributes which especially

⁶ Wisd. ii. 23. Eccles. vii. 29. "ἐπ' αφθαρσίᾳ." Lactant. de Orig. Error. ii. 12. Philo speaks ambiguously on this difficult point, sometimes considering his *ἀνθρώπος ποιηθείς* as *φθαρτῆς ὕλης ἀμετοχος*, and of a more refined nature than the fallen being. Conf. Theoph. ad Autol. ii. 101, who may be supposed to hold the more general opinion of a conditional immortality.

⁷ Josh. vii. 11. 2 Kings xvii. 7.

⁸ 2 Sam. xii. 13. Jer. xxxi. 30. Ezek. iii. 20, 21. Rom. v. 12. 21; vi. 23, &c.; viii. 10. 1 Cor. xv. 56.

⁹ 2 Sam. xii. 14. 1 Kings xiii. 34; xiv. 10. 17.

¹⁰ Gfrörer's Urchristenthum, 287. Joseph. Apion. i. 28. John ix. 2. Exod. xx. 5; xxxiv. 7. Lev. xxvi. 29. Numb. xiv. 18.

¹¹ Josh. xxiv. 2. Isai. xliii. 27; lxv. 7. Jer. xvi. 12; xlv. 9.

¹² Sirach xiv. 17. Wisd. ii. 24. Isaiah xliii. 27; liii. 6. The Jews thought that those who received the law from Sinai would have regained immortality if they had not sinned in the matter of the calf. If our fathers, said they, had not sinned, we should not have come into the world. See Wettstein to John x. 35.

belong to him are Wisdom and Immortality¹³; the possessor of both is a God; but he who has neither, or only one of them, is a dependent being, on whom God, though he be stern and jealous, may look down with complacency.

By the envious instigation of the serpent, who himself in idolatrous times might be said to have usurped the attributes and honours belonging only to God¹⁴, the curiosity of the woman was excited to obtain by stealth the knowledge which distinguished the Elohim. The nature of this knowledge was the power of "distinguishing good and evil," a phrase denoting the first awakening of the intellect¹⁵; it was to be gained, like the ordinary experience of the world, in the pursuit of the agreeable, without prudential regard for consequences. Knowledge was in this way too dearly purchased. In the opinion of the Eastern sage its acquisition was the immediate cause of sin and evil. Physical evil was the inevitable accompaniment of moral evil; and though man had partially succeeded in raising himself by disobedience to the rank of a superior being¹⁶, yet the curse of God and expulsion from access to the tree of life converted his attempt into a defeat at the moment of completion. It is true that man in a sense was created perfect, and in God's image and likeness; but this perfection and likeness were not understood in an elevated or spiritual meaning. Man did not originally possess by virtue of the divine breath which lived in him any faculty by which he could appreciate moral distinctions; as yet he knew not good from evil; and the "likeness to God" implies no more than that general resemblance of external form usually transmitted by a father to his offspring¹⁷, which Seth is afterwards described in the same words as inheriting from Adam¹⁸, and which the divine ances-

¹³ The "*θεων γερα*," or divine perquisites. Æschyl. Prom.

¹⁴ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

¹⁵ Deut. i. 39. Isai. vii. 15. Odyss. xviii. 228.

¹⁶ Gen. iii. 22.

¹⁷ Not the "*μεγαν νοον*," but only the "*φυσιν*." Pind. Nem. vi. 5.

¹⁸ Gen. v. 3.

tor of the human race must be supposed to have communicated to all his children¹⁹. Yet the tendency of the divine spirit, or breath, so long as it continued in man, was to make him immortal²⁰; the consequence of sin was to convert it from a permanent gift into a temporary one; and, as corruption increased, to diminish proportionably the time of its continuance. The expulsion of the first pair from the garden is inflicted for the purpose of preventing the full accomplishment of the promises of the tempter by enabling him from tasting "also of the tree of life," to combine knowledge with immortality.

The moral doctrine of the Fall implies what the author of Ecclesiastes drily states, that "increase of knowledge is increase of sorrow."²¹ That ignorance should be an essential condition of innocence and happiness is a superficial inference easily made from the frequent abuse of reason. Even philosophers, from Menander to Candide, have pronounced man to be "unhappy only when he begins to reflect;"—they declare that

" 'Tis better to be much abused
That but to know 't a little."—

Thought they rashly assume to be a curse²²; and animals, even asses and horses, are happier and more exempt from evils than ourselves²³. Wine intoxicates, water drowns, and nerves are wrung with pain; and the really beneficent purpose is lost sight of in the exceptional inconvenience, as the usefulness of solar heat is forgotten by the fainting traveller in the desert. Perfect wisdom is as disproportionate to the human intellect as pure oxygen to the lungs; and if with the argument in Cicero²⁴

¹⁹ Luke iii. 38. Comp. Cicero, N. D. i. 18.

²⁰ Gen. vi. 3. "My spirit shall not continue, or reign, a long time in man;" that is, its continuance, which had already been pronounced to be only temporary, was thenceforth to be limited to a specified and comparatively short period.

²¹ i. 18.

²² Menand. Frag. 166.

²³ Philemon. Frag. p. 42. Menand. pp. 244. 249. Ed. Grotius.

²⁴ N. D. iii. 27. 32.

we take the value of the ordinary diluted compound to be destroyed by its qualifying ingredients, the superiority of ignorance may be logically proved. The wisdom of Egypt and Chaldæa were the exclusive property of a caste, and civilization could become progressive only where, as in Greece, the influence of sacerdotal authority was comparatively feeble. But the dislike attached to the dissemination of knowledge arose not so much from priestly reserve as from a real misapprehension of its nature and bearing upon human interests. Man can never entirely abjure his nature as a thinking being, or seriously believe in the happiness of ignorance. The Jewish scriptures are full of panegyrics upon wisdom; and as the paradisiacal or golden age possessed all the good either enjoyed or desiderated in the present, there must have been some sort of wisdom in man, even when he knew not the distinction of good and evil²⁵. The wisdom prized by the Hebrews, and considered by them as their peculiar distinction and privilege²⁶, was of the special and technical kind, consisting either of a devoted attachment to the theocracy, or of theological and scriptural mysticism. Whether understood in a limited or a wider sense as including an acquaintance with arts and natural productions²⁷, it was always, as being the gift of God, considered as instinctive or inspired, the prompting of the inward spirit, not the purposed acquisition of the intellect. It stood not in man's wisdom, but came direct from the great source of intelligence²⁸. It burst forth in the ecstatic accents of the Prophets²⁹, it awakened the organs even of the dumb ass³⁰, and, perfected in man, the lord of the irrational yet still religiously

²⁵ Still there remains an inconsistency between the apparent denunciation of Wisdom in "the Fall," and the subsequent recommendations of it. Comp. 1 Kings iii. 9.

²⁶ Deut. iv. 6. Wisd. iii. 9; iv. 15, &c.

²⁷ Exod. xxxi. 3; xxxv. 31. 1 Kings iv. 33.

²⁸ Prov. ii. 6. Eccles. ii. 26.

²⁹ Exod. iv. 12. Num. xxii. 18. Ezek. iii. 27.

³⁰ 2 Peter ii. 16.

responsive creation³¹, it displays its power even in the inexperienced mouths of babes and sucklings³². The wisdom in which consisted safety and stability³³, as opposed to that which perverts and destroys³⁴, might be of two kinds; it might be either the inspired suggestion of the prophet, or the written treasure of the law³⁵; a law not only engraved on stone, but on the tablets of the heart³⁶. Hence all wisdom is obedience; vice and folly are synonymous³⁷; and the virtue, which is wisdom, is not so much the deliberate avoidance of evil, as either an instinctive preference for the good, or an obsequious observance of the statute. The priest³⁸, and afterwards the Pharisee, punctiliously guarded the wisdom of the law; their traditional lore was only a refinement upon the civil or institutional aspect of Hebrew discipline which prided itself in a rigid adherence to the prescribed and hereditary forms. The other aspect of the cherished wisdom of the Hebrews was as the immediate suggestion of the Holy Spirit, overruling in later times the dry technicalities of law, and often clearly revealed to "babes" while concealed from the arrogant pretensions of the "wise and prudent." Wisdom of this nature, independent of human effort, and spontaneously conferred upon child-like innocence and docility, might be appropriately supposed to have constituted the perfection of Adam in Paradise. "God," says Theophilus³⁹, "wished not merely to test Adam's obedience, but to keep him for wise purposes in blissful ignorance;" for as the wisdom of men is often enmity with God, so the divine wisdom might seem as foolishness to men⁴⁰. Those who repudiated formalism⁴¹, and who sought the life-giving

³¹ Psalm cxlviii. 8. 10. Isai. xliii. 20.

³² Psalm viii. 2.

³³ Prov. ix. 10; xi. 9. Isai. xxxiii. 6. Hos. iv. 6.

³⁴ Isai. ix. 16; xlvii. 10.

³⁵ Ecclûs. i. 26; xxiv. 23. Baruch iii. 36.

³⁶ Deut. xxx. 14.

³⁷ Deut. iv. 6. Job ii. 10; xxviii. 28. Psalm xiv. 1. 1 Sam. xxv. 25.

³⁸ Deut. xxxi. 9. Malachi ii. 7.

³⁹ Ad Autol. ii. 102.

⁴⁰ 1 Cor. iii. 19; i. 23.

⁴¹ Rom. ii. 20.

wisdom⁴² neither in the stern rules of law⁴³, nor in the pride of human learning⁴⁴, would naturally, as reformers, seek to restore something more akin to the innocent simplicity of Eden. Convinced both of the inefficacy of the law of Moses, and of the vanity of human attainments, they would warn men to trust in the Lord instead of leaning on their own understandings; to learn lessons of the lilies of the field which toil not, and take no thought; to trust for inspiration for suggestion what to speak; and to become "as little children."

§ 12.

STORY OF PROMETHEUS.

The ideas of the Greeks respecting the nature and source of wisdom differed but little from those of the Hebrews; they had also a notion of a fall, or estrangement from the gods, and the story of Prometheus was perhaps the most celebrated among the many¹ seeming to bear upon the subject. The account in Hesiod is probably reduced from many Promethean myths, leaving us to conjecture how far their hero may have been the Axieros-Hephæstus of Samothrace or Athens², or whether at Sicyon he may not have been classed with Sisyphus or Atlas, as a personification of the Cyllenian robber god himself. He undoubtedly represents that older nature god, alternate in space and time, and with a moral character corresponding to his physical ambiguity, who, under the later names of Hermes, Hephæstus, and many subordinate correlatives, was aptly regarded as first founder of religion³ and of the arts of

⁴² Eccles. vii. 12.

⁴³ Rom. vii. 8; viii. 2, 3.

⁴⁴ 1 Cor. i. 17. 24; ii. 4, &c.

¹ Such as those of Sisyphus, Tantalus, Athamas, Ulysses.

² Whence probably the "*τὸ συγγενές*." Æschyl. Prom. 39. Comp. Schol. Soph. Œd. Colon. 55.

³ Diod. S. i. 16. Comp. Æschyl. Prom. 437.

life, the consort of Demeter, Pandora, or Gæa⁴, honoured even before Zeus⁵, whom Hercules in his cosmical navigation from the outer ocean of Mauritania to the opposite extremity of the horizon⁶, discovered in symbolic humiliation among the children of the north professing to be his descendants⁷, and who, though chained to the yoke of cosmical necessity, spurns the artificial servitude of his mythical successor⁸. But Prometheus, like other gods, became humanised, and his human attributes retained the peculiarities of his divinity, so that when the higher conception "Zeus" had been placed at the head of the Greek pantheon, he was represented as having stolen what in reality he had freely given, and seemed at enmity with a Being originally similar or identical with himself⁹. It appears inevitable that in the progressive development of the mind its later and improved conception of Deity receding more and more widely from the original one, should at last become objectively severed from, and even opposed to it. As the character of Zeus increased in perfection, that of Prometheus would tend to assume a distinctness of a contrary kind. But the case would be more complicated during the interval in which the moral aspect of Providence, fluctuating with that of human morality, was but imperfectly made out, and though elevated in some respects remained inadequate or false in others. At the close of the epic period the moral aspect of the Being left in undisputed possession of the throne of heaven was by no means unimpeachable. His sternness and jealousy were made still more repulsive by unlimited power and personal selfishness. The first results of experience which con-

⁴ Paus. ix. 25; comp. v. 6. Schol. Aristoph. Aves. 971. Völcker, Japetus, 74. Apollod. i. 2, 3. Eustath. to Dion. pp. 270. 620. Acusilai, Frag. Sturz. 224. Ritter, Vorhalle, 395.

⁵ Schol. Pind. Ol. i. 149.

⁶ Perge, Asia, or Scythia. Steph. Byz. art. *Θρακη*. Comp. Uckert, Geogr. i. 2. 282; ii. 2. 8; iii. 2. 331.

⁷ Herod. v. 7. Comp. Schol. Pind. Ol. iii. 46. Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 181.

⁸ Æschyl. Prom. 970.

⁹ Supr. pp. 311. 319, &c.

stituted the "Fall" cast a shade upon the character of the Deity as on the prospects of man. Evil had been felt, and speculation awakened with alarm to investigate its cause. The severity of human suffering under the harsh government of the gods¹⁰ became a favourite subject of poetical complaint; and it would seem as if the Promethean allegory in the "Works and Days" of Hesiod was meant to explain the origin of the calamity as introductory to the possible alleviation of it through the lessons of wisdom. Many of the more winning attributes excluded from the epic character of the superior God still remained attached to subordinate personifications, who under such circumstances might seem to rise in justifiable revolt against his authority. Prometheus was the wise god, the friend of man. Man had made his god a reflection of himself, and the divine benefactor when exiled from the sky continued to sustain under a human aspect the earthly office of his patriarch and patron. The name of Prometheus was placed at the head of the genealogy of the Japhetidæ, and his character, when finally separated from that of Zeus, seemed dramatically well suited to express the presumed moral attitude of his descendants towards that mysterious power whose disposition had become their most anxious problem. He was supposed to have acted in this capacity as their representative, when, in the olden time, the relative offices of gods and men were determined by mutual treaty at Mecone, or Sicyon in Peloponnesus¹¹. Men and gods were of kindred origin¹², and in those older and better times used to eat and live together¹³; at length, at the close, possibly, of the golden age¹⁴, a distinction was first esta-

¹⁰ "ανθρωπων τλημοσυνας." Hom. Hymn, Pyth. Apoll. 12 (190). Iliad, vi. 357. Odyss. viii. 580.

¹¹ Hes. Theog. 524. 535. Pind. Ol. vii. 100. Plato, Critias, p. 109.

¹² "ὁμοθεν γεγαασι." Hes. Works, 107. Pind. Nem. vi. 1. Homer, Hymn Apoll. 159.

¹³ Hes. Frag. 187, supposed to have once formed part of the "Works," and to have been inserted at v. 120. Comp. Arat. Phænom. 103.

¹⁴ Virg. Eclog. vi. 41. Horace, Ode, i. 3. 35.

blished between them¹⁵ at Mecone, where mortals became subordinate and dependent, and sacrifice was instituted as an acknowledgment on their part of duty and allegiance. But Prometheus, who represented man in this transaction, the first sacrificer, or "immolator of the Bull,"¹⁶ defrauded Zeus and the gods by putting them off with the bones and fat of the victim. In other words, sacrifice, one of the arts ascribed to Prometheus¹⁷, was so contrived, under his management, as to appear like a deception practised on the gods¹⁸; man, though theoretically their comrade and messmate, appears in practice to engross the whole of nature's abundance, and the sacrifices of the Greeks which were not Holocausts, but often consisted of the more insignificant and otherwise useless parts of the animal¹⁹, would seem to be an equally unfair apportionment. "Henceforth," says Hesiod, citing a well-known fact in corroboration of its assumed origin, "the children of men to this day burn the white bones on the sacrificial altars."²⁰ No notice is here taken of that recondite Pantheism which contemplated in sacrifice the abandonment of the soul to God, typified by the spilling of the blood which was the life²¹; since life is the proper tribute and perquisite of life's Author, and the Magi, after this essential oblation, scrupled not to divide the whole of the remaining flesh to be eaten by the worshippers²². The common Greek was unfamiliar with such ideas, and with

¹⁵ "*εκρινοντο.*" Schol. Pind. Nem. ix. 123. "*εφ' ἧς οἱ θεοὶ διέδασσαντο τὰς τιμὰς.*" Comp. Hes. Theog. v. 111. 882. Æschyl. Prom. Bothe. 426. Schol. Theog. v. 535.

¹⁶ Pliny, N. H. vii. 57, ad fin.

¹⁷ Æschyl. Pr. Blomf. 502. Pliny, ubi sup. Comp. Diod. S. v. 75. Hymn, Merc. v. 115.

¹⁸ Similar to the trick by which Numa laid the foundation of sacrificial substitution. Arnob. adv. Gent. v. 1. Ovid, Fast. iii. 32. Plutarch, vit. Numa. Paus. ii. 11. 7.

¹⁹ Weiske's Prom. p. 245. Voss, Briefe, vol. ii. p. 356. Lennep to Hesiod, Th. 556. Nitzsch to Odyss. vol. i. p. 223. Æschyl. Prom. 483, Bothe.

²⁰ Theog. 557. Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 847, Potter.

²¹ Levit. xvii. 11. Virg. Æn. ix. 349. "Nulla expiatio nisi per sanguinem," says the Talmud. Tract. Joma. fol. 5^a. Heb. ix. 22.

²² Strabo, xv. 732.

the connected doctrine of sacramental communion. He looked on sacrifice as a sacred banquet, at which the gods, if propitious, were still, as in the olden time, personally present²³, and an unequal division of the animal was therefore an imposition to which they must have unwillingly submitted. It was for this reason, says Hesiod, that Zeus withheld fire from mortals; then Prometheus stole some in a hollow reed (whose dry pith is said to be still used as tinder in the Levant),²⁴ to the great mortification of Zeus, who was chafed and galled with bitter resentment;

“δακεν δ’ αρα νειοθι θυμον
Ζην’ ὑψιβρεμετην, εχθλωσε δε μιν φιλον ἦτορ.”

Man in turn was deceived by a stratagem of Zeus, who created woman to be his plague and bane; and Prometheus himself was chained to a rock where an eagle devoured his liver.

The story of Mecone has been conjectured to imply the introduction of the Olympian gods into Peloponnesus²⁵, Prometheus representing both the cunning of the more ancient deity and the corresponding character of the people. The life of the savage, in its intervals of activity, seems as a series of stratagems practised on nature or his fellows; in his desultory efforts he betrays no consciousness of external uniform law or of action regulated by conforming principle. Each expedient is a theft or advantage wrung by systematic selfishness from a grudging taskmaster, or if before the hypothetical “Fall” he learned the useful arts from his patron deity, Aristæus, Dionysus, or Prometheus, the friendly genius associated with his age of innocence sinks into inferiority when compared with the mysterious Mahadeva of deeper reflection, the per-

²³ “Est enim hoc solenne ut Dii sacris suis intersint et in iis epulari dicantur, unde ad sacrificia et sacra ‘proficisci’ solent—quo pertinent etiam Lectisternia Romanorum.” Heyne to Iliad, i. 424. 525. Odys. vii. 203. Pind. Ol. viii. 68. Gen. viii. 21. See Lucian’s Prometheus, Aristophanes in the “Birds,” &c.

²⁴ Weiske’s Prom. p. 211. Æschyl. Prom. 109, Böthe. Pliny, N. H. xiii. 23. Welcker, Trilogie, 8.

²⁵ Götting to Hesiod, Theog. 535.

sonification of resistless and immoral, because unintelligible power. The conception of divine wisdom is formed according to the actual standard of human wisdom; where the one is misconceived, the other is misdirected. Experience must precede science, and the first arts are therefore necessarily empirical; but since empirical art resembles a trick more than a rightful acquisition, the wisdom of the early Deity bore the semblance of cunning or deceit²⁶, and as men were supposed to have criminally purloined the divine attribute by eating the forbidden fruit, so Prometheus by stealing fire to benefit mankind, committed an outrage upon heaven. The discovery of fire being the condition of that of the arts, this theft became enlarged by explanation into the general communication of knowledge²⁷; and it was but varying the expression of the same idea to say with the historian Duris²⁸, that the offence consisted in making overtures to the goddess Athene, understood as an emanation of the divine Metis²⁹, though the foundation of the legend had probably been laid in that ancient cosmogonic intermarriage of Athene with celestial fire from which sprang the Ionian Apollo³⁰ and the commemorative Attic torch race. Tantalus, too, once the favourite of heaven, had offended by purloining, not indeed the fire of the gods, but their secrets, or their nectar and ambrosia³¹, and giving them to mortals. The original aspect of his legend may perhaps be more clearly seen in that version of it which made his crime similar to that of Cronus and Typhon, the destruction of his own beautiful offspring, the beauty of nature's life, offered by him as food on the table of the gods, but of which the only part actually con-

²⁶ Comp. Herod. ii. 121. 172; iii. 4. Soph. Philoct. 1222. Hence probably the Telchines are "*βασκανοί*" and "*φθονεργοί*."

²⁷ Comp. Plato, Protag. 321^b. Phileb. 142. Theophrastus and Cicero in Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 1248. Cic. Tusc. v. 3. Servius to Æneid, vi. 42.

²⁸ Schol. Apollon. u. s.

²⁹ Hes. Theog. 886.

³⁰ Cic. N. D. iii. 22. Proclus ad Timæ. p. 30. Wyttenbach to Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, p. 453. Schol. Œdip. Colon. 55. Hemsterhuis' Lucian, i. 197.

³¹ Pind. Ol. i. 97.

sumed was the prolific shoulder³², which Ceres every year may be said to devour and to renew; or that which attributed to him the rape elsewhere said to have been perpetrated by his father, the disappearance of the beautiful boy, for which he was sentenced to bear the punishment of the stone, or the superincumbent world³³. Tantalus, husband of Clytemnestra, son of Thyestes, Bronteus, or Pluto³⁴, is an Agamemnon or Zeus inferus³⁵, and the stone suspended over his head is not the solar rock apparently hinted by Euripides³⁶, the dread of Goths and Thracians³⁷, but rather the penalty of Perithöus, the stone of Ascalaphus or Niobe, that which killed Idas, and stunned Hercules³⁸, the desolated earth, or the stony influence of winter. He may be an emblem of the sun, to whom horses were sacrificed on the Taletum in Taygetus³⁹; he was chained to Sipylus, a name significant of Hades⁴⁰, for concealing as Sol inferus the golden dog of the zodiac, which Pandareus⁴¹ had stolen out of a Cretan temple⁴²; or he may represent the brazen giant Talus, the sun's heat in its injurious excess, scorching the hapless stranger⁴³, which in Tartarus may be supposed to banish the "lymphæ fugaces" from his own lips. Prometheus, too, is Nature moralised; he is the luminary typical both of divine beneficence and mental illumination⁴⁴;

³² A part which, for mystic reasons, was considered sacred. Dionysus himself sprang from the thigh of Zeus. The Scythians threw the right shoulder of the victim to the gods (Herod. iv. 62; comp. Hansen, *Ost Europa nach Herodot.* 252); the bull Apis was wounded in the same member; so, too, was Minerva, and the earth in consequence became barren. (Paus. viii. 28.)

³³ Schol. Eur. Orest. 972.

³⁴ Paus. ii. 22.

³⁵ Comp. Vossius de *Idolatriâ*, p. 60.

³⁶ Strabo, vii. 302.

³⁷ Eurip. Orest. v. s.

³⁸ Paus. ix. 11.

³⁹ Paus. iii. 20.

⁴⁰ "πυλαι Αἰδαο;" hence Pluto is called Πυλαργης.

⁴¹ Hermes-Cynocephalus, who also, as representing that universal spy, the sun, denounces the theft. Hymn to Ceres, v. 62.

⁴² Paus. x. 30. Schol. Odyss. τ, 518; ψ, 66. Creuz. S. iii. 824.

⁴³ Creuz. S. i. 38. Apollon. Rh. iv. 1652. Virg. Æn. iii. 140.

⁴⁴ Pind. Carm. in Defect. Solis, 6.

stealing from Hephæstus or from Zeus, in his human character, the ray which he freely dispenses in his divine, and in his wintry banishment suffering the penalty of human vicissitude, while the devouring of his liver, supposed to mean the corroding cares of life⁴⁵, was, in its original intention, like the enfeeblement of Hercules, or the mutilation of Zeus, a symbol of the decay of vegetation in the season of the sun's decline⁴⁶. It is then that the god consummates his robbery and his sacrifice; he steals our goods and lives, the herds of the sun and the quiver of Apollo, the face of heaven is mocked with the bare skeleton of Nature⁴⁷, while her treasures and her beauty are hidden in the grave.

§ 13.

THE PROMETHEUS OF ÆSCHYLUS.

The Prometheus of Æschylus unites in one person the four beings mythically connected as brothers, but who here are in fact only the several moral aspects of the mind; Atlas representing endurance¹; Menœtius, impatient presumption (*ὑβρις*, which brings down *ατῆ*, or *οἶτος*, destruction²); Epime-

⁴⁵ Schol. Hes. Theog. 523. Weiske's Prom. 290. The liver was thought to be the seat of passion and anxiety (Aristot. Probl. 30; Horace, *passim*); the vultures of Tityos, like the eagle of Prometheus, are therefore the anger and curse of humanity. (Lucret. iii. 997.) Pherecydes mentions the ingenious addition that the daily waste of the liver was restored during the night, that is, by rest in sleep, or during the repose of winter.

⁴⁶ The incident was sometimes supposed to happen every third day (Cic. Tusc. ii. 9), *i. e.* on the last of the three seasons of the ancient year.

⁴⁷ Comp. the story about the bones of Orpheus, which when beheld by the sun were the signal of the devastation of the state of Libethra by a wild boar. Paus. ix. 30. 5; and Infr. vol. 2.

¹ Prometheus, like Atlas, is inventor of shipping (Æschyl. 131. 476); and husband of Hesione. (Ib. 542. Schol. Eur. Phœniss. 1136.)

² Thus Prometheus is finally hurled to Tartarus.

theus, or afterthought, the verbal antithesis to "forethought,"³ the personified ignorance and folly of uncivilised man, at once the slave and dupe of heaven, a being agitated by perpetual fear, and apparently the most destitute and unprotected of the animal creation⁴. This condition, which the Hesiodic poet would represent as following the golden age, and as an infliction of divine anger⁵, is assumed in Æschylus as original; "men had eyes, but they saw not; ears had they, but they heard not; like dreams they passed long years in a life of wild disorder; they knew no art of construction either in brick or wood, but lived under ground, like the tiny ant, in sunless caverns."⁶ Man seemed as if devoted to destruction by the circumstances of his position; and the Deity is said to have actually willed the annihilation⁷ of the whole race, and the replacing it by another⁸. By rescuing men from this disastrous state, Prometheus became in a double sense their parent, and as it were, creator⁹; he effected their rescue by giving them the resources of the "wisdom" of an early age, especially that most cherished possession of the gods¹⁰, fire, the "help of helps," the teacher of all art,

*"ἡ διδασκαλος τεχνης
πασης βροτοῖς πεφυκε και μεγας πορος,"*

³ Hence Prometheus is Pandora's husband, and is liable to intemperate passions. Ib. 386. 481. Schol. Apollon. Rh. iii. 1085.

⁴ Plato, Protag. 321^c. Plutarch de Fortunâ, 98^d. Herschel's Nat. Philos. 1. Epimetheus is the aberration, Prometheus the presumptuous and triumphant career of reason. (Hor. Od. i. 3. 25. 27.)

⁵ Hes. Works, 47. 90. Theog. 513.

⁶ Æschyl. Prom. 456. Comp. the passage quoted from Le Condamine, in n. 25 to bk. 4 of Robertson's America.

⁷ "αἰστώσας γένος το παν." That is, the severe aspect of Nature, who was supposed to have laid plans to thin mankind, an idea broached by Stasinus, and repeated by Euripides. Helen. 40.

⁸ Prom. 240.

⁹ Euseb. Pr. Ev. x. 10, p. 491^a; xi. 18, p. 539. The creation of man by Prometheus (Hyg. Fab. 142. Lucian, Prom.) may have been part of his legitimate functions as Hermes-Demiurgus.

¹⁰ Lucian, ib. 3.

or, as Plato terms it, he stole the inventive arts, and also the fire necessary to practise them¹¹. The paradoxical offence involved in his humane interposition can be ascribed only to imperfect notions of the moral character of Deity, and to the artificial arrangements of mythical systems in which those notions had been incorporated; for the acquisition of art or knowledge could appear in itself reprehensible only to the fanciful admirers of a golden age, not to those who, like Æschylus, saw the savage state in its true light. But the graver error arising out of the poetical misrepresentations of Deity still continued to defy the advance of philosophy. The attempt to allegorise natural appearances had produced images as revolting to humanity as inconsistent with probability. Yet the oldest notion of Deity was rather indefinite than repulsive. The positive degradation was of later growth. The God of nature reflects the changeful character of the seasons, varying from dark to bright. Alternately angry and serene, and lavishing abundance which she again withdraws, nature seems inexplicably capricious, and though capable of responding to the highest requisitions of the moral sentiment through a general comprehension of her mysteries, more liable by a partial or hasty view to become darkened into a Siva or Saturn, a patron of fierce orgies or blood-stained altars. All the older poetical personifications, Zeus as well as Prometheus, exhibit traces of this ambiguity. They are neither wholly immoral nor purely beneficent. The Homeric Zeus is by turns strong and weak, wise and foolish, malevolent and good. The Zeus whom Hesiod asserts to be unequalled in power and wisdom is a jealous tyrant outwitted¹² by a skilful rival, who in the dramatic arrangement monopolises the aspect of goodness; and it is evident that the misconception arising out of the inability of the human mind to harmonise the presumed attributes of Providence, and the consequent tendency to part them into distinct

¹¹ Protag. u. s. Diod. S. i. 8. Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 27. Paus. ii. 19. 5. Lucret. v. 1013. 1105.

¹² Zeus is deceived (Theog. 565), yet not deceived (ib. 551).

personifications, could be surmounted only by retracing the steps of error, and by discovering a means of reconciling or reuniting the functions provisionally separated. In the separate developments of the characters of Prometheus and Zeus, goodness and power had been severed; nay, the divine attributes had been disproportionately shared between the rivals, Prometheus the beneficent, being in a moral sense more truly a god than the all-powerful Zeus. So long as the separation continued, and the paramount being was allowed to be tyrannically severe, Prometheus might retain his better aspect, and must have procured the benefits bestowed on man either clandestinely, or in defiance of his superior. If on the other hand the moral dignity of the Supreme Being were consistently upheld, Prometheus, as his adversary, should have become a dæmon. Yet Æschylus continues to claim for him the highest sympathies of his audience, ascribing to him the whole circle of cotemporary human accomplishments, adding to the list of useful arts the philosophical discoveries of the Pythagoreans; and it is difficult to conceive how the beneficent ally who ended the state of barbarism described by the poet¹³ should have been supposed to have met with anything but approval from the exalted Being whom he recognises in Zeus. Zeus is described as “King of kings, most blessed among the blessed, among the perfect most perfect, Jove supreme in felicity, Lord of endless duration—by whose favour alone any device attains completion, who knows no superior, whose word is equivalent to his act, who directs Fate itself by the hoary laws of antiquity.”¹⁴ And whatever licence may have been allowed to poets in the treatment of mythical subjects, it seems strange that Æschylus, whose respect for religion is undoubted, and who alludes to the progress of Athenian scepticism as a subject of painful interest¹⁵, should have made Prometheus a hero bearing up undauntedly under unmerited suffering, and Zeus, whom he identifies with the Supreme Being, as his oppressor.

¹³ v. 442.

¹⁴ Supplices, 486. 524. 540. 602.

¹⁵ Agam. 362 with Blomfield's Glossary.

It is this seeming anomaly which makes the historical and philosophic interest of the tragedy. Æschylus only dramatises established characters, and a well-known story. He follows the rule common to painters and writers of adopting familiar incidents for their subject, and of addressing the ear or eye in the most intelligible way¹⁶. Though the hero is exalted at the expense of a superior God, yet the legend is admissible because presented in its orthodox shape, or rather in an improved one, being freed by Æschylus from some of its grosser accompaniments. We know how readily men accept received opinions on the most important subjects in order to evade the trouble and responsibility of thought, how little they are startled by the inherent contradictions of things accredited as holy; how from custom they unthinkingly assume as plausible and dignified ideas the most improbable and revolting, and practically escape the demoralising tendency of the oft-repeated legend by allowing it to pass as an inexplicable mystery which they must respect, but shrink from too rigidly interpreting. Ranked among "*νομιζόμενα*," that is, exempted by custom and authority from the condemnation which would infallibly have attached to the direct announcement of inconsistent though less exceptionable doctrine, the Promethean legend might have peculiar recommendations to the sympathies of an Athenian audience. In the hands of the veteran of the Persian war, Prometheus, though an ancient national Deity, is rather a political being than a theological one; he is the patriot opposed to the tyrant; the "*vir justus et tenax propositi*" to the "*vultus instantis tyranni*." Zeus, on the other hand, is a repulsive picture of arbitrary suspicious power; and his ingratitude to his former ally gives occasion to remark that "*despots always feel a morbid distrust of their own supporters and friends*."¹⁷ With Æschylus, as with all reflecting minds, the notion of Deity had risen far above the popular standard; yet as the general audience could not but acquiesce in received

¹⁶ Hor. Ars Poet. 119. 130.

¹⁷ v. 225.

traditions, the poet was enabled to give effect to his plan by treating Zeus after the manner of Homer, now exalting him as god of the philosopher and moralist, and again allowing him as a being subordinate to "Necessity" to bear the full weight of the vices attached to his technical character. The whole dramatic interest consists in the severance and contrast of the two phases of divinity. Yet so long as a being like Prometheus was allowed to share divine attributes, it must have been felt that the throne of Olympus was inadequately filled. Had the poetical mythology undergone the thorough reform it required, it would probably have been impossible for the tragedy of Æschylus to be conceived or represented. At the time of the representation the public mind was rapidly approaching the crisis which ever awaits the imprisonment of a progressive power within an unalterable creed. Fanaticism, however, was still far more potent than philosophy; and philosophy itself had been discouraged in its outset, its wings had struck the barriers of its aspiring flight, and Xenophanes and Heraclitus had exemplified an intellectual "fall" in the melancholy recognition of the impossibility of certain knowledge. Under these circumstances a judicious reformer might hope to find a palliative though despondent of a cure; he might recommend the wisdom of submitting to what was inevitable, and though baffled in the attempt to gain an absolute knowledge of God, he might succeed in removing some of the many degrading superstitions which had perverted the conception of him.

§ 14.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MODERATION.

So long as mythology continued to maintain the rigidity of its forms, all that moral wisdom could effect would be to adapt itself to the system it could not materially change. It attempted, however, to regulate in some measure the notions

formed of God as well as the conduct to be pursued by man. Both Pindar and Æschylus¹ endeavoured to improve the popular religion by placing the character of the gods in the most favourable light. What Xenophanes attempted to reconstruct, Pindar more prudently tries only to correct. With this view he abstains from using any language respecting the Deity but what is laudatory²; and pointedly disapproves the immoral stories circulated by older poets, that “*εχθρα σοφια*,”³ which would fill heaven with jealousy and strife. Those ancient legends which many repeat, but which few understand, which in the sweet strains of Homer are suggestive of wisdom to the intelligent, but with the many require interpretation⁴, may now, he thinks, be advantageously passed over in silence⁵, since most men have but a blind heart⁶; if we allude to them at all, we ought to speak of the gods respectfully and decorously. Pindar, however, as well as Æschylus, refers to the envy of the gods⁷, to their hostility to pride and rivalry⁸; but the use of this phrase had become inveterate, and had so lost a part of its objectionable meaning. But supposing the Deity to be really the harsh and also irresistible Being he is represented, the obvious policy of man is submission. Hence the celebrated doctrine of moderation preached by Hesiod and Herodotus, the “wisdom” of the seven sages⁹, and also the morality of the tragic chorus¹⁰. The moral lore of Hesiod corresponds with the character of his Deity, consisting in resignation as opposed to Titanic presumption¹¹; the latter behaviour being denounced as foolish and “Epimethean,” rather than as sinful or impious. To the heroic notion which held man to be nearly allied to gods, courageous enterprise, and even rivalry with

¹ Comp. Aristoph. Ran. 1053.

² Oly. i. 56. 83. Comp. Theocrit. Id. 26. 38.

³ Oly. ix. 56.

⁴ Ol. ii. 152.

⁵ Nem. v. 32.

⁶ Nem. vii. 34.

⁷ Pyth. x. 32.

⁸ Pyth. ii. 21.

⁹ “*Μηδεν αγαν*.”

¹⁰ A policy characteristically attributed to women and old men.

¹¹ Works and Days, 105. Theog. 534. 613.

higher natures would seem not crime but virtue¹²; and the task of the moralist in regard to this feeling would be to restrain it within rational limits. Hence the Hesiodic maxim of the half being better than the whole; the fable of the vulture and nightingale; the complaints of the extravagance of women; the reiterated remonstrances on the folly of opposing Zeus, or of attempting to deceive him. The same moral "sophia" was advocated by Pindar, and forms the providential theory of Æschylus¹³. "It may be true," says Pindar¹⁴, "that gods and men are of kindred origin; but their powers and estate are widely different; man is as a vain shadow, while the gods enjoy the changeless stability of heaven." It would, therefore, be ridiculous to suppose that God can be really jealous of man. There was, indeed, an old saying that with each good the gods award two evils¹⁵; but the supposition that calamity proceeds from Providence, or that Ate is Jove's daughter¹⁶, is only a figurative intimation of the Divine Omnipotence, since fate and the will of Zeus are identical¹⁷. All that is really meant is the maxim of general experience that prosperity when excessive lasts not long¹⁸; that the immoderately sweet is often exchanged for the bitter¹⁹; and that the most favoured of heaven may experience the most cruel reverses²⁰. In this sense only can evil be attributed to God; for it is he who is the author of every good and perfect gift; from him alone proceeds every virtue and excellence²¹; without his aid no aim can prosper²².

All morality depends on a just appreciation of our relations

¹² "Ἀρετή." That of Hercules, for instance. Creuz. S. ii. 81. Comp. Gen. xxxii. 28.

¹³ "παντὶ μὲν τὸ κράτος Θεὸς ὡπάσεν." Æschyl. Eumen. 529.

¹⁴ Nem. vi. 1. Pyth. viii. 136.

¹⁵ Pyth. iii. 146.

¹⁶ Ol. xii. 3.

¹⁷ Nem. iv. 99.

¹⁸ Pyth. iii. 190.

¹⁹ Isthm. vii. 39. Conf. Eurip. Frag. 26. 30.

²⁰ Pyth. ii. 49; viii. 20.

²¹ Ol. x. 10. Pyth. ii. 90; v. 33; viii. 92. Nem. ii. 1; ix. 29. Isthm. iii. 6.

²² Ol. ix. 156. Nem. viii. 27.

to God, our neighbour, and our own interest. Pindar's theory of moral obligation is founded on a consideration of what is "ἀνδρὶ εἰκός,"²³ what is fitting and becoming, the duties imposed by man's relative position. Man is insignificant and weak; he is liable not only to a thousand vicissitudes²⁴ but to errors of judgment, which prevent him from foreseeing what the day will bring forth²⁵, or whether that which now seems advantageous will eventually turn out so²⁶. Hence the necessity for resignation to the will of an overruling Providence, which awards prosperity and adversity according to its discretion²⁷, and which may make us forget misfortune by a return of preponderating good²⁸. Hence, too, the obligation of piety and thankfulness, for these to a dependent being are the best grounds of confidence and hope²⁹. Hence the wisdom of temperance and moderation, since God loves to exalt the lowly and to humble the proud³⁰. All the duties of man are thus summed up in a due appreciation of the circumstances of his condition, in recollecting that mortal things suit a mortal being³¹, in endeavouring rightly to estimate the wide interval between himself and God³²; in avoiding perilous extremes and presumptuous sins³³. The whole of Ethics is briefly comprised in the adage "Know thyself."

Had Pindar treated the story of Prometheus, he would doubtless have done so in the same spirit; softening the character of Zeus, and teaching how human enterprise and genius, imperfect without divine aid, are gradually brought under subjection to the will of Heaven, and may then either enjoy with safety or bear with equanimity³⁴. Man's guardian genius would have been both humbled and exalted; for human prudence is subservient, not in opposition, to the will of Heaven³⁵;

²³ Ol. i. 55.²⁴ Ol. vii. 175.²⁵ Nem. vi. 10.²⁶ Ol. ii. 60; vii. 46.²⁷ Pyth. viii. 86.²⁸ Ol. ii. 35.²⁹ Pyth. viii. 73. Isth. iii. 7.³⁰ Pyth. ii. 94.³¹ Nem. xi. 20. Isth. v. 18.³² Nem. i. 4.³³ Isth. vii. 39. Pyth. iii. 59.³⁴ Pyth. v. 15.³⁵ Ol. vii. 80. Pyth. v. 35.

it rather fulfils the office of a divine mediator commissioned to instruct and civilize by the Author of all excellence and wisdom³⁶, the "Saviour" Zeus³⁷. Transcendent wisdom is far removed from the fabled craft of Prometheus, or the magic art ascribed by wondering savages to the Telchines; it was Minerva herself who communicated the arts, and who gave to the Rhodian workman his incomparable pre-eminence³⁸. To Æschylus as to Pindar it was impossible that the divorce of goodness from power should be permanent. The paradoxical separation permitted for the temporary purposes of the drama would in the interest of religion cease at its close. The reunion in dramatic representation would appear as a reconciliation between the rival parties, and a denouement such as that in the Eumenides, flattering to the national vanity of the people as to their religious prepossessions, would have exhibited such a change in the relative situation or understanding of the characters as might terminate that opposition of will to will which seemed at first insurmountable. The means of such a reconciliation were prepared beforehand in the physical peculiarities of the Nature-God, and the latter had already been applied by the Orphæo-Pythagoreans for the purpose. Prometheus had assisted Zeus against the other Titans. He introduced the worship of the gods³⁹, distributed their offices⁴⁰, in short, was God. In relation to Zeus, he is the attribute of providential wisdom separately personified as his adviser or even parent⁴¹. If his exaltation represent the presumption of human will opposed to divine, in his physical humiliation he seems to undergo human vicissitude and the consequences of divine displeasure. In the higher view of a moral Providence taken by Æschylus, and which must have always retained its place in reflecting minds despite the veil of an anthropistic mythology, the result of his audacity would be the punishment

³⁶ Pyth. i. 80. Ol. ix. 32.

³⁸ Ol. vii. 92. 99. Welcker, Trilogie, 185.

⁴⁰ Æschyl. Prom. 437.

⁴¹ Laur. Lyd. Rother. p. 228.

³⁷ Ol. v. 39.

³⁹ Diod. S. i. 16.

of sin⁴² and an emblem of the Fall. Man, originally an almost automatic part of nature, became estranged from Deity when he first assumed the functions of independent will, but was reconciled when the perversity of insubordinate will was acknowledged to be sinful, and when the conformity which was once mechanical became the free offering of reason. It may possibly be in contemplation of such a conclusion that the arts of Prometheus are little more than worldly expedients, that he is cunning rather than wise, conferring "blind hope,"⁴³ and an infatuated insensibility to the fear of death; moreover, exhibiting many failings which would give ample occasion for vindicating the equity of Zeus. He is admonished to examine himself; to acknowledge his fault; to change his haughty bearing; to humble his implacable passions; in short, to learn that self-knowledge and discretion which, by Æschylus as by Pindar, is esteemed heaven's best gift⁴⁴.

§ 15.

PLATO'S PROMETHEUS.

The modifications in the fable hinted in Æschylus are still more boldly carried out in Plato. Plato dispenses with the mediation of Hercules, and makes Prometheus himself the agent instead of adversary of Zeus. Fire and the other elements were boons willingly bestowed by Heaven¹; and that forgetfulness of death, so remarkable in men, and which at first seemed like infatuation, is another beneficent provision from the same source². It may be allowable to feign that Prometheus was the instrument for communicating these divine

⁴² Æschyl. Prom. 260. 266. Horace, Ode i. 3. 39.

⁴³ So Schöman; Welcker, however, discovers no irony, for which, indeed, there is no evidence but the use of the word "blind." Comp. Soph. Antig. 615.

⁴⁴ "το εὖ φρονεῖν." Agam. 900. Blomf. Bothe, v. 166. Pind. Ol. ix. 42.

¹ Comp. Xenoph. Mem. iv. 3. 7.

² Plato, Gorgias, p. 523. Schöman's Prom. 127, 128.

gifts³, including not fire only, but all the useful arts accompanying its use; in reality all were from the gods⁴. These, however, the “*εντεχνος σοφια συν πυρι*,” the conveniences of material existence⁵, are not the choicest things the gods bestow; a higher wisdom, a divine prerogative, was still retained in the Acropolis of Zeus⁶. Zeus, far from being the adversary of Prometheus or of man, was apprehensive only lest the scanty endowments bestowed on him should be inefficient for his safety; and he therefore commissioned another divine messenger, supposed to be more nearly related to his person (Hermes), to implant in every human soul a portion of his own divine wisdom, the germs of conscientiousness and equity required for the preservation of society⁷. The mythical accounts of the chaining, the defiance, and the punishment, all the scandals and battles of the gods, are allegories difficult to explain, and likely to prove dangerous subjects of familiar comment⁸; they arose out of a misconception of the Divine Nature, when men took for the object of their worship the *dæmon* “Necessity” instead of the true divinity of Love⁹. As long as necessity was deified, religion was slavery, not a reasonable service¹⁰; and while the character of gods was blended with immoral incidents, their example might be quoted as justifying crime¹¹. It was now found that the rash use of figurative language had led to misconceptions which it became equally difficult to correct or to reconcile with better information¹². The symbolical amours, the subserviency of

³ “*εκ θεων δια Προμηθεως*.” Plato, *Phileb.* 142. 16. “*προσσεταξεν Προμηθει κοσμησαι*,” &c. *Protag.* 320. “*θεια μοιρα*.” *Protag.* 322.

⁴ *Comp. Xenoph. Mem.* iv. 3. 7.

⁵ “*ευπορια του βίου*.”

⁶ *Xenoph. Mem.* i. 1. 8. *Protag.* p. 321.

⁷ *Ib.* 322^c.

⁸ *Plat. Rep.* ii. 97. 378. *Creuz. S.* i. 79.

⁹ *Plat. Sympos.* 413. 417.

¹⁰ “*δουλευομεν Θεοις ο τι ποτ' εισιν οι θεοι*.” *Eurip. Orest.* 412. “*τας εκ θεων αγαγκας θνητον οντα δει φερειν*.” *Phœnissæ*, 1776. Porson.

¹¹ *Euripid. Hippolyt.* 451. 1433. *Plato, Euthyphron*, p. 49^c. *De Leg.* xii. 685^b; vi. 623. *Diog. Laert.* p. 79^b. *Athenæ*, x. 39.

¹² *Plato, Rep.* ii. 378. 96.

one god to another, could only be the objects of a blind fatuity or of the incredulous scorn which regarded them as the "deplorable devices" ¹³ of poets. It had become necessary to clear up these fallacies, and to revert to the sounder view harmonising with the natural feeling of mankind. Religion would have correctly reflected the advance of moral discrimination, but for that unfortunate adherence to the merely formal and conventional, which attempted to retain even the majestic idea of Zeus within some of the antiquated barriers of physical romance. Even the poetical representations were not unmingled with better and nobler sentiments. No people have ever deliberately made their Deity a malevolent or guilty being. The simple piety which ascribed the origin of all things to God, took all in good part, trusting and hoping all things. The Supreme Ruler was at first looked up to with unquestioning reverence; no startling discords or contradictions had yet raised a doubt as to his beneficence, or made men dissatisfied with his government. Fear might cause anxiety, but could not banish hope, still less inspire aversion. It was only later, when abstract notions began to assume the semblance of realities, and when new or more distinct ideas suggested new words for their expression, that it became necessary to fix a definite barrier between evil and good. Thenceforth the better elements of natural religion were progressively developed by the culture of the sentiments and understanding, until man, rising from the appreciation of supreme power to that of wisdom and goodness, made his God the "Healer" and "Saviour," and purified his rites in proportion as he exalted his character. But the development of evil kept pace with that of good. Evil was not at first separated into physical and moral. The same word applied indifferently to both ¹⁴. When first separated as objects of thought, they were still allowed to continue connected as cause and effect. If among the Greeks the

¹³ "δυστηνοὶ λόγοι." Eur. Herc. Furens. 1337.

¹⁴ Volcker, Japetus, p. 40.

meritorious and atoning character of pain and self-mortification, such as "taking up the cross," "forsaking all," and "dying daily," was less prominently developed than in Christian and oriental philosophy¹⁵, they still thought as did the Jews¹⁶, that temporal calamity is a consequence of guilt either in the sufferer or his fathers¹⁷; that the city of the righteous flourishes¹⁸, while storms ravage the harvests of the unjust¹⁹; and even in the age of Demosthenes it required all the skill of the orator to convince the men of Athens of the meritorious character of well-meant but unsuccessful endeavours. It followed that a certain intermixture of good and evil would seem a natural necessity, an inevitable accompaniment of human imperfection²⁰, implying no censure on divine justice. And since the Greek was accustomed to spread his own individuality over the objective world around him, the theory was extended beyond the sphere of human action, to account for the vicissitudes of Nature herself, who, through presumption or over liberality, was supposed to have broken the laws of destiny, and to suffer a retributive banishment, imprisonment, or eclipse²¹. When, in the analysis of the nature of evil, penal inflictions had been distinguished from moral turpitude, God might be allowed

¹⁵ Comp. Heb. xii. 6.

¹⁶ Exod. xx. 5. John ix. 2.

¹⁷ The "*παλαια μνηματα*," or hereditary visitations among the Greeks corresponded to the punishments of "the third and fourth generation" among the Hebrews, a doctrine which, when carried out, involves that of original or birth sin. Conf. Plutarch, de Serâ Vindictâ, ch. xii. Euripid. Hipol. v. 834, p. 251. Valckn. Phœnissæ, 948. Plato, Phædrus, 244. Sophocles, Antig. 585. 596. Spanheim in Callim. Hymn. Pallad. p. 607. 1 Kings xxi. 29. The doctrine of a golden age was a necessary inference from this theory, for if evil and want were penal inflictions, it followed that they had not been aboriginal, but had been preceded by a happier state.

¹⁸ Hes. Works, 227. Æschyl. Agam. 674. Eum. 830. Choëph. 892, Bothe.

¹⁹ Iliad, xvi. 392.

²⁰ Eurip. in Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. xlv. Pind. Ol. ii. 62. Soph. Antig. 1140. Ædip. Colon. 799. "*ου γαρ θεμις εστι ζην πλην Θεους ανευ κακων*." Soph. Frag. Inc. 27. Comp. Ecclûs. xxxviii. 15. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 68.

²¹ As Æsculapius, Æschyl. Agam. 913. Prometheus, Ib. Pr. Bothe, 30. 258.

to be author of the former, though not of the latter²². To account for moral evil it became necessary to devise some new expedient suited both to the piety and self-complacency of the inventor, such as the perversity of women, or an agent distinct from God, a Typhon or Ahriman, obtained either by dividing the gods into two classes²³, or by dethroning the ancient divinity, and changing him into a Deceit or Dæmon. The latter fate often overtook the first deities of nature; they were either superseded by an homonymous rival, or divided into two distinct personalities. Artemis thus became morally, as well as physically, disunited from Hecate, Zeus from the Zeus "αλλος"²⁴ of the shades. Every Chthonian power was made emblematic of disaster, Ares of disease or war, Hermes of fraud, Hades of death, and Demeter, in her character of Erinnys²⁵, was the inward feeling of horror and remorse, transformed into the personified official avenger of Nature's violated ordinances²⁶. It was through a similar want that the oriental devised the inherent corruption of the fleshly and material; that the Hebrew transferred to Satan everything illegal and immoral²⁷; and that Greek reflection occasionally adopting the older and truer view, retorted upon man the obloquy cast on these creatures of his imagination, and showed how he has to thank himself alone for his calamities, while his good things are the voluntary gift, not the plunder of heaven. Already Homer had made Zeus exclaim in the Assembly of Olympus, "Grievous it is to hear these mortals accuse the gods; they pretend that evils come from us; but they themselves occasion

²² Comp. Origen against Cels. 314. Amos iii. 6. Iamblichus explained how the divine *μηνις* is not a positive infliction of wrath, but only a temporary withholding of beneficence, or as when, voluntarily placing ourselves in the shade at midday, we deprive ourselves of the full bounty of heaven. De Myst. i. 13.

²³ Porphy. Abstin. ii. 38, 39.

²⁴ Or, "χθονιος." Æschyl. Suppl. 207. Soph. Œd. Colon. 1606.

²⁵ Müller's Eumenides, Tr. p. 191. Comp. Iliad, iii. 278 with xix. 260.

²⁶ Hes. Theog. 185. 472.

²⁷ "εωθασι γαρ οι ηττηθεντες σκηπτεισθαι ποριζομενοι προφασεις της ηττης." Schol. Pind. Pyth. v. 35.

them gratuitously by their own wanton folly."²⁸ "It is the fault of man," said Solon, in reference to the social evils of his day, "not of God, that destruction comes;"²⁹ and Euripides, after a formal discussion of the origin of evil³⁰, comes to the result that men act wrongly not from want of natural good sense and feeling³¹, but because knowing what is good they yet for various reasons neglect to practise it. The first hope of reform consists in knowing where the fault lies, and in knowing it to be in our power to remove it. "It is difficult," said Simonides, "for man to be good;"³² for "we are full of imperfections by nature; we are good not without industry and care."³³ "Every one," says a modern writer, "has his fortune in great measure in his own hands; he may fashion it as the artist shapes rough matter; for the art of living rightly is like all other arts; the capacity alone is born with us; by diligent care only can it be brought into useful application."³⁴ To the despondency of the ancient Greek, who in want and exile seemed ever under the curse of the elements and the gods, the heroic moralist replied, "All virtue is a struggle; life is not a scene of repose, but of energetic action."³⁵ A large proportion of what are called evils are easily found to be natural consequences of the rash or mistaken decisions of human will. Suffering, therefore, is but another name for the teaching of experience³⁶; and was appointed by Zeus himself, "the giver of all understanding," to be the parent of instruction, the schoolmaster of life³⁷. It was indeed Zeus who put an end to the golden age; it was he who gave venom to serpents, and predacity to wolves; who shook

²⁸ Odyss. i. 32.

²⁹ Frag. 15.

³⁰ Hippolytus, v. 375.

³¹ το ἐν φρονεῖν.

³² Frag. 139.

³³ Feltham.

³⁴ Wilhelm, Meister. i. 17. Plato, Protag. 340^d. Seneca, Epist. 90, p. 416.

"Non enim dat natura virtutem; ars est bonum fieri."

³⁵ Hes. Works, 289. Pindar, pass.

³⁶ "Παθήματα μαθήματα." Æsop. Yet it has been said that the power of suffering to improve man's nature is unnoticed in Greek morals.

³⁷ Æschyl. Agam. 156. "That which we call justice when it brings good to us, i punishment," says Æschylus (Choëph. 938), "when we suffer."

the honey from the leaf, and stopped the flow of wine in the rivulets³⁸; who concealed the element of fire, and made the means of life scanty and precarious³⁹. Yet in all this his object was beneficent; it was not to destroy life, but to improve it. It was a blessing to man, not a curse, to be sentenced to eat bread by the sweat of his brow⁴⁰; for nothing great or excellent is attainable without exertion⁴¹; safe and easy virtues are prized neither by gods nor men⁴², and the parsimoniousness of nature is justified by its powerful effect in rousing the dormant faculties, and forcing on the invention of useful arts by dint of meditation and thought.

§ 16.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MORAL IDEA OF ZEUS.

Zeus was once a physical being not unlike Hermes or Prometheus, but his technical character in the later mythology was properly that of a moral agent. His moral was, however, developed out of his physical aspect, accompanying and absorbing the progressive institutions and discoveries of mankind. The elements of law sprang from the ordinances of nature, and the Cretan astronomical emblem of the bull was the first source of human legislation. Between the Cronian period of the Minotaur and the Hellenic Zeus lies a broad interval filled only with the wild legend of the son of the Nature-God, who, assisted by divine wisdom and allied with the elemental powers and luminaries of heaven (Centimani and Cyclopes) succeeded in dethroning his father. But the new Ruler to whom the grim satellites of Omnipotence¹ transferred their allegiance, did not immediately exemplify moral intel-

³⁸ Virg. Georg. i. 129.

³⁹ Hesiod, Works, 42.

⁴⁰ Pind. Olymp. i. 94, and vi. 10.

⁴¹ Horace, Sat. i. 9. 60. Xen. Mem. ii. 1. 26.

⁴² Pind. Ol. 6.

¹ Κράτος and Βία. Comp. Hes. Theog. 387.

ligence as contrasted with mechanical force. The vague notion of the early Cretan Deity was akin to that of the æthereal Zeus worshipped on many a Pelasgian hill;—he seemed to be born again upon an Arcadian Olympus, and from the heights of Pieria to war against the Titans and to decide the fate of Troy². In the language of Homer, and the emblematic appendages of the celebrated statue of Phidias, he still retained the physical characteristics which he never entirely lost. But when he displaced Prometheus in the presidency of the Athenian phylæ³, and obtained among gods the authority of king, he was admitted to be supreme patron of the civil institutions and authorities of earth. Power was, as it were, his daughter⁴; kings became his vicegerents; the sceptre they held was his sceptre⁵; the laws they established his laws⁶. After the abolition of monarchy, he continued the source and safeguard of political and judicial order; he became husband of Themis; his offspring was “Dice,” or justice⁷; his vigilance scanned and comprehended all, or employed countless emissaries to overlook the concerns of men⁸. Peace, order, and mercy were his attendants⁹; justice sat enthroned at his side¹⁰. Olympic games had been performed upon the poetical Mount of Thessaly¹¹, but the most celebrated institution of the kind was that which on the plain of Pisa cemented religiously and politically the federal union of Greece, the Phidian statue representing at once the Supreme Head of Greek nationality, and the sublimest type of heroic virtue. There the father and pattern of the heroes by whom the Olympic games were

² Paus. iii. 38. 1. Schol. Apollon. i. 599.

³ Comp. Guigniaut, ii. 563.

⁴ “Διὸς θυγατρὴ βασιλεια.” Aristoph. Aves, 1540. Hes. Theog. 96. Plato, Sympos, 197^b.

⁵ Iliad, ii. 103; ix. 99.

⁶ Iliad, i. 238.

⁷ Hes. Works, 256.

⁸ Hes. Works, 253. 262. 281.

⁹ Hes. Theog. 903. Soph. Œd. Colon. 247. Sch. 262. Creuz. Sym. iii. 122.

¹⁰ Soph. Œd. Colon. 1382. Æschyl. Septem. 629. Choëph. 883. Eurip. Med. 762. Pind. Ol. viii. 29.

¹¹ Schol. Apoll. i. 599.

founded officiated as divine chief of those mortal Hellenodcasts who awarded the olive wreath to the competitors whom success had approved as worthy followers of the hero sons of Zeus, themselves throughout their glorious labours having been only emulators of the more important contest of their father against the Titan powers of unintelligent misrule. Zeus thus presided over the public organization and private life of the Greeks, his guardianship extending through all the detail of human relations. The state, the tribe, the ward, the family, had each its tutelary Zeus eponymus, constituting collectively the public and private Penates of Athens. Zeus "Boulæus," for instance, directed the Senate, and as "Agoræus" he presided over the transactions of the Forum and Assembly, as also over the good faith and persuasive eloquence which should there be most conspicuously exhibited. From a civil ruler he thus became fountain of philosophy¹²; and the parent of Socrates was said to have been commanded by the Oracle to dedicate his child to Zeus "Agoræus" and the Muses, intimating the future mission of the sage to make eloquence the vehicle of wisdom. The God of the earlier philosophy had been too vaguely, or as it seemed, too closely blended with the universe; he had been an element, a life, or a power of motion, either the world itself, or a part of it conceptionally expanded into the whole. Even Anaxagoras contemplated a physical arrangement more than a moral government; speculation seemed to have exhausted the outward world without sufficiently examining that within, and the idea of providence still continued to cling to a poetical being whose story was but a snare for impiety, the key to its true interpretation having been lost. Socrates devoted himself to the investigation of the problem recommended by the impressive inscription at Delphi; and was rewarded by the discovery that human nature has a definite aim; that true wisdom is a knowledge of the means of

¹² Plat. Repub. vi. 347. Phileb. 30^d. "νοῦς βασιλικός."

reaching it; that the practice of wisdom is virtue, the end of virtue happiness. He found that ignorance, and its inevitable consequence, evil, had its source in inattention to that divine faculty within the mind which by cultivation should be to every one a virtual revelation of the Deity for the guidance of life. Zeus now became author and bestower of these germs and capabilities of wisdom; and when the idea of a moral Providence made the beneficence of material nature appear comparatively insignificant, the latter might either be relinquished to Prometheus, or be conferred as a humbler gift through the medium of inferior divinities called children of Zeus¹³, Zeus himself reserving the higher prerogative of moral and mental illumination. There remained for Prometheus only the alternative of permanent exile to Tartarus, or of being reunited to the supremacy from which he ought never to have been severed. Æschylus for a special purpose had allowed the two characters to remain temporarily apart; in the Protagoras they are reunited by making the higher character include the humbler. The reunion was not a relenting or repenting of the Deity, but a change in man's conception of him. God is ever the same, but man is exposed to a variety of deceptive impressions. To this impressibility were addressed the representations of poets, who, as Aristotle says¹⁴, "are proverbially liars, but especially in this, that they made the Divinity envious and jealous."¹⁵ The God of philosophy might indeed be metaphorically jealous or exclusive, as presiding alone at the helm, directing universal being by the imperceptible influence of mind¹⁶; but he was also unquestionably "the good," and the wisdom of which he was author was not the pragmatistical know-

¹³ The "*ἐντέχνης σοφία*," or skill in arts, the property of Athene and Hephæstus. Critias, 302. Protag. 321^d.

¹⁴ Metaph. i. 2. 13.

¹⁵ "What could I do?" says Agamemnon; "God was the cause of the fatal *ερίς* (strife) which brought so many woes upon the Greeks before Troy." Iliad, xix. 87. 90.

¹⁶ Critias, p. 109. "*οἷον οἱ αὖτις πειθοῖ ψυχῆς ἐφαπτομένοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν διανοίαν.*"

ledge or cunning of antiquity¹⁷, but that higher kind which has goodness for its object. It is true that Plato assumes a certain licence in the use of the term Zeus, and that even in his hands it is not entirely free from ambiguity; it is employed in illustration of physics and psychology, and the steadfast Deity of one theory changes into the alternate and fluctuating power of another. Yet on the whole, Plato's Deity, however vague metaphysically, is morally distinct; from the God of dialectics he changes into the Being proportioned to human sympathies; the father of the world as well as its creator¹⁸; the author of good only, not of evil¹⁹. Plato denounces the ancient phrase about the "envy" of the gods. "Envy," he says, "is far removed from celestial beings, and man, if willing, and braced for the effort, is permitted to aspire to a communion with the solemn troops and sweet societies of heaven."²⁰ God is the idea or essence of goodness; the "*το αγαθον*;" in goodness he created the world, and gave to it the greatest perfection of which it was susceptible²¹; he made it, as far as possible, an image of himself. Plato completed what Pindar had begun; he thought low conceptions of the divine nature mischievous²², chiefly because they destroy the best means of improving human nature, the proper model for whose direction is the divine example²³. Pindar had begun by instilling a spirit of piety; Plato by holding up a perfect pattern for the imitation of mankind shows how that disposition may be most usefully applied. He gives a resting-place for the affections as well as a standard for the reason; and the sublime type of all excellence is an object not only of veneration but love. The sages of old, who had spoken philosophy poetically, had already intimated in

¹⁷ Hes. Theog. xxvii. 656. Iliad, xiii. 355. 631. Odyss. xii. 189. The "*δολιη τεχνη*" of Prometheus, or Κρονος "*αγκυλομητης*." Comp. Herod. ii. 121. 172.

¹⁸ Timæus, 28^c. 37^c.

¹⁹ Phædrus, 246^c. Rep. ii. 98. 379.

²⁰ Phædrus, 247^a.

²¹ Timæus, 29^c. 30. Max. Tyr. 41. 3. Plutarch, de Deo. 1102.

²² Rep. ii. 381.

²³ "*εξομοιωσις Θεω*." Theæt. 176.

enigmas that God is the author of good²⁴; that like the sun in heaven, or Æsculapius on earth, he is "Healer," "Saviour," and "Redeemer," the destroyer and averter of evil²⁵; that Zeus, the supreme, is ever healing the mischiefs inflicted by Here, the wanton or irrational power of Nature²⁶. The fatal necklace of Eriphyle had been the gift of Harmonia, and Harmonia herself was only a repetition of the power²⁷ whose apple, indeed, betokened the eternal strife inextricably intertwined with nature, but who, as Urania, the heavenly patroness of the Cestus, comprised in herself the universal harmonies as yet undistinguished from the turbulent or "Pandemic" element which so long made the mystery of her character²⁸. Plato only asserts with more distinctness the dogma of antiquity when he recognises Love as the highest and most beneficent of gods, who gives to nature the invigorating energy restored by the art of medicine to the body, since Love is emphatically the physician of the universe, the Æsculapius to whom Socrates wished to sacrifice in the hour of his death²⁹. The "Banquet" of Plato, and the conversation with Enthydemus, were far from being the first announcements of this momentous truth. A figurative idea adopted from familiar imagery gave that endearing aspect to the divine connection with the universe which had commanded the earliest assent of the sentiments, until, rising in refinement with the progress of mental cultivation, it ultimately established itself as firmly in the deliberate approbation of the understanding as it had ever responded to the sympathies of the heart. Even the rude Scythians and Bithynians called God their Father³⁰: all nations traced their ancestry more or less directly to Heaven. The Hyperborean Olen, one of the oldest symbols of the religious antiquity of

²⁴ Æschyl. Septem. 4.

²⁵ "Σωτηριος." Pind. Ol. v. 39. "Αλεξητηριος." Æschyl. Sept. 8. "Ζεὺς παντων φαρμακα μουνος εχει." Simonid. Frag. 19, Gaisf.

²⁶ Æschyl. Suppl. 535. 541, Bothe.

²⁷ Paus. ix. 16. 2.

²⁸ Müller, Kleine Schrift. ii. 33. Plato, Sympos. 180.

²⁹ Comp. Brandis, Hist. Philos. ii. 31.

³⁰ Herod. iv. 59, p. 399, Baehr. Diod. S. iii. 57.

Greece, made Love the first-born of Nature³¹; he was followed in this respect by Hesiod, by Parmenides, and Empedocles³². Man cannot be historically traced as existing without the ideas which seem the natural product of his faculties, and the annals of his thoughts are as difficult to reduce to a chronological date as the records of creation. The period of a "beginning" defies calculation; and who will venture to pronounce at what time God was first worthily and truly honoured, or when man first began to feel aright the mute eloquence of nature? In the obscure physics of the mystical theologians who preceded Greek philosophy³³, Love was the great first cause and parent of the universe³⁴. "Zeus when entering upon the work of creation changed himself into the form of Love; and he brought forward Aphrodite, the principle of unity and universal harmony to display her light to all. In the depths of his mysterious Being he contains the principle of love within himself; in him creative wisdom and blessed love are united."³⁵

"From the first

Of Days on these his love divine he fixed
His admiration; till in time complete
What he admired and loved, his vital smile
Unfolded into being."

The speculators of the venerable East, who had conceived the idea of an eternal Being superior to all affection and change, in his own sufficiency enjoying a plenitude of serene and independent bliss, were led to inquire into the apparently inconsistent fact of the creation of the world. Why, they asked, did he who required nothing external to himself, come forth out of his unrevealed and perfect existence, and become incorporated in the vicissitudes of nature? The solution of

³¹ Paus. ix. 27.

³² Plato, Symp. 178.

³³ Plutarch in Timæ. 33, p. 1030.

³⁴ Pherecyd. in Max. Tyr. Diss. x. 4. Sturz. p. 44. Plato, Symp. 380, Bek. Hesiod, Theog. 120. Orphei Argon. v. 422. Paus. ix. 27. Cic. N. D. iii. 23.

³⁵ Proclus in Timæum, lib. 3, p. 155^f.

the difficulty was Love³⁶. The great Being beheld the beauty of his own conception which dwelt with him alone from the beginning³⁷, Maia, or nature's loveliness, at once the germ of passion, and the source of worlds. Love became the universal parent, when the Deity, before remote and inscrutable, became ideally separated into the loving and the beloved³⁸. In his unrevealed obscurity he was called in the neuter Brahm, and while his unity was unimpeached he was too distant to be reached by the limited aspirations of the human heart; but in his revelation to created being he became masculine from neuter, Brahmâ,—condescending, that is, to bear the type of human affection towards the world of his love.

§ 17.

DEFECTS IN THE GREEK ETHICAL SYSTEMS.

The reconciliation of Prometheus with the Supreme Being was the deification of intelligence as well as of goodness. Philosophy, like all improvement, implied the acknowledgment of a "fall," of deficiency and imperfection; its golden age, however, was no longer the paradise of ignorance, of Fawns and Satyrs, but an æra of inspired sages, far higher in the intellectual scale than their descendants¹. Instead of the luxuries coveted by poverty, or the ideal heroic age suited to the fancy of rugged warriors, the visionary retrospect was filled with beings who, through love of the Muse and of song, forgot to eat, and dying, were transformed into grasshoppers²; or that race of Erechtheidæ, the sons of heaven, who fed on wisdom's

³⁶ Creuzer, *Symb.* i. 399. Lassen, *Indian Ant.* i. 775. Bohlen, *Ind.* 161. *Trans. Asiat. Society*, 18, 20.

³⁷ *Comp. Prov.* viii. 22.

³⁸ *Menu*, i. 32.

¹ Plato, *Politics*, 272. (279). Critias, 109. 112. Cicero, *Tusc.* ii. 1. 12. Seneca, *Epist.* 90, p. 416. Sext. *Emp. Math.* i. 8, p. 313^b.

² Plato, *Phædrus*, 259.

noblest lore³,—were not only arrayed in the panoply of the Athenian goddess, but endowed with her mental supremacy⁴. That the most exquisite pleasures are mental ones, and that science is supreme felicity, became in Athens not merely the paradox of the student, but in some sort the common profession of the people⁵. But there were circumstances in the social and intellectual position of the Greeks which made it almost impossible for them to attain just notions of science. Infant science could have no sufficient experience of its barriers and limits; and this defect, combined with the tendency to despise the useful arts as illiberal, made it impossible adequately to conceive its comprehensiveness⁶. With the latter error was connected another almost universal in antiquity,—the disposition to consider “wisdom” as something inborn or inspired, or at least, as more especially the gift of heaven than lower attainments. In this feeling Plato expressly makes the distinction seemingly hinted in Æschylus, contrasting the higher prerogatives of science with those Promethean gifts which he takes, after Hesiod, to be merely fire and its associated arts; just as Bacon, by a construction equally arbitrary, attempts to elicit from the same story an illustration of the intellectual phenomena of his own times, making Prometheus a symbol of the arrogance of the schoolmen, in contrast with the patient dignity of true science. Both writers invert the application of the mythus. To one, Prometheus is author of the “*adminicula humanæ vitæ*” which the other derives from philosophy; while Plato ascribes to the gods those oracular responses of the mind to its own inquiries which Bacon, with some show of justice, consigns to the exclusive jurisdiction of their mythical adversary. The difference arose from opposite conceptions of the nature of

³ Eurip. Med. 824.

⁴ Timæus, 24^c.

⁵ 1 Cor. i. 22. Herod. iv. 77.

⁶ Plato, Rep. 7, p. 522^b. Aristotle, in opposition to the “*cui bono*” feeling, considers that philosophy as highest in rank which is most disinterested. “Philosophy,” says Seneca (Epist. xc. p. 403), “no more invented architecture than it did this fish pond, where selfishness finds in tempestuous weather a secure harbour for its own gluttony.”

science; and the value of the respective theories may be inferred from the successful progress of the one, and the abrupt termination of the other. The attempt to grasp too much and to advance too rapidly, ended where it began, either in dogmatism or doubt. It has been well said, that in every case the practical depends on the speculative⁷. In the first dogmatical nature-philosophy paradox fought against paradox, and the chasm between the doctrines of "being" and "becoming" defied all the efforts of the Ionians (afterwards followed up more ingeniously by the Atomists) to reconcile the antithesis. When Anaxagoras asserted the subordination of matter to mind or thought, the latter seemed for the first time to recognise its prerogative, and to claim an unlimited power of penetrating the secrets surrounding it. This claim was for the first time formally made by the Sophists. But their aim was no longer the absolute truth which philosophy had hitherto sought. The contradictory results hitherto arrived at in regard to the same phenomena, argued either imperfection in the standard or an overrating of the value of the inferences. The sophists satisfactorily confuted the old dogmas respecting objective existence on their own ground. Resolving all existence into the perpetual flux of Heraclitus, and distinguishing between different kinds of existence as motions counterfeiting, through variations of rapidity, the seeming contrasts of active and passive, object or percipient, Protagoras declared the percipient being, man, to be the "measure of all things," in the sense of making sensation alone the test of existence and truth. But since sensation was involved in the same flux as its objects, consisting in a perpetual motion or succession of impressions, yet then only becoming erroneous when parted from its object to be stereotyped as thought,—or when, from the fugitive impressions of the past, permanent inferences were derived as to the present, he concluded that contradictory opinions in relation to the

⁷ Fichte, when asked by Mad. de Stael to explain his moral system apart from his metaphysics, replied, "it is impossible, they are too intimately connected with each other."

same object were equally true⁸, although the impressions made on the waking, the well-organised, and healthy were allowed to be sounder and better than those of the sick or sleeping. Gorgias, again, employed the dialectical forms of Zeno in direct refutation of the idea of the absolute, arguing, that even if *per se* possible, it could not be apprehended or communicated by the faculties, since it must essentially differ from the hearing, sight, or speech which receive or transfer its impressions; and that if its reality were to be inferred from the fact of its being conceivable, it would follow that all the monsters of mythology must be implicitly believed. This negative theory, as well as the positive system asserting the reality of contradictory sensations, might have led an earnest inquirer to clear inferences respecting the nature and limits of attainable truth; scepticism as to the absolute might have generated a more minute study and juster appreciation of the uses of the relative⁹, at the same time training the percipient to observe more attentively and correctly. But the benefit which might have accrued from the subjective views of the earlier sophists was overlooked, partly through the previous discouragement of natural philosophy, partly from a just condemnation of the tendencies of their method. Protagoras adopted that part of the theory of Heraclitus which resolved all existence into "becoming;" but the suggestion of a universal reason manifesting itself throughout nature, which might have become a sound basis of science¹⁰ led the sensationalist only to a hollow acquiescence in the finality of general belief¹¹. The Eleatæ had addressed one doctrine to reason, another to opinion. The sophistical system was a pure philosophy of opinion; it was no longer the disinterested and earnest pursuit of truth, but a worldly utilitarian accumulation

⁸ *i. e.* true as sensations. Diog. Laert. ix. 51. Sext. Empir. Adv. M. p. 148. P. Hyp. p. 44, bk. 1, ch. 32. Plato, Theæt. 152, 167.

⁹ τῶν πρὸς τι εἶναι τὴν ἀληθειάν, διὰ τὸ πᾶν τὸ φάνεν ἢ δοξᾶν τινὶ εὐθείως πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὑπαρχειν. Sext. E. Math. p. 148.

¹⁰ Zeller, Philos. i. 258.

¹¹ "Κριτήριον τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ κοινὴ πᾶσι φαινόμενον." Sext. Emp. Math. vii. 129.

of empirical resources or accomplishments of diction, policy, or argument. The Sophists tried to widen the superficial extent of knowledge rather than to secure its foundations, and the attempt to popularize information involved the usual consequence of lowering its dignity. This loose intellectual system had a direct tendency to countenance immorality. Scepticism corrupted morals as well as metaphysics; good and evil were treated as matters of mere conventional estimation¹², that is, as having, like truth, only a relative existence; and the virtues enumerated as appropriate to different relations,—the statesman, husband, father, or master¹³, became expedients of policy instead of obligations of conscience. Confusion of thought led to irregular action, and to the want of fixed theoretic principles must be in part ascribed the laxity and wide-spread social disorganization described by Thucydides¹⁴, the disregard of domestic civil and religious obligation, the prostitution of the name of virtue to successful selfishness, extending even to the arbitrary alteration of the received meaning of words to disguise the open infamy of prevailing vices. The later Sophists, Critias, Polus, and Callicles, carried the subtlety of their principles to an extreme probably as unforeseen as shameless¹⁵, when, adopting the unscrupulous licence of Greek faction, they openly proclaim happiness to consist in pleasure and success, might to be right, law a device of the weak to limit the natural right of the strong, and religion a political trick for coercing the ignorant¹⁶. These consequences were, however, inevitably involved in the sophistical system; and they as inevitably provoked a reaction. The reaction was twofold. Some, as Aristophanes, would have proscribed philosophy altogether as

¹² "*οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ νόμῳ.*" Plat. Gorg. 482. De Leg. x. 889. Theæt. 167^c. Xen. Mem. iv. 1. 14. 20.

¹³ Plat. Meno. 71. Protag. 323. Aristot. Polit. i. 13.

¹⁴ iii. 82. A laxity observable also in the sentiments attributed by the historian to leading statesmen; i. 76; v. 105.

¹⁵ Comp. Gorgias, p. 457.

¹⁶ Sext. Emp. M. 155. 318.

being in its actual state both useless in itself and tending to subvert the old morality and faith; others hoped to find a remedy in that which inflicted the wound, and to revive religion and morals by regenerating philosophy. At a time when men's consciences were fluctuating and irretentive, like the sieves or leaky casks to which they are compared in the *Gorgias*, Socrates undertook the task of chaining them to a principle. He augured a redemption from that very knowledge of good and evil which the Hebrews had connected with the Fall. In many respects he made the same assumptions as the Sophists. Like them he abandoned the old inquiry into physical existence, yet he did not despair of truth. He revived, in regard to ethics, the old philosophic spirit. He believed that moral certainty as distinct from mere opinion might be discovered by exploring the depths of the self-conscious mind, that inward sense which he conceived to be divinely implanted in each individual. Every man, he thought, contains within himself the germ of a divine revelation, an oracle of irresistible authority beyond and above sensation or opinion, untouched by the scruples of the Sophists. To awaken and invigorate this internal monitor in himself and others,—to give new life and clearness to that inward experience, those general inferences which to him were not mere conventional assumptions, but serious beliefs,—was the great object of his labours. To teach dogmatically, to infuse his own ready-made opinions into other men's minds, was as foreign to his plans as it had been to the suggestive teaching of the "wisdom" of remote antiquity. He wished to make every individual mind its own interpreter and guide, by developing out of the chaos of its thoughts a distinct perception of moral truth. He thus resolved all sciences and virtues into one, aptly called the soul's sterling money convertible into everything most valuable to man¹⁷, and that was wisdom or right reason¹⁸. He adopted the maxim of Protagoras, "Man is the measure of all things," but applied it differently. The Sophist had inferred from it

¹⁷ *Phædrus*, 69.

¹⁸ *λογος, φρονησις, επιστημη, σοφια*. Brandis, *Gesch.* n. 37. *Diog. L.* ii. 31.

the subjectivity and consequent uncertainty of all knowledge; Socrates, claiming far higher authority for the same standard, discovered within the mind, considered as part of the universal reason, a relative certainty in those universal notions which he thought a sufficient basis for science. Instead of a system of dogmas, he created a dialectical method, the object of which was to assist the intuitional sense in eliminating general truths. Had these self-developed certainties been supposed to refer to the motions of the heavenly bodies, the futility of the postulate would have instantly been evident to himself. But the wisdom he pursued was human wisdom¹⁹; the grand object of verification was the good. "Socrates," it was said²⁰, "brought down philosophy from heaven, and placed it in its natural office of controlling all the relations of human life." Wisdom and virtue he considered identical, since no one knowingly prefers evil to good²¹. Our actions result from our opinions as to what is best, and these opinions, when tried and fixed by consecutive reasoning, are science. The true and the good are therefore but different aspects of one thing. In the attempt to fill up the notion of truth and virtue, it is clear that whatever defect attached to the metaphysical theory would reappear in the moral system. The believing Socrates like the sceptical Sophist was obliged to reason from general opinion²²; he could do no more in regard to virtue; he could only select the best among prevailing opinions respecting right and wrong, endeavouring by argument to show their bearing on the aims and interests of individuals. He recognised no absolute good²³; the only appreciable good was that approved as conducing to

¹⁹ Plat. Apol. 20^d. 23^d.

²⁰ Cic. Tusc. ii. 5. 4.

²¹ Arist. Eth. Nic. vi. 13 and 28. Eudem. i. 5. 13. Magn. Mor. i. 1. 35; ii. 6. Even constrained action may generally be resolved into ignorance, since human will is never without an alternative. Eth. Nic. vii. 3. Eurip. Bacchæ. 498. Hor. Ep. i. 16. 78.

²² "το κοινὴ πασι φαινόμενον." Sext. Empir. ubi. supr. "τα εἰκότα καὶ δοξάντα." Plato, Phædr. 260. 267. Euthyd. 305. So Socrates, "διὰ τῶν μαλίστα ὁμολογουμένων ἐπορεύετο." Xen. Mem. iv. 6. 15.

²³ Mem. iii. 8. 3. 7.

the welfare of the human subject, an axiom which, according as it was construed, might warrant either the asceticism of the Cynic or the self-indulgence of Aristippus. So long as the good were the merely relative and subjective, a criterium was wanted to adjudicate the relation, and Socrates discovered none beyond the precarious test of opinion. He overlooked the moral importance of the study of physics; he did not see that man, though placed in some respects above nature, must, for the purposes of life, submit to receive correction and instruction from it. The chain of science and moral principle wanted a point of attachment. It consisted of notions tested by counter notions, of traditional maxims verified only by an appeal to that internal world which Socrates seemed to have discovered.

Plato carried out the transcendental tendencies of his master. He entered upon the ideal world which Socrates saw from afar, proceeding to divide it into provinces and to make it tributary to philosophy. The highest aim and all-pervading principle of this philosophic world was the "good,"²⁴ considered as objectively real, and requiring no criterium for its discovery except that Promethean power²⁵, the dialectical effort of pure intellect. The earliest philosophy had been an unconscious effort to explain the external world through the medium of inward ideas. But the process was begun long before the machinery for effecting it was understood. An abstract notion of matter, considered either as fluent or permanent, had assumed in the systems of Ionia and Elea the sovereignty and entirety of nature. The subjective was blended with the objective, the highest mental generalization with the last physical individuality, until Anaxagoras overturned the ancient divinity of matter by opposing to it that of mind. Mind or thought, when distinguished from the outward principle, considered either as a material element or a more ideal and imaginary substratum, itself assumed the objective reality hitherto the attribute of external substance; while the notion of matter was reduced to that of the purely indeterminate, an absence of all

²⁴ Arist. *Metaph.* i. 2. 7.

²⁵ *Phileb.* 16^c.

quality except the general capacity to assume it. If being be resolved into the ideal, matter would be pure nonentity; if the former be the principle of good, the latter remains the source of evil. Plato's matter is the "*το μη ον*;"²⁶ yet as the cause of multiplicity it constitutes in conjunction with being a virtual dualism. The phenomenal world of relation, multiplicity, and contrariety perceptible by sensation, is an intermediate scene in which one is but partially penetrated and overmastered by the other. The ideal reality is apprehended by intellect; matter by a sort of bastard intellect²⁷; as opposed, to the constant, it is the varying; in relation to essence, space, or the universal receptacle of form; in relation to God as father of the world, it is its mother²⁸; in relation to God the creator, the inert mass which he formed or fashioned. All organized being consists of matter, and a resemblance impressed on it to an idea; by one it has its place in the general harmony and unity; by the other its multiplicity, accident, evil. The ideal philosophy is ever striving to escape from this dualism to physical and moral unity. With Aristotle, evil and accident vanish with the *ύλη*; in proportion as the universe becomes absorbed in the ideal and divine, it becomes a universal reign of order, design, and good. Aristotle's *ύλη* is, however, substantially the same as Plato's; it is distinct from "non-being" (*στέρησις*) only as containing potentially what mind is actually. Plato conceived two worlds as well as two principles; Aristotle endeavoured to reunite thought with the world, to make the *εἶδος* immanent in the appearance; yet the reunion was imperfect, a portion of the mental was left outstanding to satisfy the feelings of religion, and the universal thought manifested in the world continued in its highest sphere to circle into itself above and beyond it. But the principle of thought, when diffused throughout the

²⁶ "Not being"—the extremity of the scale opposed to being. Rep. v. 477^a. 479^b; x. 597.

²⁷ "*Μετ' αναισθησιας απτον λογισμω τινι νοθω, μογις πιστον.*" Timæ. 52^a.

²⁸ Timæ. 51^e. Woman being a creature morally inferior to man; Timæ. ch. 17, p. 41.

forms of the phenomenal world, seemed to have become exhausted, and to leave a residual notion of the Godhead too indefinite and remote to be generally appreciated. Plato endeavours to show how the divine principle of good becomes realized in nature; Aristotle's system is a vast analogical induction to prove how all nature tends towards a final good. The notion of God is concurrent with that of Soul. Plato, considering soul as a principle of movement²⁹, makes his Deity realize the ideas as a free intelligent force; Aristotle, for whom soul³⁰ is the motionless centre from which motion radiates and to which it converges, conceives a correspondingly unmoved God. From this difference of treatment it has appeared³¹ as if Aristotle's Deity were destitute of the moral attributes assigned to the Being represented by Plato as creating, superintending, and rejoicing in the universal joy of his creatures³². But the omission is only a consequence of the more strictly metaphysical character of Aristotle's system. His Deity is the perfection of man's intellectual activity extended to the universe, an attempt to explain philosophically the divine "mind" of Anaxagoras. In this very extension the idea becomes unexpectedly enlarged. In the Socratic schools intellectual perfection included moral perfection; but moral action supposes a separation of agent and object³³, whereas in the Peripatetic Deity subject and object are united as that universal energy which, comprehending³⁴ and effectuating all forms, is at the same time the eternal desire of good accomplishing itself. The two presentments of philosophy, its dry metaphysical statement, and its more homely garb of metaphorical accommodation³⁵, are more dis-

²⁹ Phædrus, 245^c; Laws, x. 896.

³⁰ Defined an "εἶδος" or "entelechy." Comp. De Anim. i. 3, 4; ii. 1. Phys. viii. 6.

³¹ Simon, Théodicée de Platon et d'Aristote, 1840.

³² Hence it was said that Plato refers all to mind; Aristotle to law. Phys. ii. 2 and 8. Procl. in Timæ. 90^d.

³³ "ἡ πράξις αἰεὶ ἐστὶν ἐν δυσὶν."

³⁴ On the principle of "αἰεὶ τῷ ἐφελξῆς ὑπάρχει το προτιρον," as, for instance, all inferior forms are resumed in man.

³⁵ "κατ' ἀνθρώπον," or "κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λόγον."

tinctly balanced by Plato, who, in the playful use of myths and similitudes, seems repeatedly to give a double and even inconsistent aspect to the same thing³⁶. Traces of similar ambiguity in regard to the mysteries of the divine nature may, indeed, be found in Aristotle. But the latter adheres more exclusively to a metaphysical system, the whole of which must be taken into account in order to judge fairly of its separate parts. When, for instance, the Deity of Aristotle is made to be an eternal act of self-contemplation, the world is not excluded from his cognizance, for he contemplates it within himself. Apart from and beyond the world, yet mysteriously intermingling with it, he is universal as well as individual, his agency is necessary and general, yet also makes the real and the good of the particular. As Themistius says, he is the general receptacle of the *νοητα*, which he apprehends instantaneously and simultaneously, his thought being not transferable and successive as our thought, but motionless and universal. Only a short interval had elapsed since mind or thought had been separated from matter, when speculators assigned to it the objective reality which matter had forfeited. Hence the principle of existence and of cognition came to be viewed as one; their unity was also made inclusive of the good, not the relative good of Socrates, but the absolute, that last object of science revealing itself throughout the world and containing the solution of the grand teleological problem, the intellectual sun imparting both reality to forms and insight to the faculties³⁷. Philosophy had from the first endeavoured to form a conception of Deity, morally as well as metaphysically harmonising with cotemporary convictions. Plato summed up in this respect all that had gone before. Giving to the unformed world the animal life of the Ionians, he added the Anaxagorean In-

³⁶ Thus God is the Supreme Idea; and again, Creator and father of the world; the soul the principle of movement, or the manifestation of the idea of life; the good either abstraction from the material, or practical virtue, *i. e.* moral conduct in connection with it.

³⁷ Repub. vi. 509^b. 588^d; vii. 517^b.

telligence overruling the wild principle of necessity. When to intelligence was added beneficence, and the dread wardours, Force and Strength, were made subordinate to mildness and goodness, it seemed as if a further advance were impossible, and that the Deity could not be more than "the wise" and "the good."³⁸ But the contemplation of the good implies that of its opposite, evil³⁹. Good theoretically, as well as practically, is slowly elaborated, assuming its positive character only by contrast. The moral conception of Deity accompanied this development. The God of Nature had been a vague unity embracing all phenomenal contrasts; and the older theology threw back the origin of all things to such an indefinite principle under the names of Chaos or Night⁴⁰. In the confusion of theogony with cosmogony the notion of a moral ruler was nearly lost. A different idea was developed by the poets, who, followed in this respect by the philosophers, placed the sceptre of universal order in the hands of a being whom they dramatically represented as conquering his predecessors, or marrying successively all the ancient mothers of nature. In the maturity of reason God became again "the good," not because evil was unknown, but because it was designedly excluded from his attributes. But if evil be a separate and independent existence, how would it fare with his prerogative of unity and supremacy? To meet this dilemma it remained only to fall back on something more or less akin to the vagueness of antiquity; to make a virtual confession of ignorance, to deny the ultimate reality of evil like Plato and Aristotle⁴¹, or,

³⁸ "Αἰτία ἐλομένου, Θεὸς ἀναιτίος." De Rep. x. 617.

³⁹ Diog. L. iii. 76. Theætetus, 176^a.

⁴⁰ Aristot. Metaph. xiii. 4. 4.

⁴¹ "Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον τῷ πρώτῳ οὐθέν." Aristot. Metaph. 11, (12). 10. 10. "το κακὸν ἐστὶ αὐτὸ το δυνάμει ἀγαθόν." Ib. xiii. 4. 12. Comp. Creuz. S. i. 195. Guigniaut, i. 172. Evil, says Plato, is necessary; but with the gods there is no evil; therefore we ought to take flight to the company of the gods as soon as possible, the means of flight being the making unceasing efforts to become like them. Theæt. 176^a.

with Speusippus, the eternity of its antithetical existence⁴²; to surmise that it is only one of those notions which are indeed provisionally indispensable in a condition of finite knowledge, but of which so many have already been discredited by the advance of philosophy; to revert, in short, to the original conception of the Absolute, or of a single Being, in whom all mysteries are explained, and before whom the disturbing principle is reduced to a mere turbid spot in the ocean of eternity, which to the eye of faith may be said no longer to exist⁴³.

But all grandeur implies vagueness, the "absolute" is nearly allied to the non-existent, and Speusippus was accused of attempting to subvert religion. To confound good and evil in the Deity was to withdraw from him the chief mark of an exalted nature. It seemed as if henceforth the spirit of lofty ontological speculation had lost its interest. The mind had successively deified nature and its own conceptions without any practical result but toilsome occupation. Philosophy was another name for uncertainty. The reality it sought without or within seemed ever to elude its grasp. Matter and evil obtruded themselves too constantly and convincingly to be confuted or cancelled by subtleties of logic. In vain would Aristotle merge the world in God while the world of experience exhibited contrariety, imperfection, and mutability, instead of the immutability of its source. Baffled in its higher flights, the intellect sought advantage and repose in aiming at truth of a lower but more applicable kind. Aristotle seemed to have left no field unexplored to exercise the ingenuity of his suc-

⁴² Speusippi Philosophia, Ravaisson, Didot, Paris, 1838, p. 13, &c. The principle of good being, according to Plato (Rep. vi. 509^b), "*ἐπισκία της οὐσίας*," Speusippus might admit the good to be secondary or developed, without denying perfection to the intelligent principle of the universe.

⁴³ "Mali nulla natura est, sed amissio boni mali nomen accepit." Augustin. de Civ. D. xi. 9. No doubt the laws of the individual will ultimately be found in perfect conformity with those of the general; but the individual, being imperfect, is unable in all cases to perceive or maintain the conformity, and experiences evil as he becomes progressively educated by failure or success.

cessors, except the secrets of that phenomenal world in which he conceived the divine thought to be manifested and realized; and Strato preferred to study the moving force immanent in nature, rather than a remote metaphysical cause beyond it. Pyrrho, educated in a school of sophistic dialectics, formally renounced scientific absolutism, and hoped to find in philosophic indifference the tranquillity which Aristotle had paradoxically ascribed to the highest activity. The attention hitherto bestowed on the universal now became concentrated on the individual. Theophrastus on his death-bed pronounced the just condemnatory sentence of ancient speculation, when he said, "We throw away the pleasant things of life for the sake of fame laboriously earned, but sterile in results; be happy then by ceasing to philosophize; or if philosophize you must, devote your whole being to the task, recollecting at the same time that the honour is nearly all the reward⁴⁴, and that death overtakes us when philosophically we begin to live." Though the meaning of Theophrastus, as expressed in another saying—

"Vitam regit fortuna non sapientia"⁴⁵

was commonly rejected, the memorable words above quoted were so far acted on, that the aim of philosophy was henceforth acknowledged to be the discovery of a rule of action, and the benefiting human life. The realisation of this end was made to consist mainly in the exclusion of mental disturbance. Withdrawn from the agitating passions and contradictory opinions of the world, the wise man found in proud self-reliance an independent imperturbability resembling that of the ancient sage or hero, and which had been made an attribute of the gods. The two extreme forms of practical philosophy, the self-indulgent and the ascetic, that of endurance and that of enjoyment, had already existed in germ with Socrates and his immediate successors; at all times, indeed,

⁴⁴ "το κενον πλεον του συμφεροντος." Diog. Laert. v. 41.

⁴⁵ Cic. Tusc. v. 9.

they may be said to have co-existed, and the spirit of effeminacy expressed in the old Ionian elegy of Mimnermus found its cotemporary contrast in Callinus and Tyrtaeus. The two tendencies which in Socrates had been held in equilibrium by reason and by each other, afterwards diverged, giving rise to distinct schools, those of the Cyrenaics and Cynics, and afterwards of the Epicureans and Stoics. The celebrated opposition of the latter was one of names more than things. Both appealed to nature, both in some form acknowledged the finality of human judgment in regard to it; but the systems of both were inconclusive, because unfurnished with an adequate method of interrogating nature, and of ascertaining her laws with sufficient precision to found on them in particular cases a determinate rule. It was in itself comparatively unimportant whether the *summum bonum* received from the character of its object the name of happiness and true pleasure, or that of sound wisdom or virtue from the propriety of the selection. The result in both cases was, or ought to have been, the same. The great difficulty was to fix on a reliable "criterium" to arbitrate between the human subject and the outward circumstance, now that "the good" was no longer considered as objective, the beacon as well as the goal, or a criterium to itself. The criterium of Epicurus was mere sensuous impression; for the "anticipation" (*προληψις*) which he added to the former was only a repetition of it,—remembered impressions reserved in a verba formula. His physics were little else than the atomic theory of Democritus, substituting chance for Providence, and thereby admitting the inability of the philosopher to discover law or intelligence in nature. Yet though denying the interference of the gods, he did not deny their existence. He denounced the prevailing religion because he thought it a mere superstitious disquietude, arising from false notions of natural causation. Unfortunately he was unable to replace false notions by just notions, to do more than oppose dogmatism by doubt, and afterwards to answer doubt by dogmatism. He aimed at freedom; immunity from pain and

anxiety, from bodily and mental bondage, especially the irrational bondage of superstition. But the means he used would have made freedom impossible. The theorist of chance, he opposed still more the theory of physical necessity than traditional religion⁴⁶. He admitted no divine intelligence in which all things seemingly fortuitous have their definite purpose and appointment. It was difficult to wring liberty of choice out of a fortuitous world⁴⁷. Yet as accountably as the enchainment of the world was deduced out of independent atoms, out of the enchainments of the world was extricated the independence of human will. The object of will was to be pleasure; but pleasure, as understood by this philosophy, was a reversion to a state resembling the impassibility of the original atom. The Epicurean good was the tranquillity of Aristotle divested of action; a life of isolation and neutrality responding to no call of affection or patriotism; substituting for superstition atheistic despondency, idleness and insensibility for pleasure, and evading the troubles of life by a sort of living death⁴⁸.

Stoicism completed the philosophic reproduction of the heroic model by uniting calmness with energy. It engrafted the Aristotelian principle of *ἐνεργεία* upon the hylæozoism of Heraclitus. It adopted the Doric Hercules as its imaginary founder and model⁴⁹. But the Stoics strictly confined within the sphere of matter and of nature the active principle to which Aristotle had assigned an ideal existence beyond nature. Philosophy in stoicism reverted to the nature-religion of its origin. Universal nature, self-directed and self-sufficing, consists, they said, of two principles; an active and a passive, matter and force. Intelligent force, residing in matter and inseparable

⁴⁶ Diog. Laert. x. 134.

⁴⁷ "Fatis avolsa voluntas." Lucret. 2.

⁴⁸ Hegesias, a convert to Epicureism, is said to have preached the above-mentioned doctrine of Theognis (p. 395, n. 23) with so much effect, that in consequence of the number of suicides among his hearers it was found necessary to silence him. Cic. Tusc. 2.

⁴⁹ Alleg. Hom. Gale, 453. Plut. de Ei Delph. 6.

from it, carries on within it an eternal struggle, producing its change, movement, and variety, its apparent harmony and order, its constancy of individual forms, and in its higher developments constituting mind, right reason, God. Mind, however, with the Stoics was not the immaterial soul of Aristotle; the cause of motion they conceived to be itself in motion, and therefore as some subtle body informing and interpenetrating a grosser one. Heraclitus may have either originated or possibly adopted from the ancient Magi the dynamic principle of an all-penetrating fire⁵⁰, or fiery æther, which Aristotle, and perhaps Anaxagoras, conceived as a fifth element forming the material of the stars and the substratum of the soul. The same principle varied in all, yet in all the same, alternately dilated and condensed, kindled and extinguished, was the instrument employed to produce and connect the universe by the Stoics; the material principle being, however, also a moral providence, enchainning the world in sympathy, harmony, and beauty. Existence, life, intelligent life or will, was but the same power exhibited in different degrees of energy or tension. Sensation as well as action was in voluntary effort. The object of properly-directed effort, or the good, was not those worldly things which may be misused, such as wealth, health, or life, but a life passed in conformity with nature. It was not pleasure, for pleasure is rather an appendage to the correct application of the faculties, the free gift of heaven accompanying and approving their use, as the hilarity of animals and exuberance of vegetation are but the consequences and inevitable indications of their thriving⁵¹. The good was the order emanating from universal reason; virtue, or the good in man, was the same principle conspiring in the general harmony by a symmetrical exercise of all his functions. The maxim was unimpeachable, but the machinery for applying it was wanting. To live agreeably to nature we must live according to right

⁵⁰ Ravaisson, *Metaph. D'Arist.* ii. 150.

⁵¹ *Diog. L.* vii. 86. *Comp. Arist. Eth. Nic.* x. 4.

reason; that is, the governing principle within us must be conformed to the right reason of the universe⁵². But to know that the time of day equals the sun's distance from the meridian, avails little unless we possess the means of measuring the distance. The Stoics had no such applicable standard; their criterium was as vague as the old theory of moderation adopted by Aristotle in his *Ethics*. They could only repeat the words constancy, harmony, proportion. A standard was wanted to direct reason, and reason was referred for an answer to itself. Virtue was defined to be "the art of life,"⁵³ but the art was empirical, not scientific; it was a noble conception remaining unrealized. When the Stoic, denying a moral being above nature, acknowledged within nature a universal law which he was unable to comprehend, such a law would practically amount only to an apology for the belief in fatalism. If he aspired to reproduce in man that ideal of mingled activity and repose which Aristotle had placed above the heavens, the result would be the mystical absorption of the pantheistic devotee, ascetic sternness, or

⁵² See the Hymn of Cleanthes to Zeus. Stobæ. Eclog. Phys. Heer. i. p. 30.

"Thou hast skill to harmonise

All discords, order from disorder bring,
Smooth the rough path, till all deformities
Their proper nature lose in wisdom's scheme,
Merged in the bland disposal of thy love.
That scheme, where, curiously joined in one,
Good tempers ill to form a higher good,
Bad men reject; a good indeed they seek—
The cheap possession of some literal toy,
And spurn the law which comprehends the whole.
But thou, dark dweller in the clouds, correct
These vagrant wishes, counteract their freaks,
Protect us from our own insanity,
And break the perilous darkness of the soul;
That so our wills with thy just wisdom blent,
Concurrent in the universal Law,
Honouring and honoured in our servitude,
The Pæan of creation's march may swell,
The march of Law and Harmony divine,
In which all being finds its noblest end."

⁵³ Senec. Epist. 90. Cic. Acad. ii. 8.

arrogant self-deification. The human soul, self-contemplated as the indwelling God, a spark or emanation of the universal reason⁵⁴, might dispense with an external criterium as well as a personal Deity⁵⁵, provided human pride were sufficiently strong to humour the illusion. But virtue is neither the despising pleasure, nor the blind pursuit of it; it is the pursuing it by proper means and feeling it on proper occasions. It may be strange to hear Socrates prefer wilful ill-doing to ignorant error⁵⁶. But vice is always the companion of ignorance, rarely of knowledge, never of wisdom. Knowledge must precede virtue; for no chance act can be a moral one. We must know in order to do; unlimited improvement supposes an unlimited progress in knowledge. It is not enough to purpose, or even to form a high ideal of duty; duty extends itself over all the details of human relations; and it was from inability to trace those relations in their detail that the Stoics, making up for insufficient knowledge with mere firmness of resolve, mistook necessity for law and apathy for wisdom.

⁵⁴ Diog. L. vii. 119. Marc. Anton. 5, ch. 19.

⁵⁵ Comp. Diog. L. vi. 11. 103; vii. 32. 129.

⁵⁶ Zeller, Gr. Phil. ii. 59, 60, 157.



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